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THE INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Vol. VI, No. 1 March, 1930

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Old Buddhist Shrines at Bodh-Gayā

Inscriptions

Here our task is to compile the various inscriptions which still linger on the remnants of the pillars of the Jewel-walk shrine, the edges of the upper surface of the covering stone-slab of the old Diamond-throne and the different parts of the old Stone-railing; and as regards the old Stone-railing, both those which were incised when it was first erected or repaired, and those which were incised in after ages having no bearing on the history of its construction. We are to offer our own readings and interpretations only in those cases where previous attempts have proved unsatisfactory; in the remaining cases we are to remain content with quotations from previous publications. But the grouping and arrangement of the inscriptions are to be entirely our own.

I. Pūrva-Pāṣāṇa-Lekhā: Writings on the Old Stone-railing

The writings on the old Stone-railing consist of certain Brāhmī inscriptions found engraved on some of the rail-pillars, the rail-bars and the coping-pieces. Along with these may be considered those consisting of certain Brāhmī letters on the shafts and fixed bases of the pillars of the Jewel-walk-shrine, and a mutilated inscription on the upper edge of the outer *Vajrāsana* or Diamond-throne.

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The Brāhmī letters on the shafts and fixed bases of the pillars of the Jewel-walk-shrine were nothing but some visible signs or marks to indicate (1) which of the pillar-shafts was meant for which of the fixed pillar-bases, and (2) the relative position of these pillars and their fixed bases set up in two rows on two sides of the raised platform inside the Jewel-walk-shrine. As Sir Alexander Cunningham points out, in each row there were eleven pillars, each of the pillar-shafts and fixed pillar-bases being marked with a separate Brāhmī letter and the same letter marking the fixed pillar-base as well as the corresponding pillar-shaft. Thus in each row of eleven pillars there were two rows of Brāhmī letters, the row on the south side of the platform representing two series of eleven vowels, one on the line of fixed pillar-bases and the other on that of pillar-shafts, and the row on the north side of the platform representing two series of the first eleven consonants, one on the line of fixed pillar-bases and the other on that of pillar-shafts. The eleven vowels comprised, according to Cunningham, *a*, *ā* *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*, *e*, *ai*, *o*, *au*, and *aḥ*, and the eleven consonants were *ka*, *kha*, *ga*, *gha*, *ṅa*, *ca*, *cha*, *ja*, *jha*, *ña*, and *ṭa*.[1] No one can reasonably doubt the accuracy of Cunningham's statement except with regard to the specification of *aḥ* as the eleventh vowel. If it be that Cunningham had actually found the *aḥ* mark on the eleventh fixed pillar-base, we would have no grounds for reasonable doubt. In the Indian alphabetical system *aḥ* being rather a vowel-sign than a vowel-letter, it would seem more probable that the eleven vowels were *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*, *ṛ*, *e*, *ai*, *o*, and *au*. We have to understand from Cunningham's own statement[2] that he observed just six letters, the volwel *a* on the westerly pillar-base in the southern row, and the consonants *ka*, *ga*, *ca*, *ja* and *ṭa* on the five pillar-bases in the northern row.[3] The vowel *a* was traced also

1 Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, p. 8. 2 Ibid., p. 16.
3 See Pl. I, No. 1.

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on a pillar-shaft, which now stands on the westerly base of the northern row.[1] The fact that this shaft is marked with the letter *a* is enough to prove that it stood originally on the westerly base of the southern row. The list published by Dr. Lüders on the strength of Sir George Grierson's paper contains the letter *a*, *ka*, *ña* and *ca*.[2]

Of the six letters noticed by Cunningham, the letter *a* was traced on the shaft and also on the fixed base of the first pillar of the southern row, counted from west to east ; the letter *ka* was found on the first pillar-base of the northern row, opposite *a*; and the remaining four letters, *ga*, *ca*, *ja* and *ṭa*, were found on the 3rd, 7th, 8th and 11th bases of the same northern row. Irresistible is the conclusion drawn by Cunningham from these data, that the eleven pillars of the southern row were serially marked with eleven vowels and those of the northern row with the first eleven consonants, the pillars being observed and counted in each row from west to east.

The letter *a* as was found by Cunningham on the base and the same letter as he found it on the pillar-proper represent two different forms, in each of which, however, the two left strokes meet the vertical line, leaving a small space between them. The letter *ka* is dagger-shaped, that is to say, it appears in the form of a plus sign with the lower part of the vertical stroke longer than the upper. The letter *ga* shows a prominently rounded top, instead of being sharply angular. The letter *cha* is of a double-looped butterfly pattern. The letter *ja* appears in a form in which the two semi-circular curves meet each other vertically in a straight line instead of forming a loop in front. And the letter *ṭa* represents a vertically set segment of a circle.

1 Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, Pl. IV.

2 *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, No. 938.

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All these letter-marks may go to show that the masons, craftsmen or artists, employed to fashion and set up the pillars and their fixed bases, hailed from or, at least, had to do their work in, that part of India where Brāhmī was the prevalent form of writing.

The order of eleven vowels in the southern row and that of the first eleven consonants may serve to prove either (1) that the pillars and their fixed bases were serially set up in each row from west to east, or (2) that these were marked with letters in this order.

The difference observed in the two forms of the same letter *a*, as it was incised on the pillar-base and on the corresponding pillar-shaft, has, perhaps, to tell its own tale. Having regard to the fact that these two forms of *a* distinguish the majority of the inscriptions on the old Stone-railing, we may be inclined to think that the pillar-bases and the pillar-shafts were marked by two different scribes or 'engraver-writers' (*lekhaka, lipikara*). In the absence, how ever, of the remaining pillar-shafts and their letter-marks, it is impossible to hazard any more than a surmise or conjecture about the marking of the pillar-bases and pillar-shafts by two scribes.

Cunningham has rightly observed that the arrangement of letters on the pillars of the two rows "has an important bearing on the antiquity of the Indian alphabet, as it shows that the several characters had already been arranged in their present groups as gutturals, palatals, cerebrals, dentals, labials, semi-vowels, and sibilants."

On the surviving fragments of the old Stone-railing we can trace as many as twenty-two votive labels engraved on seventeen rail-pillars, rail-posts and gate or corner pillars, three rail-bars and two coping-pieces. In all these labels we find the use of altogether twenty-one letters and seven letter-signs, as the subjoined two tables will indicate :—

1. Table of Letters

Vowels—*a*, *i*,

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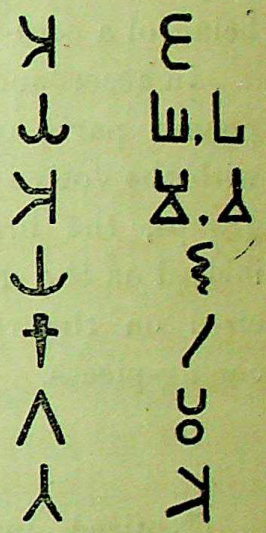
Consonants—*ka*, *kha*, *ga*, *gha*, —, *ca*, —, *ja*, —, *ña*, *ṭa*, —, —, —, —, *ta*, —, *da*, *dha*, *na*, *pa*, —, *ba*, —, *ma*, *ya*, *ra*, —, *va*, —, —, —, *sa*, —, —.

2. Table of Letter-signs

Signs for *ā*, *i*, *ū*, *e*, *o*, *ṃ*, *ra*, stop.

As regards the Brāhmī letter-forms, their importance lies in the fact that they enable us at once to divide the votive labels broadly into two groups, the first comprising those inscriptions in which one of the two forms of the letter *a* detected on some of the pillar-bases is associated with that form of the anchor-shaped letter *ya* in which two separate curves at the base meet in the vertical line, and the second comprising those inscriptions in which the second form of the letter *a* is associated with that form of the anchor-shaped letter *ya* in which the vertical line stands on a single semi-circular curve at the base. It will also be noticed that in all the labels the letter *ka* is dagger-shaped; the letter *ga* is still sharply angular; the letter *ta*, too, shows a sharp angular form; the letter *ja* has precisely the same form as on the pillar-bases; the letters *gha* and *pa* have each a flat base; the letters *ma* and *va* have a triangular body; the letter *ra* represents a cork-screw pattern; and the vowel-sign for *i* presents an abruptly out-stretched elongation. It is just in one example that we trace a form of the letter *ma*, in which the upper stroke stands above a circle without touching each other, precisely as in the form of the letter *ma* on the Sohgaura Copper-plate and in the Brahmagiri and two other South Indian copies of Aśoka's M.R.E. I. In this particular case the letter *a*, too, has form different from those noticed above.



Thus comparing the Brāhmī letter-forms in these in-

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scriptions, we can discriminate in them three kinds of handwriting, and the conclusion which may be drawn therefrom will undoubtedly be this, that either three different groups of masons, craftsmen or artists were employed, or among the masons, craftsmen or artists employed to do the work in connection with the old Stone-railing, three, at least, had done the work of scribes.

As for the *Vajrāsana* inscription, the Brāhmī letter-forms are mostly like those of the railing inscriptions. But it will be noticed that the letter *ra*, as we find it in the *Vajrāsana* inscription, is a simple vertical line, instead of being of a cork-screw pattern.

In accordance with their position on the different component parts of the Stone-railing we may conveniently deal with the votive labels by dividing them into three separate groups, the first comprising those inscriptions which are incised on the rail-pillars, the second comprising those incised on the rail-bars, and the third comprising those on the coping-pieces.

1. Those on the Rail-pillars

A. Nos. 1-15

[Noticed by Prinsep, *JASB.*, 1836, Vol. V, p. 658, Pl. XXXIII ; *JASB.*, 1837, Vol. VI, p. 468, with facsimile; Kittoe, *JASB.*, 1847, Vol., XVI, part I, p.339, with facsimile; Cunningham, *ASR*, 1871, Vol. I, p. 10, Pls. VII, IX ; *ASR*, 1873, Vol. III, p. 88, Pl. XXVI; Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 130 (facsimile only); R. L. Mitra, *Buddha Gayā*, 1878, pp. 182 foll; Indraji, *IA*, 1880, Vol. IX, p. 142 ; Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, 1892, p. 15, Pl. X; Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* in *EI.* 1909-10, Vol. X, Nos. 939-42; Bloch, *ASI*, Annual Report, 1908-9, p. 147.]

a. Text on 14 Rail-posts[1]

Ayāye Kuraṃgiye dānaṃ [.]

"The gift of the Noble Lady Kuraṅgī."

1 See Pl. I, Nos. 2-13.

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b. Text on one Rail-post[1]

Ayāye Kuraṃgiye dinaṃ [.]

"Donated by the Matron Kuraṅgī."

[NOTES:—Dr. Bloch has rightly pointed out that "not less than fifteen times (which is to say, on not less than fifteen rail-posts) was met with the following well-known inscription:—*Ayāye Kuraṃgiye dānaṃ*," and that "in one instance, the insciption has *dinaṃ*, which, of course, is Sk. *dattam*, 'given'." The honorific epithet *Ayā*, Sk. *Āryā*, "the Noble Lady", seems to signify the benevolence and high social position of Kuraṅgī as well as her superior rank as a Buddhist nun or lay woman by reason of her age and advanced spiritual state. In other words, it is not unlikely that Kuraṅgī, as her epithet *Ayā* indicates, joined the holy order of the Buddhists and was held in high esteem for her noble deeds, remarkable personality, high social position as a queen, and spiritual outlook and insight. (See Barua and Sinha's *Barhut Inscriptions*, note on *Ayā*). Here *Ayā* might, perhaps, be better rendered as "Matron". Cunningham is perfectly right in suggesting that *Kuraṃgī* is a female name meaning 'fawn-eyed', or with eyes like the *Kuraṃgī* deer. *Dinaṃ*, even if it were not due to an error on the part of the scribe, is as good a reading as *dānaṃ*, the use of *dinaṃ* (=dinnaṃ) as a substantive being not uncommon in Pāli (cf. *dinnaṃ hoti mahapphalaṃ*, where *dinnaṃ* simply means *dānaṃ*, "a gift" (literally, that which is given away as a gift).]

B. No. 16

[Noticed by Bloch, *ASI*, Annual Report, 1908-9, p. 147.]

Text on another Rail-post[2]

Rāño Iṃ(dāgimi)trā [.....] (S)irimāye [dānaṃ.]

Text as might be restored

Rāño Iṃ(dāgimi)trā[sa pāsādā-cetikā-] (S)irimāye [dānaṃ.]

1 Pl. I, No. 14. 2 Pl. I, No. 15.

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"The gift of Sirimā (Śrīmatī), a female donor from the palace of King Indrāgnimitra."

[Notes :—Dr. Bloch is the first to observe that the name of Indrāgnimitra is met with in a "mutilated inscription on one of the railing pillars, where he appears to have had the title 'King' (*Rāño*; gen. sing.) added before his name." But, curiously enough, no attempt whatever was made since, either to decipher and restore the text of this inscription or to discuss the whole of its importance. It is quite true, as Dr. Bloch has pointed out, that Indrāgnimitra has been honoured in this inscription with the title of *Rājā*, "King". It will be seen that the inscription was damaged in the middle on account of a mortice cut through it on that portion of a face of the rail-post where the missing letters were incised. The space covered by the breadth of the mortice is large enough, as will appear from similar spaces on other rail-posts bearing inscrpitions, to contain seven Brāhmī letters. As for the restoration of the letters that are now lost, there is hardly any reason for doubting that the letter coming immediately after *trā* of *Iṃdāgnimitrā* is *sa* and that the syllable *sa* is the genitive singular termination : *sa* = Pāli *ssa* = Sk. *sya*. The reasons for restoring the remaining six letters as *pāsāda-cetikā* will be set forth when we come to deal with two inscriptions on two coping-pieces. For the equation of the name *Sirimā* with *Śrīmatī*, the reader is referred to Barua and Sinha's *Barhut Inscriptions*, note on *Sirimā devatā*.]

C. No. 17

[Noticed by Bloch, *ASI*, Annual Report, 1908-9, p. 147.]

Text on the N. E. Corner-pillar[1]

Rāṇo Brahmamitrasa pājāvātiye Nāgadevaye dānaṃ [.]

"The gift of Nāgadevī, the wife of King Brahmamitra."

[Notes :—Pājāvatī is the same word as the Pāli *pajāpati* and the Sk. *prajāvatī*. Following the authority of Sanskrit

1 Pl. I, No. 16.

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lexicon and literature. Cunningham and Lüders have interpreted the word *pājāvātī* in the sense of *bhrātṛjāyā*, "brother's wife" or "sister-in-law". Bloch has explained this word as meaning "wife" and Bühler, too, has done the same in translating the votive labels on the stone-railings of the Sāñchi Stūpas (*EI*, vol. II). It would seem that as, on the one hand, the rendering of *pājāvātī* by "brother's wife" is wide of the mark, so, on the other hand, the rendering of it as "wife" may seem too wide in denotation. According to Pāli usage, which is clearly illustrated by a passage in the Vānarinda Jātaka (Fausböll, No. 57), a wife is to be called a *pajāpati* only when she is with child. *Pāli* passage:—*Tasmiṃ pana kāle eko kumbhīlo sapajāpatiko tassa nadiyā vasati. Tassa sā bhariyā Bodhisattaṃ aparapāraṃ gacchantaṃ disvā Bodhisattassa hadaya-maṃse dohaḷaṃ uppādetvā kumbhīlaṃ āha.* (*Now there lived in those days in that river a crocodile and his mate*; and she, being with young, was led by the sight of the Bodhisatta journeying to and fro to conceive a longing for the monkey's heart to eat. So she begged her lord).

If this be the correct explanation of *pajāpati*, *pājāvātī* or *prajāvatī*, the text of the inscription under notice may be taken to imply that the north-eastern corner-pillar was donated by Queen Nāgadevī when she was about to be a mother. But there are certain Pāli passages in the Vinaya (Sutta-vibhaṅga) where the word *pajāpati* has been used in the general sense of "a wife." Here attention may be particularly drawn to two passages: (1) Sutta-vibhaṅga, Bhikkhu-vibhaṅga, Saṅghādisesa, II. 1, 1, in which the word *bhariyā*, meaning "a wife", occurs as a synonym of *pajāpati*; and (2) *Ibid.*, Saṅghādisesa, V. 1, 1, in which an unmarried girl (*apatikā kumārikā*) is said to have been engaged as a suitable bride for an unmarried young man (*apajāpatika kumāraka*).]

II. Those on the Rail-bars

D. No. 18

[Noticed by Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, 1892, p. 16, No. 2,

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Pl. X; Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* in *EI*, 1909-10, Vol. X, No. 945.]

Text on a Rail-bar[1]

Amoghāsa dānaṃ [.]
"The gift of Amogha."

[Notes:—The rail-bar bearing the above inscription was removed to and is now exhibited in the Bārhut Gallery hall of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, as Bg. 2.]

E. No. 19

[Noticed by Cunningham, *ASR*, 1873, Vol. III, p. 89, Pl. XXVI; R. L. Mitra, *Buddha Gayā*, p. 184, No. 3; Indraji, *IA*, 1880, Vol. IX, p. 142; Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, 1892, p. 16, No. 3, Pl. X; Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* in *EI*, 1909-10, Vol. X, No. 946; Bloch. *ASI*, Annual Report, 1908-9, p. 156.]

Text on another Rail-bar[2]

Bodhirakhitasa Ta(ṃ)bapa(ṃ)nakasa dānaṃ [.]

"The gift of Bodhirakṣita, the Tāmraparṇika—a man belonging to Tāmraparṇi."

[Notes:—The rail-bar bearing the above inscription was removed to and is now exhibited in the Bārhut Gallery hall of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, as Bg. 1. Here the really important word requiring explanation is the geographical patronymic *Taṃbapaṃnaka*, derived from *Taṃbapaṃni*, Pāli *Tambapaṇṇi*, and Sk. *Tāmraparṇi*. *Taṃbapaṃni*, as known to Aśoka, was the southernmost land which lay to the south of his Indian empire (R. E. XIII). Rev. A. P. Buddhadatta has collected certain interesting Pāli references in the introduction to his edition of Buddhadatta's Manuals (Pāli Text Society publication),

1 Pl. I, No. 17. 2 Pl. I, No. 18.

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which go to prove that the name *Tambapaṇṇi* was applicable not only to the island of Ceylon but also to that part of the Deccan which was situated to the south of the Tambapaṇṇi (Tāmraparṇi) river. The Aśokan sense, too, does not preclude the possibility of inclusion of this part of South India in the territorial limits of Tambapaṇṇi. The account of Prince Vijaya's conquest of Ceylon in the Pāli chronicles suggests that the island of Laṅkā came to be known as Tambapaṇṇi, on account of the fact that when Prince Vijaya landed on its sea-shores, the palm of his hand was touched by the copper-coloured particles of sand. We might say that originally the name Tambapaṇṇi was restricted to the south-western part of the island of Laṅkā where the beaches were covered with copper-coloured sand. Gradually, as we may suppose, the name came to be applied and even exclusively applied to the whole of Ceylon. As regards *Taṃbapaṃnaka* of the Bodh Gayā Inscription, Cunningham and Bloch seem to be perfectly right in identifying Tambapaṇṇi with Ceylon.]

F. No. 20

[Noticed by Cunningham, *ASR*, 1873, Vol. III, p. 89, Pl. XXVI, 2; R. L. Mitra, *Buddha Gayā*, 1878, p. 183, No. 2; Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* in *EI*, 1909-10, Vol. X, No. 947.]

Text on a third Rail-bar

Pāṭihāra . . Nā . . . . dānaṃ [.]
"The gift of the door-keeper (with
Nā as the initial of his name)."

Or,

"The gift of a man of Pratīhāra.
(the initial of whose name is *Nā*.)"

Or,

"The gift of (the city-judiciary) of Pratīhāra."

[Notes:—Cunningham who first noticed it, found the inscription "to comprise thirteen letters, of which the 5th,

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6th, 8th, 9th, 10th, and 15th were illegible. The inscription might, perhaps, be restored as :—

Pāṭihārā[kāsa] Nā [··· sa] dānaṃ [.]

Here *Pāṭihāra* may be treated either as an official designation or a place-name, and *Nā* may be treated either as an initial of a personal name, or of an official designation, such as *Nāgarika*.]

III. Those on the Coping-pieces

G. Nos. 21-22

[Noticed by R. L. Mitra, *Catalogue and Handbook of the Archæological Collections in the Indian Museum*, 1883, Part I, pp. 130 foll.; Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, 1892, p. 15, Nos. 8-10, Pl. X; Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* in *EI*, 1909-10, Vol. X, Nos. 943-4; Bloch, *ASI*, Annual Report, 1908-9, p. 147.]

a. Text on a Coping-piece[1]

(Rāño Kosi)ki-putrāsa Iṃdāgimitrāsa pājāvātiye jivāputrāye Kuraṃgiye dānaṃ [:] rājā-pāsādā-cetikā-(Siri)mā(ye) [dānaṃ.]

b. Text on another Coping-piece

[Rāño Ko]siki-putrāsa Iṃdāgimitrāsa pājāvātiye jivāputrāye Kuraṃgiye dānaṃ [:] rājā-pāsādā-cetikā-Si[rimāye dānaṃ.]

"The gift of Kuraṅgī, the wife of King Indrāgnimitra, the son of Kauśīki,—Kuraṅgī who is the mother of living sons: the gift (as well) of Sirimā (Śrīmatī), a female donor from the royal palace of King Indrāgnimitra."

[Notes :—Cunningham and other Indian epigraphists have agreed in reading the letter before *putrāsa* as *ka*. With regard to the first inscription, Cunningham was

1 Pl. II, No. 19.

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able to note that there were traces of two other letters before *ka*, the one immediately preceding it being no other than *sa*. He was led even to think that *saka* before *putrāsa* might be taken as the latter part of the name of Aśoka. The presumption as to the possibility of occurrence of the name of Aśoka in these inscriptions is due to a bias under which Cunningham and the rest of the old school of Indian epigraphists conducted their researches. This presumption has no sound basis for its justification, first, because *Asoka-putra* as a personal epithet of King Indrāgnimitra is meaningless; and, secondly, because the three letters before *putrāsa* may still be read as *Kosiki*, with the result that King Indrāgnimitra has been represented in these coping inscriptions as a *Kauśikī-putra*. We can go so far as to suggest that there are traces of two other letters before *Kosiki-putrāsa*, and that these may be read as *Rāño*. Even if this suggestion do not bear scrutiny, there is one inscription on one of the rail-posts to prove that *Rājā*, "King", was the title of Indrāgnimitra, we mean the Bodh-Gayā Stone-railing Inscription, No. 16. The epithet *Kosiki-putra* is a matronymic like *Gāgīputa*, *Gotiputa* and *Vāchhīputa* of the Bārhut E. Gateway Inscription, not to mention the hosts of other similar matronymics which are met with in both inscriptions and literary texts. As regards *Kosiki-putra* itself, it may be noted that the *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* published by Lüders includes one inscription (No. 94), in which *Kośīki* is found as a surname of Śimitrā; a second (No. 105), in which *Kośīkiputra* occurs as a surname of Sihanādika; a third and a fourth (Nos. 159, 662) in which *Kośikīputa* is employed as a surname of a Buddhist monk; a fifth (No. 1079), in which *Kosikiputa* adorns the name of Mahāraṭhi Viṇhudata; a sixth (No. 1100), in which *Kosikīputa* is an ornament of the name of Mahāraṭhi Mitadeva; and a seventh (No. 1196) in which *Kośikiputtā* appears as a surname of Nāgadatta. Finally, in the "Śuṅga Inscription of Ayodhyā", edited by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, we find that

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Kauśikīputra has been used as a surname of a high personage. The epithet signifies that King Indrāgnimitra was a son of Kauśikī who was a lady of Kauśika or Viśvāmitra *gotra*.

Cunningham has translated *pājāvātī* (Pāli *pajāpati*, Sk. *prajāvatī*, Bengali *poyāti*) by "brother's wife", and Lüders by "sister-in-law". But it would seem strange that in one inscription Nāgadevī should be introduced as *pājāvātī* (the "brother's wife" or "sister-in-law") of King Brahmamitra, and in two other inscriptions Kuraṅgī should be introduced as *pājāvātī* (the "brother wife" or "sister-in-law") of King Indrāgnimitra. We cannot but welcome Bloch's rendering of it as "wife" in view of the fact that, according to the Pāli usage, the word *pajāpati* is a synonym of *bhariyā*, in some instances it denotes "a wife who has a clear prospect of becoming a mother." Here we have to make a distinction between a *pājāvātī* and a *jivāputrā pājāvātī*. As for the distinction, it may suffice to say that a *pājāvātī* is either simply "a wife" or she is "a wife who is about to be a mother," and a *jivāputrā*[1] *pājāvātī* (*jīvaputrikā prajāvatī*, Bengali *jeyas poyāti*) is, on the other hand, "a wife who has not only become a mother but can be proud of being a mother of living children." Bloch has rightly remarked that "Indian ladies still consider it a pride to call themselves *jīvaputrā* 'a mother of living sons', an expression very familiar to every reader of ancient Indian inscriptions."[2]

Kuraṅgī was a *jivāputrā pājāvātī* of King Kauśikiputra Indrāgnimitra, King Indrāgnimitra's wife, who was a mother

1 Lüders' interpretation of *jīvaputrā* in the sense of "daughter of Jīvā" does not deserve any comment.

2 Cf. Aśoka's edict on his Second Queen's donations, which contains the king's order directing the high officials at Kauśāmbī to re-label all the donations made by his second queen by inscriptions recording them as : "[Donations] of [his] second queen Kāluvākī, the mother of [Prince] Tīvala".

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of living sons. This may help us to explain why in each of the fifteen rail-post-inscriptions Kuraṅgī has been honoured as an *Ayā* (Sk. *Āryā*), "a Noble Lady," "a Matron."

Cunningham has regretted the loss of the latter part of these important records. As regards the first coping inscription, he has found traces of eleven Brāhmī letters after *Kuraṃgiye dānaṃ*, the first nine of which read *rāja-pāsāda-cetikā sa*. Bloch reads these nine letters as *rājā-pāsāda-cetikāsa* and translates this expression in relation to the preceding words: "(the gift of Kuraṅgī, the wife of Indrāgnimitra and the mother of living sons), "to the *caitya* (*cetikā*) of the noble temple", taking the word *rājā* before *pāsāda* as an epithet *on ornans*, distinguishing the temple as a particularly large and stately building, similar to such expressions as *rājahastin* 'a noble elephant', *rāja-haṃsa* 'a goose (as distinguished from *haṃsa* 'a duck'), etc." Cunningham has translated the expression by "the royal palace, the caitya", suggesting that "the mention of the *rāja-pāsāda* would seem to connect the donor with the king's family." Lüders doubtfully suggests "to the king's temple" as a rendering of *rāja-pāsāda-cetikāsa*.

Before giving countenance to the hitherto suggested reading and rendering of *rāja-pāsāda-cetikā sa* one has to consider and decide these two points: (1) is the letter, after *cetikā*, *sa* or *si*? and (2) what are the three letters after *cetikā*. It can hardly be doubted that the letter after °*cetikā* is not *sa* (the Dative singular termination) but *si*, and that the three letters may still be read as *Sirimā*. If so, it is not difficult to restore the missing syllables and complete the first coping-inscription as *rājā-pāsādā-cetikā-(Siri)mā(ye)* [*dānaṃ*], and to complete the second coping-inscription as *rājā-pāsadā-cetikā-Si*[*rimāye dānaṃ*]. We have already dealt with the rail-post inscription, *Rāño Iṃdāgimitrā*[*sa* . . . . .] *Sirimāye* [*dānaṃ*], in which the female donor has in some way been connected with King Indrāgnimitra. As to the nature of the connection, it all depends on the missing expression which filled

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the middle part of the mutilated inscription. Seeing that the expression *rājā-pāsādā-cetikā* precedes the name of *Sirimā* in the first coping-inscription, it may be safely surmised that the seven missing letters of the rail-post-inscription recorded the expression *pāsādā-cetikā* after *sa* of *putrāsa*. Considering the text of the first coping-inscription in relation to that of the rail-post, we find no other alternative than to regard *Rāño Kosikiputrāsa Iṃdāgimitrāsa rājā-pāsādā-cetikā* or *Rāño Iṃdāgimitrāsa pāsādā-cetikā* as an epithet of *Sirimā*, in the same way that *pājāvātī jivāputrā* is an epithet of Kuraṅgī.

Now the question is—what does the epithet *pāsādā-cetikā* or *rājā-pāsādā-cetikā* signify? Is there any reference here at all to the temple at Bodh-Gayā? The question must, in our opinion, be answered in the negative for the simple reason that the construction or existence of the Bodh-Gayā temple prior to the visit of Fa-Hian (first quarter of the 5th century A.C.) is inconceivable. Cunningham was perfectly right to suggest that the donor was somehow or other connected with the royal palace. Here the word *cetikā*, a feminine form of *cetaka* (Prakrit *ceyaga*), may be consistently interpreted in the sense of *dātri*, "a female donor." Sirimā (Śrīmatī) was a female donor from the royal palace of King Indrāgnimitra. We cannot interpret *cetikā* as "a female attendant unless it is a mistake for *ceṭikā*. The *rājā-pāsādā*, "royal palace", may be regarded as the name of a Buddhist monastery built at Bodh-Gayā to commemorate the name of King Indrāgnimitra, compare, *Migāramātupāsāda*, which was the name of the Buddhist monastery built by Viśākhā, the daughter-in-law of Migāra.

Our reading and rendering of the two coping-inscriptions will help the reader to ascertain that the two coping-stones bearing these records were joint donations of Kuraṅgī and Sirimā, the former being the elderly wife of King Indrāgnimitra and the latter a female donor from the palace of the same royal personage.

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IV. That on the Diamond-throne[1]

H. No. 23

[Noticed by Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, 1892, pp. 20, 58, Pl. X. 11; Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* in *EI*, 1909-10, Vol. X, No. 948.]

a. Text on the west and south sides

W——? pajāya? agā?ya hitāya;
S. mātā-(pituno kā)rito [.]

b. Text on the north side ?

[Notes :—Cunningham rightly says that "all that remains of this inscription is so much injured that very little can be read consecutively." There are faint traces of a large number of letters on the western edge, about 35 letters preceding three which one may tentatively read as *pajāya*. We cannot but agree with Cunningham when he says that towards the end, on the right hand, one may read "the well-known words *māta-pita*, 'mother and father'." But we must differ from him when he tends to hold that "the letters certainly belong to the Indo-Scythian or early Gupta period, about the 2nd. century A.C.", and that the two words which distinctly precede *māta-pita* are *pratimā patiṭhapat*, "statue established". It would seem that a new set of letters was incised on an earlier one at a later age, and that the forms of earlier letters are in no way very different from those of the inscriptions of Kuraṅgī and Nāgadevī on the rail-posts and coping-pieces of the Old Stone-railing. The language of the earlier inscription, too, seems to bear resemblance with that of the well-known inscriptions of Kuraṅgī and Nāgadevī.]

Importance of the writings

The historical importance of the writings, considered in this section, lies, first of all in the fact that from the

1 Pl. II, No. 21.

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close similarity of the Brāhmī letter-forms, it may be inferred that the Old Stone-railing bearing the donative inscriptions of Kuraṅgī, Sirimā, Nāgadevī and others, the old Diamond-throne bearing a donative inscription on the upper edges of its covering stone-slab and the Jewel-walk-shrine bearing the Brāhmī letter-marks on the shafts and fixed bases of its two rows of pillars were erected at the same time, and, probably, under the auspices of certain common donors. The twofold impression which may be gathered from the study of the votive labels inscribed on the rail-pillars and the coping-pieces and which lingers is (1) that originally when the Stone-railing was erected, the rail-bars remained uninscribed, which is to say, that the three rail-bars recorded as donations of Amogha, Bodhirakhita of Taṃbapaṃni and another donor of Paṭihāra (?) were somewhat later additions, and (2) that the entire Old Stone-railing at Bodh-Gayā, together with the Old Diamond-throne and the Jewel-walk-shrine, was a memorable erection of devotional female piety. The first of these two impressions is strengthened as we consider that the length and letter-forms of the inscribed rail-bars, notably that donated by Amogha, differ considerably from those of the uninscribed rail-bars in that portion of the Stone-railing which appears to have been donated only by Kuraṅgī.

On as many as fifteen rail-pillars we trace inscriptions recording them in bold letters as donations of Ayā Kuraṃgī. It is only on one of the inscribed rail-pillars that we come across an inscription recording the same to be a gift from Sirimā who was connected in some way with King Indrāgnimitra. Only one of the surviving corner-pillars is recorded to have been a gift from Nāgadevī, the wife of King Brahmamitra. Two pieces of old coping-stones which now survive are labelled each by an inscription, in which Kuraṃgī and Sirimā figure as joint female donors. It is very interesting indeed to find that here Kuraṃgī has been represented not as *Ayā*, "Noble Lady" or "Matron" but as King Kosikiputra

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Iṃdāgimitra's wife who had the pride of having been a mother of living sons. Both here and in the rail-post inscription, Sirimā has been represented as *cetikā* or female donor from the royal palace of King Iṃdāgimitra. The south side of the quadrangular Stone-railing bears only the inscriptions of Kuraṃgī. From all these facts, the impression cannot but be this, that the Old Stone-railing, and, *à posteriori*, the two other old shrines were mainly a pious erection of Kuraṃgī.

The Old Stone-railing at Bodh Gayā must have been erected by Kuraṅgī, Sirīmā and Nāgadevī either during the reign of King Indrāgnimitra or during that of King Brahmamitra. If the inscribed corner-pillar commemorating the piety of Nāgadevī, represented as the wife of King Brahmamitra, was donated along with the donations of Kuraṅgī, it is difficult to think that this Stone-railing was erected during the reign of King Indrāgnimitra, unless it be supposed that Indrāgnimitra and Brahmamitra reigned together, which seems, however, unlikely. Both Indrāgnimitra and Brahmamitra, as their names imply, were rulers of the same Mitra family, and, what is more, in the absence of any evidence to prove the contrary, both of them must be regarded as kings of the same place, we mean, of Magadha, Bodh Gayā, nay, the whole of Gayā it being an integral part of the kingdom of Magadha throughout the historical period of its existence. The erection of the inscribed Stone-railing at Bodh Gayā by Kuraṅgī and Nāgadevī is not, however, the only reason for assuming that Indrāgnimitra and Brahmamitra to be kings of Magadha. Over and above this, we find that Bahasatimita (Bṛhaspatimitra), evidently a king of the same Mitra family, has been expressly mentioned in the Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravela as contemporary ruler of Magadha (*Māgadhānaṃ rājā*).[1]

1 Barua's *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves*, I. 13; Jayaswal's reading in JBORS., vol. III, part IV,

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If it can thus be satisfactorily proved that Indrāgnimitra, Brahmamitra and Bṛhaspatimitra were all kings of Magadha and rulers of the same Mitra dynasty, it is important to inquire if any clue may be obtained from the inscriptions and sculptures of the Bodh Gayā Stone-railing to the chronological succession of them.

So far as the inscriptions of Kuraṅgī and Nāgadevī go, these clearly indicate that the Stone-railing was erected when Nāgadevī, the wife of King Brahmamitra (*Brahmamitrasa pājāvātī*), was not yet a mother, and when Kuraṅgī, the wife of King Kauśikīputra Indrāgnimitra, was an elderly lady, a mother of living sons (*jivāputrā pājāvātī*), honoured in fifteen rail-post inscriptions with the epithet of *Ayā*, "Noble Lady" or "Matron." The epithet *Ayā* may be taken even to suggest that Kuraṅgī undertook to erect the Stone-railing and two other shrines at Bodh Gayā after her retirement from the world, and after she had assumed the vows of a Buddhist nun and resided in a monastery built at Bodh Gayā commemorating the name of King Indrāgnimitra, her deceased husband, the monastery itself having been known by the name of "King Indrāgnimitra's Palace" (*Rāño Iṃdāgimitrā[sa] pāsāda°*) or "Indrāgnimitra's Royal Palace" (*Indāgimitrāsa rājā-pāsāda*). From this, it may be clearly inferred that the pious donations were made by Kuraṅgī rather when she became a queen dowager to King Brahmamitra than when she remained in her full glory as the queen of King Indrāgnimitra. In other words, the historical importance of the inscriptions of Kuraṅgī, Sirīmā and Nāgadevī lies in the fact that these, when properly studied, afford us a definite epigraphic evidence to prove that King Brahmamitra was the immediate successor of King Indrāgnimitra in the throne of Magadha.

Now as to the bearing of the sculptures of the Old Stone-

and vol. IV, part IV; Indraji's reading in *Actes du Sixieme International Congres des Orientalistes*, part III, sec. II, pp. 152-177.

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railing at Bodh Gayā, it is to be noted that in several instances their designs are inspired by those of the Barhut bas-reliefs, which is to say, that they are posterior to the carvings of the Barhut Inner Railing. As has been shown elsewhere,[1] the Barhut Stone-railing with its quadrants, returns, gateways, carvings and purely ornamental devices is a purely Śuṅga art and architecture. The ornamental gateways which were pious donations of King Dhanabhūti were last additions that were probably made towards the close of the Śuṅga-Mitra reign. On the other hand, from a comparative study of certain common representations, notably those of the Sun-god, it becomes increasingly clear that these were handiworks of art of the same period, the Bodh Gayā reliefs appearing to have been somewhat earlier than those of some of the Orissan caves on the hills of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri.[2] And fortunately enough, in the Hāthigumphā Inscription on the Udayagiri hill, Bahasatimita (Bṛhaspatimitra) finds mention as the contemporary king of Magadha who was subdued by King Khāravela in the twelfth year of his reign.[3] Thus if any idea of succession of the Mitra kings can be formed on the ground of the close similarity of the handiworks of art, it will be that King Bṛhaspatimitra, a contemporary of King Khāravela, was the immediate successor of King Brahmamitra during whose reign Kuraṅgī, Sirīmā and Nāgadevī completed their pious erections at Bodh Gayā.

If Bahasatimita (Bṛhaspatimitra), mentioned in the Hāthigumphā Inscription as a contemporary of King Khāravēḷa, be taken to be the immediate successor of King Brahma-

1 Barua's paper—"Age of the Stūpa of Barhut" in the Proceedings of the Fourth All-India Oriental Conference.

2 Barua's *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves*, pp. 285-6; views of Dr. Stella Kramrisch in *Ibid.*, pp. 316 foll.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 45.

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mitra, it is impossible to identify him with Puṣyamitra, the Senāpati Puṣyamitra who is the traditional founder of the Śuṅga or old Mitra dynasty.[1] As a matter of fact, none of the three above-mentioned Mitra kings can be definitely identified with any king either of the Śuṅga or of the Kāṇva dynasty.[2] The same remark holds true of three other Mitra kings, (1) Bṛhāsvātimita, represented as the father of the elderly Queen Yaśamatā in Yaśamatā's Brick-tablet, found in Mathurā[3]; and (2-3) [? Dhar]mamitra, mentioned as the father of Viṣṇumitra, and Viṣṇumitra, mentioned as the father of Idrāgibhadrā (Indrāgnibhadrā) in the inscription of Gautamīmitrā.[4]

On both palæographic and linguistic grounds the Brick-tablet of Yaśamatā must be assigned to a date, which is earlier than the inscriptions of Kuraṅgī, Sirimā and Nāgadevī. As regards its palæography, the Brāhmī letter-forms are "still Mauryan."[5] Dr. Vogel feels inclined to assign it on account of the character to "third or second century B.C."[6] And as regards its language, it will be noticed that still the spelling of *Jivaputrā* is *Jivaputā*, and that of °*mitra* is *mita*, although Mathurā is its find-place. We have been inclined elsewhere to equate *Bṛhāsvātimita* of this tablet with *Bṛhatsvātimitra* or *Bṛhaspatimitra*. But now we finally abandon Dr. Vogel's equation of it with *Bṛhaspatimitra* and

1 K. P. Jayaswal identifies Bṛhaspatimitra with Puṣyamitra mainly on the ground that in the Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra (I. 26. 6), Bṛhâspâti is mentioned as the presiding deity of the Puṣya constellation. See, for criticism, Barua's *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, pp. 277-9.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 275.

3 JRAS., 1912, p. 120, where J. Vogel reads: *Jivaputāye rājabharyāye Bṛhāsvātimitadhitu Yaśamatāye kāritaṃ.*

4 I.H.Q., vol. II, no. 3, p. 442, where N. G. Majumdar reads: .....*mamitrasa rāño Viṣṇumitrasa dhitu Īdrāgibhadrāye dhātiye Gotamiye Mitrāye dānaṃ thaṃbho.*

5 Barua's *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, p. 274.

6 JRAS., 1912, p. 120.

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adhere to the first alternative, and hold that Queen Yaśamatā's father was King Bṛhatsvātimitra (cf. Pāli *Behapphalā* = *Behāphala* = Sk. *Bṛhatphala*), and not *Bṛhaspatimitra*. It seems likely that Bṛhatsvātimitra was the precursor of King Indrāgnimitra.

As for King [Dhar]mamitra and his son King Viṣṇumitra, neither the palæography nor the language of Gautamīmitra's Inscription stands in the way of regarding them as successors of King Bṛhaspatimitra.

There cannot be any serious objection to identifying Khāravela's contemporary Magadhan king Bahasatimita with Bahasatimita of the coins that "have been found at Kosam, about thirty miles south-west of Allahabad, and at Ramnagar (Ahichatrā) in Rohilkhaṇḍ,"[1] and with King Bahasatimitra, mentioned in one of the two Pabhosa cave inscriptions as the nephew of King Āsāḍhasena of Adhichatrā.[2] Mr. Jayaswal identifies Bahasatimitra of this inscription outside the Pabhosa cave with Puṣyamitra on the ground that it assigns the date of excavation of the cave for the residence of the Kāśyapīya Arhats to the tenth regnal year of Udāka (Odraka, Odruka or Ārdraka) who finds mention in the Purāṇas as the fifth king of the Śuṅga-Mitra dynasty.[3] Mr. Jayaswal's theory is untenable, not to say, absurd on the face of it. For if Bahasatimitra were the same person as Puṣyamitra, the first king of Śuṅga-Mitra dynasty, is it not inconceivable that his maternal uncle King Āsāḍhasena could be a contemporary of Udāka, the fifth king of the same dynasty? In the absence of the word *rājño* preceding *Udākasa*, it is difficult to say at once whether *Udāka* is the personal name of a king or the local name of the place where the cave was excavated. Dr. Kielhorn, who has edited the two Pabhosa inscriptions for *EI*,

1 V. A. Smith's *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, pp. 146, 158, 185; JRAS., 1912, p. 520.

2 *EI.*, vol. II, p. 242.

3 *JBORS.*, vol. III, part IV, pp. 477-8.

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vol. II, observes that all the four letters representing *Udā-kaśa* are doubtful. There is nothing to prevent one reading them as *Ūdāka(si)*. And if the Pabhosa expression *leṇaṃ kāritaṃ Ūdākasi* be on a par with *iyaṃ kubhā . . . Khalatikasi* of Asoka's Third Barābar Hill Cave inscription, the year *dasama-savachara* must be interpreted as the regnal year of King Āsāḍhasena himself.

The discovery of a purely Sanskrit inscription in Brāhmī orthography prior to the birth of Christ is still a pious hope. The evidence of the so-called "Śuṅga Inscription of Ayodhyā," published by Mr. Jayaswal, cannot surely be brought forward to prove the case. This inscription, as read by Mr. Jayaswal, yields the following text[1] :

Kosalādhipena dvir-aśvamedha-yājinaḥ Senāpateḥ Puṣyamitrasya ṣaṣṭhena Kauśikīputrena Dhana··· dharmarājñiḥ pituḥ Phalgudevasya ketanaṃ kāritaṃ [.].

We prefer to read *Ṣaṣṭhena* for *ṣaṣṭhena*, and *dharmarājñaḥ*[2] for *dharmarājñīḥ*, and to imagine that the word *Dhana*...is a genitive form "*Dhana* . .[*sya*]", and not an instrumental case "*Dhana* . .[*na*]". The crux of the inscription lies indeed in deciding (1) whether *Ṣaṣṭha* is a personal name or it is an ordinal (*ṣaṣṭha*, "the sixth," "sixth son, brother or descendant of Puṣyamitra) ;[3] (2) whether the person who erected the *ketana* of Phalgudeva was connected by blood with Puṣyamitra or not ; (3) whether Phalgudeva was the father of the king or of the queen of Kosala ; and (4) whether one or two *ketanas* (perhaps meaning memorial shrines)[4] were erected. In

1 *JBORS.*, vol. XIII, Parts III-IV, p. 247.

2 Ramaprasad Chanda would read °*rājñāḥ*, I.H.Q., vol. V, No. 4.

3 Ramaprasad Chanda has sought to establish with some apt quotations from the old strata of the *Mahābhārata* that the ordinal in such a context may be safely taken to mean "the sixth in descent." I.H.Q., vol. V, No. 4.

4 See Ramaprasad Chanda's note in I.H.Q., vol. V, No. 4.

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accordance with the interpretations hitherto offered, the ruler of Kosala, named Dhana.., who was the sixth son, brother or descendant of Puṣyamitra caused to be made a *ketana* of Phalgudeva, the father of his queen. But the more plausible interpretation seems to be this, that the ruler of Kosala, named Dhana.., erected the *ketana* of Puṣyamitra, and Kauśikīputra Ṣaṣṭha erected the *ketana* of Phalgudeva, who was the father of the ruler of Kosala. If this be the right interpretation, it follows that the inscription is far from being a record of the Śuṅga period.

Bṛhatsvātimitra, Indrāgnimitra, Brahmamitra. Bṛhaspatimitra, [Dhar]mamitra and Viṣṇumitra were all kings of a Mitra dynasty. Until we are in possession of a definite evidence to connect them either with the Śuṅga-Mitra or or the Śuṅgabhṛtya Kāṇva kings, it would seem far safer to think with Dr. Raychaudhuri that they belonged to a neo-Mitra dynasty that rose into power on the disruption of the rule of the Kāṇvas. The interest of Yaśamatā's brick-tablet is that it shows that the neo-Mitras were connected by a matrimonial alliance with the ruling family of Mathurā. The interest of the Pabhosa Cave Inscription is that it shows that they were connected by the same alliance with the ruling family of Ahichatrā.

The interest of the so-called "Śuṅga Inscription of Ayodhyā" is that it is probably the record of a time when the official language became Sanskrit, and Kosala was still under the sway of some kings whose boasted ancestor was Puṣyamitra, the traditional founder of the Śuṅga-Mitra dynasty. The interest of the Bodh-Gayā inscriptions of Kuraṅgī, Sirīmā and Nāgadevī is that they clearly prove that the Stone-railing was erected during the reign of King Brahmamitra and that Brahmamitra was the immediate successor of King Indrāgnimitra. The interest of the Hāthigumphā Inscription is that it unmistakably proves that Bṛhaspatimitra, the king of Magadhā, was a contemporary and weaker rival of Khāravela. Lastly, the interest of the

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inscription of Gautamīmitrā is that it definitely proves that King Viṣṇumitra, the father of Indrāgnibhadrā, was the son and immediate successor of King [? Dhar]mamitra.

2. Uttara-Pāṣāṇa-Lekhā: Later Writings on the Stone-Railing

The later writings on the Bodh-Gayā stone-railing comprise three inscriptions incised at different periods of time.

The first inscription is written on the inner face of a coping-stone belonging to the south side of the Old Stone-railing. It consists of two lines, the beginning and the end of each of which are missing. "The style of writing employed in the inscription allows us", says Dr. Bloch, "to put down the date at about the 6th or 7th century A.D."

The second inscription in two lines is written on the inner face of a broken fragment of another coping-stone belonging apparently to the south side of the ancient railing. "Its characters agree in every respect," says Dr. Bloch, "with the writing of the first inscription."

And the third inscription in ten lines is written on the upper part of a rail-post. It is written in the Devanāgarī characters by Saṃgatta for Jinadāsa who has been described as a *Paṇḍita* from the Parvata country, and may be assigned to as late a date as the 15th or 16th century A.D. The author of the inscription was evidently a learned pilgrim from Nepal or a Himalayan state near about it.

A. No. 1

[Noticed by Cunningham, *ASR.*, 1873, Vol. III, p. 99, No. D. Pl. XXIX; R. L. Mitra, *Buddha Gayā*, 1878, p. 192, No. 5, Pl. II; Indraji, *IA.*, 1880, Vol. IX, pp. 142 foll.; Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, 1892, pp. 23, 58, Pl. XXVII, Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* in *EI*, 1909-10, Vol. X, No. 950; Bloch, *ASI.*, Annual Report, 1908-9, p. 153.]

Text as read and rendered by Bloch

l.1 .....kārito yatra Vajrāsana-vṛhad-gandhakuṭī

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[.] Prāsādam = arddha-trikair = ddināra-śatais-sudhā-lepya-punar-ṇṇavīkaraṇena saṃskaritam[.] Atr = aiva ca pratyaham = ā-candr-ārkk-ā-tārakaṃ Bhagavate Buddhāya go-śata-dānena ghṛta-pradīpa ākāritaḥ[.] Prāsāde ca khaṇḍa-sphaṭita pratisa-mārādhane tat-pratimāyāṁ ca pratyahaṃ ghṛta-pradīpo go-śaten = āpareṇa kāritaḥ[.] Vihāre = pi Bhagavato raitya-Buddha-pratimā(yāṃ go-śāten = āpareṇa ghṛta-pradīpaḥ.....[.]

l.2 .....(ghṛta)-pradīpākṣayanīvini(ba)n(dha)ḥ vihār-opayo(gya) kāritas = Tatrā = pi (u)payogāya mahantam = ādhāraṃ khānitaṃ, tad-anupūrvaṃ c = utpāditam [.] Tad = etat = sarvvaṃ yan = mayā puṇy-opacita-sambhāraṃ tan = mātāpitroḥ p(ūr-vaṃgamaṃ kṛtvā...) [.]

"l.1..... has been made, where the great Gandha-kuṭi[1] of Vajrāsana (*sc.* Buddha)[1] is. The temple[2] has been adorned with a new coating of plaster and paint, at the cost of 250 *dināras*. And in the temple a lamp of *ghee* has been provided for the Lord Buddha by the gift of a hundred cows, for as long as the moon, sun, and stars shall endure. Also, by another hundred cows, in addition to the cost of small, perpetually recurring repairs to

1 "The word *vajrāsana* (l.1) is occasionally met with as a name of Buddha, the meaning which it clearly has in this inscription."

2 "The word *gandhakuṭī* means 'a chamber, where Buddha used to reside,' hence a shrine, containing an image of Buddha'. It would be useless to try and find out which of the many small shrines, the foundations of which cover the ground all around the temple at Bodh-Gayā, has been referred to in this inscription. Possibly the large temple on the west side of the Bodhi Tree, mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang, may be meant."

3 "The temple (*prāsāda*) naturally must have been the same edifice which we still have at the present day, although it certainly has undergone a number of alterations."

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the temple, provision has been made for another lamp of *ghee*, to be burnt daily before the image inside the temple. By another hundred cows provision has been made for having a lamp of *ghee* burnt before the brass image of the Lord Buddha in the Monastery (*vihāra*).....

l.2 ..... a perpetual endowment of a lamp of *ghee* has been made for the benefit of the Monastery. There also ..... a large water reservoir has been dug out for the use of the noble congregation of monks, and to the east of it a new field has been laid out. Whatever merit may have been acquired by me by all this, may this be for the benefit of my parents at first ..... "

[Notes:—Sir Alexander Cunningham was inclined to take this inscription to be a Brāhmī epigraph of so early a date as the reign of Huviṣka, and to believe that it was intended to record the construction of the Diamond-throne, the Fragrant-chamber and the Bodh-Gayā temple itself. But Dr. Bloch's reading and rendering of the inscription has served to show that it is far from recording such a fact. It is impossible to think that the epigraph is of so early a date as Huviṣka's reign. The inscription records some work of merit done near about the great Fragrant-chamber enshrining the Diamond-throne, and records also the amount spent for adorning the temple with a new coating of plaster and paint, and, what is more, it contemplates the need of a suitable provision to be made for "perpetually recurring repairs to the temple." The Diamond-throne, the great Fragrant-chamber and the temple itself were already there when the inscription was caused to be incised on the coping-stone of the ancient railing. We think it safer to interpret the expression *Vajrāsana-vṛhad-Gandhakuṭī* as signifying an architectural representation of the Diamond-throne retreat of the Buddha than to treat *Vajrāsana* as a name of the Buddha. The inscription must indeed be considered as

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later than the erection of the temple, and referred to a time when the temple needed to be repaired with a new plaster and paint coating.]

B. No. 2

[Noticed by Bloch, ASI, Annual Report, 1908-9, p. 156; JBORS, 1918, vol. IV, part IV, pp. 405-11].

Text as read and rendered by Panday

[l. 1] Laṅkā-dvīpa-narendrāṇāṃ Śramaṇaḥ kula-jo bhavat[1] [1]
Prakhyātakīrttir=ddharmātmā sva-kula-ambara-candramāḥ [II (1)]
Bhaktyā tu bhikṣuṇā-nena Buddhatvam-abhikāṃkṣatā [1]
Kārāratna-traye samyak kāritaḥ[2] śāntaye nṛṇām II (2)[1]
Ito[3] mayā yat=kuśalaṃ hy=upārjjitam
Tad=astu bodhāya[4] ◡—◡—◡—
◡ — ◡— — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ —
[l. 2] Śubhena tenaiva (pha)lena yujyatām [II (3)]

"The virtuous Śramaṇa Prakhyātakīrtti having been a descendant of the rulers of the Island of Laṅkā (Ceylon) (has become) moon to the firmament of his family (*v.* 1)."

"This monk, through devotion, desirous of attaining Buddhahood, caused to be performed proper acts of worship at the Ratna-traya [the Buddhist Holy Triad] for the peace of mankind (*v.* 2)."

"Whatever merit has been acquired by me through this,

1 Bloch reads *bhavet*. 2 Bloch reads *kāritā*.

3 Bloch reads *tato*. Panday says, "The first letter of the third verse is distinctly *i*—two dots with a vertical stroke on the right."

4 Bloch reads *tadasty upādh(yā)ya*. According to Panday, "The letter after *tadastu* is *bo*, not *pā*". This means indeed a material improvement in both reading and sense.

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let that be for the enlightenment (of).....Let that very auspicious reward be shared by (*v.* 3)."

[Notes:—Here the two words which need explanations are *kārā* and *ratna-traye*. In the opinion of Dr. Bloch one "can hardly imagine it (*kārā*) to mean 'a prison' as it generally does," and as to *Ratna-traya*, "it may refer to some sacred spot within the Bodhi area at Bodh Gayā, where, perhaps, a symbol of the 'three jewels'—Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha, may have stood." But Mr. Panday has convincingly proved by a number of apt quotations from the Divyāvadāna, pp. 133, 166, 289, 329, 420, and 583, particularly by one from p. 329 (*Buddhe Dharme Saṅghe kārān akariṣyat*), that *kārā* is "a fairly well known term in Buddhist literature meaning 'acts of worship,' and Dr. Bloch's conjecture as to the existence of a symbol of the three 'jewels at Bodh Gayā having the shape of three wheels placed upon a pillar is not tenable." The *Ratna-traya* is but a collective expression denoting the Budhist Holy Triad enumerated in the Divyāvadāna passage as *Buddha, Dharma* and *Saṅgha*.]

C. No. 3

Text

[l. 1] //Namo Buddhāya//
[l. 2] Parvatādāgata-pa-
[l. 3] ṇḍita-Jinadāsa te-
[l. 4] na Śrīmān Mahābodhi-
[l. 5] bhaṭṭāraka-darśana-
[l. 6] kṛta-yad punyaṃ ta-
[l. 7] d bhavati mātā-pi-
[l. 8] tṛ- purvagamaṃ kṛtvā
[l. 9] ana(n)ta-punyaṃ likhā-
[l. 10] pitaṃ// //Saṃgatta//

"Salutation to the Buddha. The merit which is acquired by Jinadāsa, a learned man who came from Parvata, the mountainous country, by means of visiting (the place) to

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have a view of the Mahābodhi (shrine which reigns on the spot) in its glory as the supreme lord falls, first of all, to the share of the parents. Having done this infinite work of merit, it is (here) caused to be written. [Written by the scribe] Saṃgatta."

B. M. BARUA

The Machinery of Administration in the Kauṭilīya

III

The foregoing sketch of the spheres of activities of the spies will enable the reader to see the varied nature of their duties. The *mantrins* of a king are spoken of as his eyes. Indra was called 'Thousand-eyed' because, according to the political turn imparted to the mythical account, he had a thousand officials comprising the *mantri-pariṣad.*[1] If the *mantrins* could be described as constituting the eyes of the King, because the latter saw what was going on in the various parts of his kingdom through the former's instrumentality, the spies could also be called eyes for the same reason. In fact, the *Kāmandakīya*[2] says, "A ruler of the earth having the spies for his eyes is awake even when he is asleep." "Spies are the eyes of the ruler of the earth; he should always look through their medium. He who does not do so stumbles down out of ignorance even on level grounds for he is said to be blind." As stated already the king could hardly have dealt personally with all the spies, some of whom had to work in distant places and required for the execution of their commissions immediate instructions, which had therefore to be given by the authorized officials or agents

1 *K.*, I, ch. 15.

2 *Kāman.*, XII, 28, 30 (Tr. by M. N. Dutt) with slight changes.

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on the spot. The range of the duties of the secret emissaries touched every department of Government. The personal safety of the king was in a large measure their charge. Even measures for restraining a prince from going astray contemplated the assistance of the secret agents.[1] The defence of the kingdom against its unfriendly elements both internal and external was regarded as dependent to a great extent upon the information and assistance provided by them. The tentacles of the department of espionage were spread far and wide. The envoys proceeding to a distant State with an important duty to discharge had, in times of apprehension of foul play from the king whom he went to visit, to fall back upon the aid of the secret agents.[2] The details of the duties of the secret informants or agents embodied in handbooks of practical polity like the *Kauṭilīya* were meant as a warning to those against whom the spies were set in motion, and as a guide to those whose interests they tried to safeguard. It was not a secret to the politicians, officials, and even to the more enlightened section of the people that the spies were ubiquitous, and their movements in particular could be watched by them. Hence the success of the work of the spies depended very much upon the secrecy with which they could carry it out, and the way in which they could clothe it in a garb of superficial sincerity and naturalness. The illustrations, a few of which have been cited above, make this patent that the liberty of the subjects ran a serious risk of being curtailed if the machinery of espionage was not worked with the greatest caution and consideration. No hesitation has been expressed in the text for the adoption of the most drastic measures against those who were looked upon as seditious or wicked (*dūṣya* and *adhārmika*). It is evident that if the government acts upon the principle that it is legitimate for it to kill a subject or set fire to his house secretly through its accredited agents

1 *K.*, I, ch. 17. 2 *Ibid.*, I, ch. 16.

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if he be regarded as seditious or wicked, it is difficult to guess the abuses to which it might lead. Of course, by the modern standard, the principle itself is extremely reprehensible but in view of the early period of which we are speaking, allowance has to be made, because the countries generally in those days did not rise above the state of things depicted above. Once the principle is conceded, evil though it is, our consideration of its dangers becomes narrowed down to the manner in which it is operated. This must then depend upon the personnel of the staff and specially upon the character and qualifications of the authorities who directed the subordinates and checked the irregularities in the working of the department and its ramifications. The abuses to which the system was liable may roughly be said to be two-fold :

(1) The stringency of the steps taken may be disproportionate to the gravity of the offences of the persons against whom they are taken ;

(2) The persons proceeded against may not be actually seditious, wicked or guilty of any such offence as deserves a particular line of treatment through spies, but may be the victims of a bias entertained against them by the authorities in charge for some reason or other.

The one great difference that distinguishes this ancient system of espionage from the modern ones is that unlike the latter, the former is not on principle tied down in any case to only the collection of information helpful to government, the guilty within the State being sought to be punished through open trials and those outside it through the recognized overt procedures. The harrassment of persons really innocent but yet suspected, and the persecution of them through court trials, etc. are some of the abuses, to which even the modern system is liable, apart from the question of any sinister policies or personal motives that may have a play in the actual working. There are, however, reasons to think that in regard to non-political offences, the detection of the offender through the spies was as a rule followed by a court

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trial, and in cases of such offences that were *sub judice* but required further evidence as a satisfactory proof of guilt, the assistance of the spies was requisitioned, the court subsequently proceeding with the trial in the light of such evidence as was collected by them. The drastic steps were taken in connection with the political offences, by which I mean those that involved acts of hostility to the king and the members of his family personally, or his personal interests, as also to the government. The offenders referred to as 'adhārmika' are treated as severely as the political offenders, though the denotation of the term is not clear. Offences against the system of four castes were looked upon as very serious, and very drastic measures are recommended to be taken against such criminals mentioned as *adharmiṣṭhas.*[1] There was apparently no legal or constitutional restraint upon the abuses taking place in the pursuit of this line of action. The chief ultimate check was the fear of creating a great disaffection among the subjects that might express itself in a violent form. That words of caution have been put in by Kauṭilya[2] while speaking of secret punishments of the *dūṣyas* and *adhārmikas* is a proof that caution was exercised in the application of severe measures against the aforesaid offenders if they happened to be the subjects of the State.[3] But owing to the comparatively unregulated condition of the inter-state relations, the same hesitation was very probably not felt by authorities setting the spies on in other States in times of troubles or hostilities. The secrecy, with which these operations were carried on, was a protection against the chance of incurring the displeasure of other States within the Maṇḍala[4] on account of the evil results of the pursuit of undeservedly severe policy of concealed violence within the dominion of the inimical king.

1 *K.*, XIV, ch. 1. cf. 'adhārmika' supra. 2 *Ibid.*, V, ch. 2.

3 Cf. *K.*, p. 246 and Book I, ch. 19, p. 39.

4 That this counted as a factor has been discussed in the *Inter-state Relations in Ancient India*, pp. 33-35.

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The Superintendent of the Ladies' Apartments (*aṇtarvaṃśika*) or rather the Royal Household was responsible for its efficient management. The personal safety of the king, when he was in these apartments, was his special concern. To carry out this part of his duties, he was assisted by guards referred to as the *antarvaṃśika.*[1] In the recruitment of these guards (*āsanna*), special care was taken that the men appointed had an unflinching devotion to the sovereign. A section of the household guards was composed of women equipped with bows and arrows. These formed the 'guard of armed women' spoken of by Megasthenes, who also refers to 'the care of the king's person being entrusted to women.' The suggestion of the precaution that the king should on festive occasions use boats guarded by the *daśavargikas*[2] implies also the existence of women guards. At non-festive times, the king is advised to use boats plied by faithful boatsmen belonging to his household staff (*āptanāvika*[3]). The posts of grooms for taking care of the horses and elephants on which the king rode, and for looking after the conveyances in which he was taken from one place to another, had to be hereditary in order that people from families of assured faithfulness to the sovereign (*mūlapuruṣa*)[4] could be available. During the king's ingress and egress into and out of the palace, the roads were lined on both sides by the staff-bearers (*daṇḍins*).[5] While giving audience to people who came to him such as holy personages or asceties, the safety of his person was the care of trusted men equipped with weapons (*āptaśastragrāha*)[6] because it was often under the innocent garbs of holiness and detachment from the world that spies of inimical countries or persons with hostile motives attempted the lives of kings.

Antarvaṃśika.

The staff for the king's personal safety within the palace.

The king even in his palace lived a life of constant sus-

1 *K.*, I, ch. 20. 2 *Ibid.*, I, ch. 21. 3 *Ibid.*, I, ch. 21.
4 *Ibid.*, I, ch. 21. 5 *Ibid.*, I, ch. 21. 6 *Ibid.*, I, ch. 21.

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picion. The queens and other ladies dwelling in the palace were not outside the bounds of such suspicion, as tradition[1] had it that many a king had lost his life within his palace at times when he felt himself very secure. The king is advised not to go into the queen's room but to meet her in his own, not to touch the person of the queen or use anything unless a trusted old woman servant (*sthavirastrī*) had assured him of the absence of any risk. The staff of the royal household included, therefore, a number of servants aged eighty years or upwards, women servants over fifty years of age, and aged eunuchs (*āśītikāḥ puruṣāḥ pañcāśatkāḥ striyaḥ* and *sthaviravarṣavarābhyāgārikāḥ*) ; while ministering to the needs and comforts of the inmates of the palace, they also tried to maintain purity of harem life by reporting to their superiors any deviations from the approved courses of action. The communication of the dwellers within the palace with outsiders was subjected to a strict surveillance, prohibiting the ingress of ascetics, jugglers, or female slaves, and even of the friends and relatives of the ladies of the harem except in times of childbirth, disease etc.[2]

The principal chef *māhānasika* had to shoulder a heavy responsibility because the king's health depended a good deal upon the dishes catered and their qualities. His responsibility did not end with the preparation of a variety of

1 The text (*K.*, I, 20) cites many such instances : King Bhadrasena (of Kaliṅga) was killed by this brother concealed in the queen's boudoir ; the king of Karūṣa by his son hidden in the bedding of the queen ; the king of Kāśī by his consort mixing parched rice with poison instead of honey for the king's meal ; King Vairantya by the queen striking him with an anklet smeared with poison. The king of Sauvīra was put to death in a similar way, the poisoned jewel of a girdle causing his death. King Jālūtha (of Ayodhyā) was similarly murdered by means of a poisoned mirror, while King Viḍūratha met his death at the hands of his queen who kept a weapon concealed in her plaited hair.

2 *K.*, I, ch. 20.

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relishable dishes, for it was also his duty to see by personally tasting them that they were free from poison. The king himself used to take them after making oblation of a portion from each of the items of food to the fire, and distributing portions to birds. This also served as a precaution against poisoning, because the presence of any such injurious element was indicated by the colour of the flame of fire and the smoke that emanated from it; while the birds showed symptoms of poisoning, if the items of food contained any. The physicians (*bheṣajāḥ*) and experts in the detection of poison (*jāṅgalividaḥ*) had also to be present on the spot. Similar precautions were taken when medicines were made over for use by the sovereign. The physician (*cikitsaka*), the decoctioner (*pācaka*) and the grinder (*peṣaka*) of medicines had to taste them before handing them over to the king. The drinks were similarly examined before they were served out.

Precautions while taking meals and medicines. The staff for same.

The personal presence of the *Antarvaṃśika* was needed at the time when the king was under the barber's hand, or put on his dresses. The requisite articles were taken by the *Kalpaka* (barber) and the *Prasādhaka* (*valet de chambre* dressing his master) from the *Antarvaṃśika* himself under sealed covers. Female servants or slaves (*dāsyaḥ*) ministered to the king at the time of bathing (*snāpaka*), looked after his bed-room (*āstaraka*) and served as shampooers, (*saṃvāhaka*), launderers (*rajaka*), and garland-makers (*mālākāra*). The shampooing is mentioned by Megasthenes, who speaks of it as exercising the body by friction to keep the king physically fit. These female servants (*rūpājīvā*), trustworthy and competent, were very probably supplied by the *Gaṇikādhyakṣa*.

The staff for the king's toilet and comforts.

There were musicians, actors etc. to contribute to the king's diversion during his stay in the inner apartments of the palace. The instruments, if any, on which they performed, had all to be kept in the palace itself to avert any chance

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of foul play or risk to the king with the help of these instruments.[1]

Immediately after rising from his bed, the king was received by a number of Amazonian women armed with bows and arrows. In the next room waited eunuchs who furnished him with the coat and the head-dress. The hump-backed, the dwarfs, and the Kirātas awaited him in the next apartment, while in the fourth room he was met by the *mantrins*, kinsmen and *Dauvārikas* (gate-keepers) armed with javelins.[2]

The members of the staff for the morning rite.

Between 4-30 and 6 in the morning, the sovereign received benedictions from the *Purohita*, *Ṛtvij* and *Ācārya* (i.e. the royal priest, the domestic and sacrificial priest, and the tutor), met the physician, head-cook and astrologer (*Mauhūrttika*) and entered the court after perambulating a cow with her calf and a bull.[3]

Of the people mentioned above, the *mantrins* and the kinsmen were not evidently members of the household staff though their services were requisitioned in the inner apartments. Similar is the case with the Purohita 'who was entrusted with the supervision of all religious as well as socio- or politico-religious ceremonies for the royal family or the State'[4] and had under him his assistants, the *Ṛtvijas*, and the *Mauhūrttikas*, and perhaps also the *Ācāryas*. When, of course, the officers were performing the duties within the inner apartments of the royal palace, they were subject to the discipline of the place, the rules of which were enforced by the *Antarvaṃśika*.

NARENDRA NATH LAW

1 For the information, see *K.*, I, ch. 21. 2 *K.*, I, ch. 21.
3 *Ibid.*, I, ch. 21.
4 See my *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, p. 46.

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The two Nirvāṇadhātus according to the Vibhāṣā

Introductory

The Ābhidharmikas recognize two kinds of *Nirodhas* (destruction, cessation): the *Apratisaṃkhyānirodha* and the *Pratisaṃkhyānirodha*,—to be more precise, an infinite number of Apratisaṃkhyānirodhas and Pratisaṃkhyānirodhas.

They are dharmas (or entities) not produced by causes (*asaṃskṛta*), eternal (*nitya*), and extra-temporal (*adhvavinirmukta*). They are called *nirodha*, because they are *niyata rodha* (i.e. they have obstacle or impediment, which is certain).

When a person is said to have the *prāpti* (possession), of an Apratisaṃkhyānirodha, the future thing, to which this Apratisaṃkhyānirodha relates, becomes *anutpattika dharman*, i.e., it enters into the category of things "which cannot be born." To wit: A person, by a certain act of charity, morality or contemplation, has *prāpti* of Apratisaṃkhyānirodha of births in the infernal regions, i.e., he cannot be reborn in hell.

The Pratisaṃkhyānirodha is "detachment" (*virāga*) or "disconnexion" (*visaṃyoga*). There are as many Pratisaṃkhyānirodhas as there are "objects of attachment" (*saṃyogavastu*), past, present or future. The Pratisaṃkhyānirodha is the "thing of detachment" (visaṃyogavastu). When a man severs the tie (e.g., of love or hatred) by which he is bound to an impure thing (*sāsrava dharma*), he obtains possession of the Pratisaṃkhyānirodha of this thing.

A man can have the Pratisaṃkhyānirodha without having the Apratisaṃkhyānirodha. There are saints who have obtained the Pratisaṃkhyānirodha of every desire or passion, and thereby acquired the *āsravakṣayajñāna*[1] (the knowledge

1 *Kośa*, pp. 230, 240.

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that his passions are destroyed) but they may not have obtained the Apratisaṃkhyānirodha of every desire. They may fall from the sanctified state and have desire again ; they also do not possess the *anutpādajñāna* (the knowledge that his passions cannot be born again).

Pratisaṃkhyānirodha = Nirvāṇa

Let us now consider the perfect saint (*akopyadharman*), the immutable Arhat, who has obtained the two Nirodhas. As we have already said, there is an infinite number of Pratisaṃkhyānirodhas. The Arhat is in possession of all ; he is perfectly disconnected from all impure things ; the universal detachment is his own ; he possesses the Nirvāṇa, the Nirvāṇa of all. The Arhat, who is perfect, possesses also the universal Apratisaṃkhyānirodha ; for him desire or birth "cannot be born again." When the fruits of acts of the previous existence to be experienced in the present are exhausted, he will die a death, which is styled *apratisaṃdhika* (not to be followed by rebirth). It is clear that the saint, when living, is in possession of Nirvāṇa, i.e. he "touches the Nirvāṇa with his body" during the trances. This Nirvāṇa, "detachment from all impure things" is complete. Nevertheless the body, the organs, the sensation, the suffering, the thought are not yet interrupted. One cannot say that the living saint is perfectly appeased, completely "nirvaned" (*parinirvṛta*), if we are permitted to coin such a word. His Nirvāṇa is a *sopadhiśeṣanirvāṇa* (Nirvāṇa with rests), a Nirvāṇa to which (*a côté du quel*) still adhere many *upadhis*, great elements, secondary matter, organs, etc. But when the saint dies, there is *nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇa* (Nirvāṇa without rests). The Nirvāṇa (detachment or disconnexion) is and continues to be what it was, but the saint, who has now neither body nor thought, is no longer in possession of Nirvāṇa i.e. he cannot now be said as touching Nirvāṇa.

The perfect *sukha*, perfect beatitude, may be defined as the

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suppression of every sensation, and complete disconnexion from, i.e. without the slightest trace of, the *saṃskāraduḥkhatā*, (the pain essential to existence or to becoming).[1] It is *sukha*, but it is not *sukha-saṃvedana*; it is "beatitude without consciousness of beatitude". The Hīnayāna knows of no other Nirvāṇa.[2]

The school of Asaṅga-Vasubandhu (usually called "idealistic", a misleading appellation) holds that Nirvāṇa is "the being reduced by the suppression of existence and thought to the immaculate *tathatā* which is the immanent nature of every existence and thought". The Arhats, when dead, according to this school, are nothing but the *tathatā*; they are, practically, if not theoretically, exactly the same as the Arhats of the Hīnayāna schools. The idealistic school, however, maintains that the Buddhas continue, for eternity, enjoying the *nirvāṇasukhasaṃvedana*, the consciousness of the beatitude of *Nirvāṇa*, details of which are to be found in the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*.[3]

The Vibhāṣā[4] *on the Nirvāṇadhātus*

According to the *Jñānaprasthānasūtra*,[5] there are two Nirvāṇadhātus, *viz.*, the Sopadhiśeṣa and the Nirupadhiśeṣa....."

For what purpose does the author write this Śāstra? In order to explain the meaning of the Sūtra. The Sūtra

1 *Kośa*, vi, p. 124.

2 I mean the scholastic Hīnayāna, the Hīnayāna of Buddhaghosa, Vibhāṣā, Kośa, and Saṅghabhadra. What the pre-Hīnayāna Buddhism taught concerning the exact nature of Nirvāṇa, I have tried elsewhere to explain, but with little success, to judge from the monstrous ideas attributed to me.

3 See my Fr. Transl., pt. ii (1930).

4 Translated from the Chinese text, ch. 32 (Taisho edition of the Tripiṭaka, vol. 27, p. 167, col. 2).

5 Chinese text, Taisho ed., vol. 26, p. 923, col. 2, l. 12.

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states that there are two Nirvāṇadhātus, but does not explain.....

We have seen that the Pratisaṃkhyānirodha is that Nirodha which is Visaṃyoga. This Visaṃyoga is Nirvāṇa. Nirvāṇa is of two kinds : Sopadhiśeṣa and Nirupadhiśeṣa. We must state the difference between them, refute the wrong theories and make the true meaning manifest.

(i) According to an opinion, the Sopadhiśeṣa possesses a "nature" (*svabhāva*) (i.e., the Sopadhiśeṣa is an entity, exists *in se*), but not so the Nirupadhiśeṣa. This view is wrong, both possess *svabhāva*.

It is said that the Sopadhiśeṣa[1] is *sāsrava*, while the Nirupadhiśeṣa[2] is *anāsrava* : we say that both are *anāsrava*.

Again it is said :

that S. is *saṃskṛta*, N. *asaṃskṛta* : we say both are *asaṃskṛta*.

that S. is *kuśala*, N. *avyākṛta* : we say both are *kuśala*.

that S. is *mārga* (path) and not *mārgaphala* (fruit of the path), N. is *mārgaphala* and not *mārga* : we say both are *mārgaphala*.

that S. is *mārgaphala*, N. is not *mārgaphala* : we say both are *mārgaphala*.

that S. is a part of the truths (*satyasaṃgṛhīta*)—it is the third truth) but not so is N. : we say both are part of the truths.

that S. is *aśaikṣa* (a special quality of the Arhat), N. is *naivaśaikṣanāśaikṣa* (neither of the non-Arhat nor of the Arhat) :—The aim of the author in writing this Śāstra is to establish that both are *naivaśaikṣanāśaikṣa*[3].

The *Jñānaprasthānasūtra* says :

(ii) Question (*āha*). What is the Sopadhiśeṣanirvāṇadhātu ?

Answer (*ucyate*). The Arhat whose impurities are all

1 Henceforth abbreviated as S.

2 Henceforth abbreviated as N.

3 *Kośa*, vi, p. 232.

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exhausted (*kṣīṇāsrava*) while life remains, the series of great elements and secondary matter is not cut, and the series of thought resting on the five organs endures. As there are *upadhis*, the perfect exhaustion of all ties (*saṃyojanaḥṣaya*) that the Arhat obtains, takes, touches, realizes (*prāpti, pratilambha, sparśana, sākṣātkāra*) is named *Sopadhiśeṣanirvāṇadhātu*.

[Here the Vibhāṣā comments on the words "great elements etc." thus : the enumeration of the *upadhis* is incomplete, since the *sabhāgatā* and the *viprayuktasaṃskāras* are omitted. The words "obtain, take, etc" although they are different, bear the same meaning. The *upadhis* are of two kinds, defiled (*kliṣṭa*) and undefiled (*akliṣṭa*) ; the *upadhis* of the Arhat are undefiled].

(iii) Question. What is the Nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇadhātu ?

Answer. The Arhat, whose impurities are all exhausted, life is extinct, the series of great elements and secondary matter is cut and thought resting on the five organs is not to proceed further. As there are *upadhis* no longer, it is complete exhaustion of all ties, and hence named Nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇadhātu.

When the Arhat is to have "parinirvāṇa", a wind is produced by which the body attains a bad state, the interior fire becomes weak, the aliments are not assimilated, desire for aliments disappear, eating and drinking cease, the great elements perish, the organs (which are constituted by secondary matter) perish likewise ; the series of thought and mental dharmas do not continue any longer (for their support disappears). As the series of thought and mental dharmas do not continue, the 'life-force,' (*jīvitendriya*) and [the *sabhāgatā*] are severed. By this severance there is entrance into Nirvāṇa.

But why does not the *Jñānaprasthāna* qualify the complete exhaustion of ties as before and say : "The complete exhaustion of ties that the Arhat obtains, takes, touches, realizes, is named Nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇa ?—These words

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"obtains, etc." refer to an actual "obtainment" and every actual 'obtainment' is cut. Therefore one cannot any longer speak of an exhaustion as a thing obtained.....Again, if one used these expressions, it must be with reference to a person (*pudgala*) who obtains. And as there is no more *Pudgala*, there is only the Dharmatā.[1]

(iv) Question : Is it possible to conceive of an Arhat who is neither in the Sopadhiśeṣa nor in the Nirupadhiśeṣa ?

Answer : Evidently, if we take *verbatim* the above definitions of the *Jñānaprasthāna*, which posits three conditions of the Sopadhiśeṣa, *viz.*, life, series of matter, and series of thought, an Arhat reborn in the Arūpyadhātu cannot be said to abide in the Sopadhiśeṣa, since he has no body ; nor does he abide in the Nirupadhiśeṣa, since he has thought..... Therefore, it is better to answer the question "What is the Sopadhiśeṣanirvāṇa ?" by saying "It is the Arhat, as long as life endures,—the complete exhaustion of ties which this Arhat obtains....."

(v) Question : Whether the disconnection obtained by the Pṛthagjana or the Śaikṣa is one of the two Nirvāṇas ?

Answer : The disconnection obtained by the Pṛthagjana is named *prahāṇa*, *virāga*, *nirodha* (*nirodhasatya*), it is not named *parijñā*, *śrāmaṇyaphala*, *sopadhiśeṣanirvāṇadhātu* and *nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇadhātu*.

1 The sentences above (at the end of para iii) is worth noticing : "There is only the Dharmatā (*fa-sing*). The question is whether the word 'Dharmatā' was in the original, or added by the translator, Hiuen-tsang.

The Vibhāṣā states that in the Nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇadhātu, there is no Pudgala, there is only the Dharmatā, so the Nirvāṇa of the Vibhāṣā turns to be identical with the Nirvāṇa of the Vijñaptimātratā.

But I am of opinion that the notion of *dharmatā*, (transcendent nature of things)=*tathatā* is foreign to the old Abhidharma. The Kārikā of the *Kośa* (Fr. transl., vol. 5, p. 65) which Rosenberg quotes (see Stcherbatsky, *Central Conception*, p. 91), viz, that "the Dharmatā is deep" does not support the opposite opinion.

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The disconnection obtained by the Śaikṣa is termed *prahāṇa, virāga, nirodha* (*nirodhasatya*), sometimes *parijñā*[1] and *śrāmaṇyaphala*,[2] and sometimes not. It is never named *Sopadhiśeṣanirvāṇadhātu* or *Nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇadhātu*.

The disconnection obtained by the Arhat (Aśaikṣa) is termed *prahāṇa*...It is *Sopadhiśeṣanirvāṇadhātu* (as long as the Arhat is living) and *Nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇadhātu* (when the Arhat is dead).

LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN

A newly discovered Copperplate from Tippera

[THE GUNAIGHAR GRANT OF VAINYAGUPTA: THE YEAR 188 CURRENT (GUPTA ERA)]

This new copperplate was found about five years ago while taking out mud from a tank by a villager at *Gunaighar*, a village about 18 miles to the N. W. of the town of Comilla, a mile and a half to the S. W. of P. S. Debidvar in the district of Tippera. In April, 1928, Mr. Baikunthanath Dutt, the famous antiquarian of Tippera, coming to know of the discovery, personally went there and after some trouble took a loan of the plate for decipherment. He kindly made over the plate to me.

This is a single plate, of good copper, oblong in shape, measuring 10 inches long and $6\frac{1}{4}$ to $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad without a rim and is fairly thick. Including the seal it weighs below 2 seers (about 146 *tolas*). It is written lengthwise on both sides, but not fully on the second side. There are 23 lines on the obverse and only 8 lines on the reverse, all of about the same length ($9\frac{1}{2}$ inches). The plate bears in several places marks of hitting with some hard instrument, a few

1 *Kośa*, v, p. 110. 2 *Kośa*, vi, p. 241.

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letters being cut off in consequence and a number of letters almost obliterated in the middle of the last five lines on the obverse, while a few others are effaced by corrosion. Owing to these defects the inscription is difficult to be reproduced by good estampage or photograph. It is otherwise in a fairly good condition. The Royal Seal is soldered on to the plate on the left side and is, as usual, of much lighter-coloured copper than the plate itself. It is roughly oval in shape, being 4″ by 5″ in diameter and has a rim all around about ¾″ broad. It is separated by two horizontal lines in the middle. The emblem occupying the top-half is the figure in relief on a slightly counter-sunk surface of a bull recumbent to the proper right. The legend which is very much corroded reads :—*Mahārāja Śrī Vai(nyaguptaḥ)*.

The date of the record is expressed in numerical symbols in the last line as " *Saṃ* 100 80 8 *possyadi* 20 4 ". It can be easily referred to the Gupta Era, for the letters as well as the symbols mostly agree with those of the Gupta period. The figures for 8 and 4 are, however, unique and do not conform to any of their known forms. 8 looks like the decimal figure 9 [Bühler's Chart: Table IX (Decimal): Traverse VI] and 4 is an upright stroke with a horizontal bar projecting from the top, much like the decimal figure 8 (Ibid., Traverse V or IX).[1] They cannot, however, be mistaken as the date is already given in clear words in lines 14-15 ; *varttamānâṣṭâśîtyuttara-śata-sāṃvatsare pauṣa-māsasya catur-vviṃśatitama-divase*" i.e., on the 24th day of the month of Pauṣa in the current year one hundred and eighty-eight. This use of the important word *Varttamāna* (current) used in the plate with an early Gupta Era is probably the earliest instance on record. According to Fleet (Gupta Inscriptions : Introd., p. 130) we must interpret the years in Gupta-Valabhi

1 On the strength of this we would propose to correct the date of the 3rd Faridpur plate of Gopachandra to be 14 instead of 19 (Ind. Ant., 1910, p. 203).

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dates as current years. This opinion has been controverted by Mr. K. B. Pathak (Ind. Ant., 1917, pp. 287ff.) who maintains with good reasons that the Gupta Era like other Indian Eras was used to denote both *expired* and *current* years. The present plate seems to lend support to the views of Mr. Pathak by providing an early use of the current year along with the instances of expired years cited in his paper. The English equivalent of the date according to the modified views of Mr. Pathak would be December 13, 506 A.D. The plate is thus the earliest record found in East Bengal—earlier than the four Faridpur plates, with which it bears fruitful comparison, being slightly removed in place and time from them.

Palaeography

The letters are of the Eastern variety of the Northern Gupta script, nearly $\frac{3}{16}''$ in size, well-shaped and erect, though not always deep-cut, and are more symmetrical than those in the Faridpur plates. The top strokes are almost wedge-shaped. The test letters *h*, *ṣ* and *l* appear regularly in the Eastern variety in all the places where they occur. The letters *ṣ* and *s* are, unlike the Faridpur plates, more clearly distinguished, the round-shaped loop on the left side in the cerebral sibilant hanging down immediately from the top line. The loop at the side of the dental sibilant is not, however, well-developed, creating confusion on the one hand with the letter *m* and on the other with the letter *p*. In a few places the base line in both the letters *m* and *s* is found to be joined to the top line of the left limb (e.g., *āśrama* in l. 4 and *sīmā* in l. 23). The plate exhibits a rich variety in the vowel marks. The sign for *ā*, for instance, has all the four forms found in the Bower Mss. : the superior mark occurs regularly in *jñā*, *jā* and *jyā* (l. 6) besides being used in the words *dhūpādi* (l.6) and *dharmmā* (l. 10) and the archaic form of a curve below the right limb of the cerebral nasal occurs in ll. 7 & 20. The mark for *ī* is peculiar—

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an upright with a dot to the left just above the top line. Initial *u* and *a* occur several times; *ā* and *e* only once each (ll. 12 and 29). Final *m* and final *t* occur only once each: the final *t* (line 13) is curiously formed by two top lines one above the other; while the final *m* (line 25) which is faint has very much the same form as in the Bower Mss. part IV (vide Introd., Table II, Traverse 26). The *virāma* occurs only once in the last line; it is practically identical with a form of the comma as in Part VII of the Bower Mss. (Ib., Table V, Traverse 3). The plate remarkably confirms the age of the Faridpur plates as determined by the late Mr. Pargiter from an examination of the various forms of the test letter *y* (Ind. Ant., 1910). For, in the present plate the earliest of the three forms of the letter—the three-pronged form with the sinistrorse curl, "preferred in Mss." according to Dr. Hoernle (Ib., Introd., pp. XLVIII-XLIX)—has been used in all the 31 places where the letter occurs uncompounded as well as in the compound *ryya* occurring 6 times. With the Ghugrahati (Kotwalipad) plate which must be regarded as genuine and which exhibits only the latest form of the letter wherever it occurs uncompounded, the present plate completes the series, so to speak, of East Bengal records exhibiting the different stages in the form of the letter *y* in course of a century (*circa* 500-600 A.D.).

Language

The LANGUAGE of the plate is Sanskrit and excepting the three usual imprecatory verses in lines 12-14, the entire record is generally in correct prose. The word *kṣetra* is once apparently by mistake used in the masculine (line 19). The dual number in the word *śrutismṛtī* (line 8) is construed with a singular participle. The word triṣkālaṃ (line 5) is fully reminiscent of Buddhist usage (cf. *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, Bendall, p. 218). As regards ORTHOGRAPHY the notable points are the doubling of consonants after a superscript *r*, specially in the words *caturvviṃśati* (line 15), *svargge* (line

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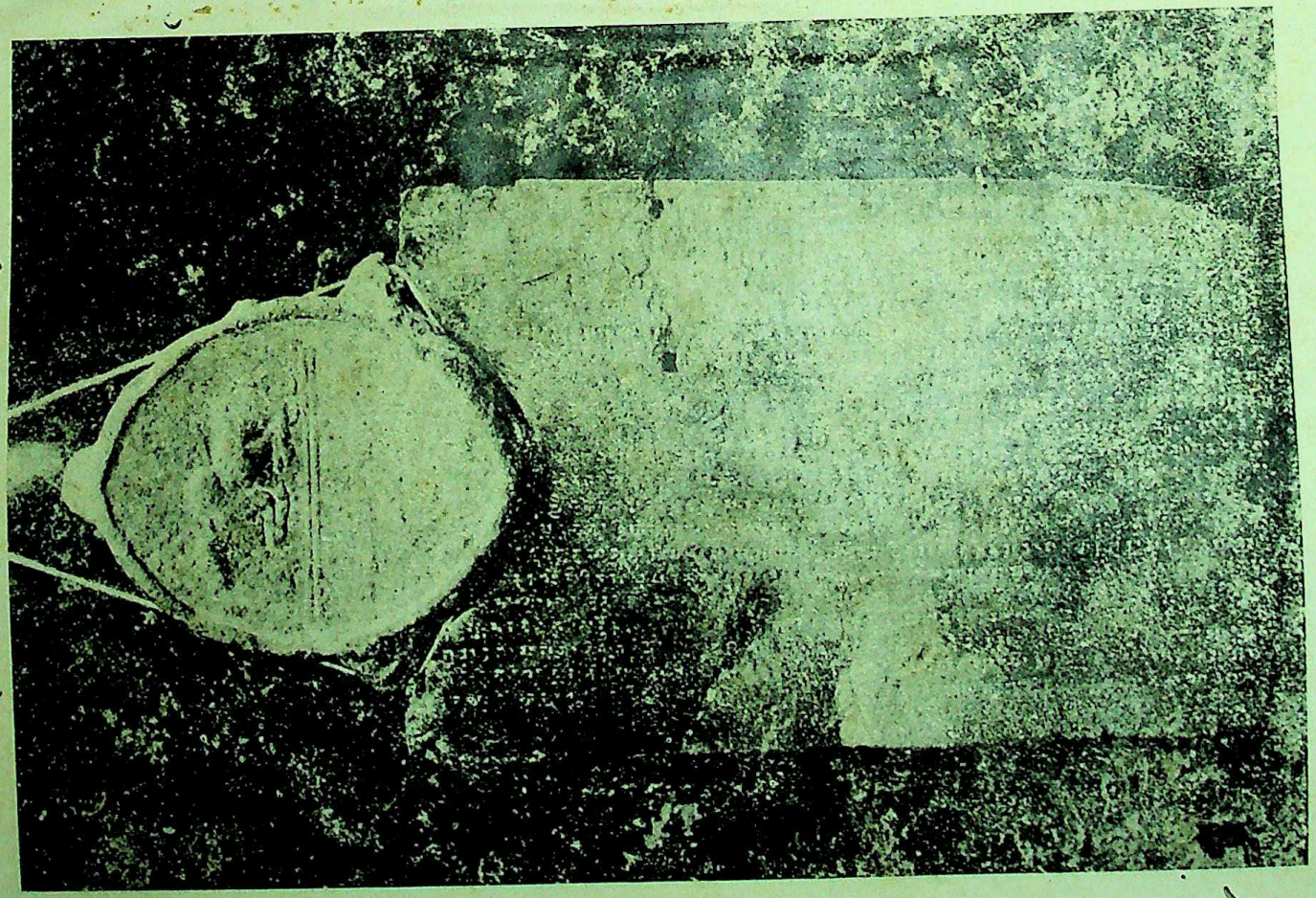

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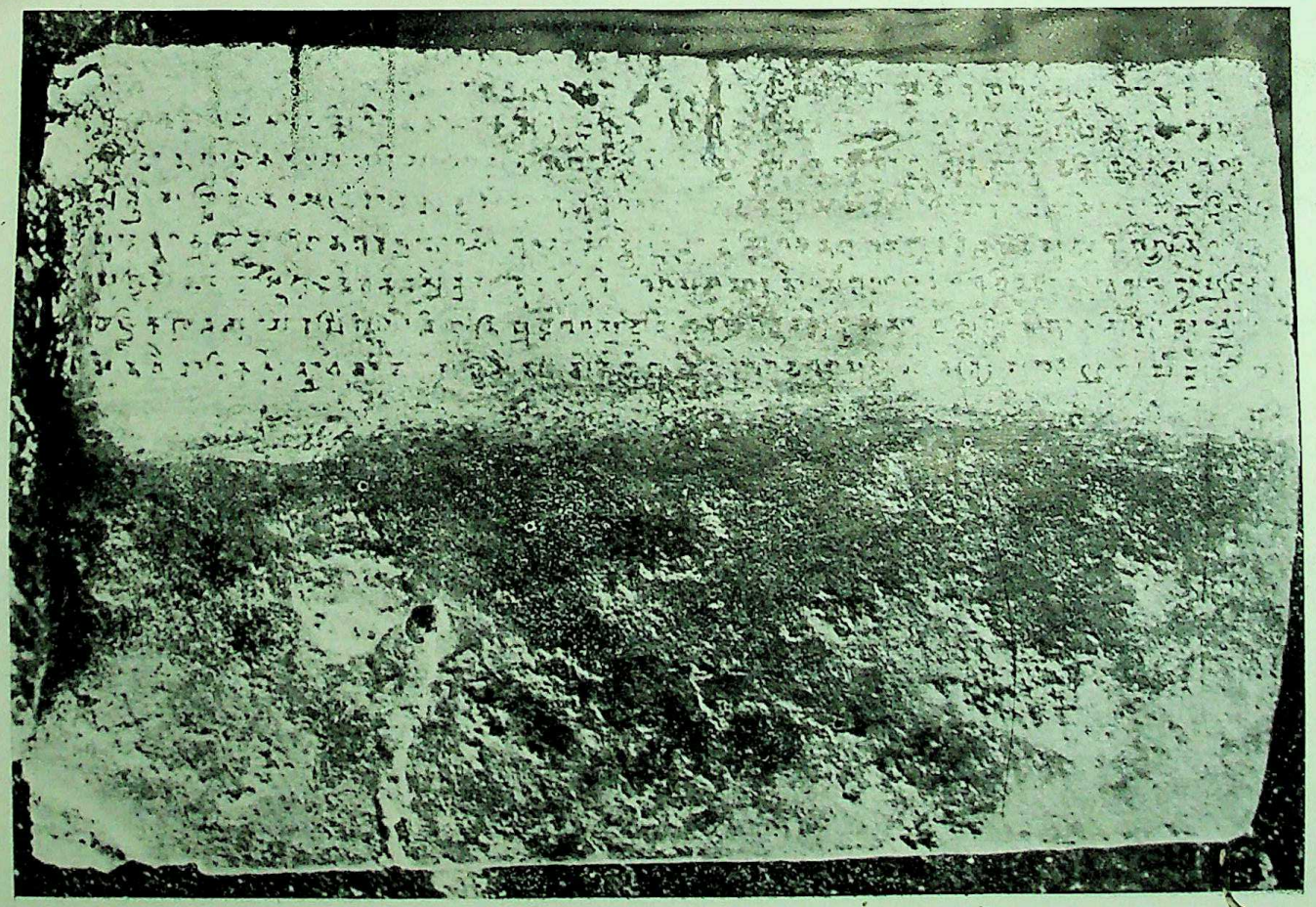

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12) and *-pūrnne* (line 19); the doubling of consonants before a subscript *r* as in *maṇibhadra* (line 26) and regularly in the word *kṣettra* (except once in line 29); and the doubling of *dh* before *y* as in *anuddhyāto* (line 1) and *-rmmaddhye* (line 28). A final *m* is conjoined with a following *p* in *saghanām=parigrahe* (line 5) *-pālanam=prati* (line 11) and with a following *v* in *-dattām=vā* (line 13). The word *viṃśati* is always written with the dental nasal in place of the *anusvāra*. The *avagraha* is omitted e.g. in lines 3 and 14. From the point of view of *Lexicography*, we may note the word *khāṭa* (ll. 28 and 29) meaning 'a channel.' It is evidently the original and the more archaic form of the word *khāṭikā* occurring in the Khalimpur grant l. 43 (cf. Dr. S. K. Chatterji: Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, p. 488) whence the Bengali word *khāḍī* is derived (Ibid., p. 179). Similarly the word *jolā* (still current in several places of Bengal as *juli* or *jolā*) meaning 'a water-course,' is transformed into *jolaka* in the Khalimpur grant (l. 43) and is probably connected with *joṭikā* also. The word *nauyoga* is unique and probably means a small harbour for boats. *Hajjika* is another peculiar word which seems to be the origin of the Bengali word *hājā* (cf. the phrase *śukhā hājā* of popular dialects) meaning "water-logged." The word *vilāla* is evidently derived from *vila* with its peculiar meaning (a large watery hollow) current in Bengal. All these words are found in the same portion of the inscription giving the boundary of low and marshy lands at the end (lines 28-30). It is interesting to notice how these words, mostly non-Sanskritic in origin, survive in modern dialects through a millenium and a half, with very little change in their form or meaning.

The plate records a gift of land from the camp of victory at Krīpura by Mahārāja Vainyagupta made at the instance of his vassal Mahārāja Rudradatta in favour of a Buddhist congregation of monks belonging to the Vaivarttika sect of the *Mahāyāna*, which was established by a Buddhist monk, *Ācāryya Śāntideva* in a *Vihāra* dedicated to *Avalokiteśvara*.

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This *Vihāra* was then in course of construction (*kāryyamāṇaka*) by the King (Rudradatta) on behalf of that Ācāryya. The boundaries of the lands, divided into five plots, are given at the end of the inscription (lines 18-27), followed, besides, by the boundaries of an unmeasured tract of "low" lands (*talabhūmi*) of the *Vihāra* (lines 27-29) and of another unmeasured tract of "uncultivated marshy lands belonging to the entrance of the *Vihāra* without any tax" (ll. 29-31). The Royal Messenger (*Dūtaka*) is *Mahāsāmanta* Mahārāja Vijayasena, who is honoured with four official titles of distinction. Two of these titles are new—"*Pañcādhikaraṇoparika-pāṭyuparika*," which we interpret as one word i.e. President of a Board of five (District) Court Judges; and "*purapāloparika*" i.e. President of City Governors. The king's orders regarding the gift was communicated by the *Dūtaka* to the three *Kumārāmātyas* (line 17) who are consequently of a much inferior position. The writer of the grant was the *Karaṇa-Kāyastha* Naradatta, who was also the Minister in charge of Peace and War. The epithet *Karaṇa-Kāyastha* calls for a remark. The word *Karaṇa* itself generally means a clerk (*Kāyastha*) or the whole clerical staff (*kāyasthasaṃhati* according to Medini, Hemacandra, etc.). It appears from the use of the interesting compound here that *Karaṇa* properly denotes the caste as in the *Amarakoṣa being included* among the mixed *Śūdra* castes (II. x. 2). The commentator Sarvānanda prescribed his duty as '*lipi-lekhana-vṛtti*.' *Kāyastha*, which is not found in the *Amarakoṣa* as a caste name, probably denotes the office of a clerk.

The plate thus brings to light the name of a new king *Mahārāja Vainyagupta*, who was reigning in the easternmost corner of India four years before the earliest known date of Bhānugupta (510 A.D.) and about a quarter of a century before the great Yasodharman, whose dominions extended up to the *Lauhitya*. As his appellative shows that he belongs to a distant scion of the Gupta family and he must have declared his independence during the

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troubled times of *Huṇa* supermacy. He was not probably directly connected with the Imperial Guptas, who were *Vaiṣṇavas* by religion, while Vainyagupta was professedly a *Śaiva* : his emblem is identical with the *Śaiva* emblems of the *Maitraka* dynasty of Valabhi and of the famous Harṣavardhana. His title *Mahārāja* shows that he was not a paramount sovereign ; but neither was he a mere petty chief for, besides issuing Royal Seals in his own name, he claims to have under him one "*Mahārāja*" as his vassal and another as his *Dūtaka*.

The plate is probably the earliest epigraphic record of a Brahmanic king making a gift of land to a Buddhist monastery. The *Vaivarttika Saṅgha* of the *Mahāyāna* is for the first time mentioned in this plate alone and we are quite unable to trace it in the Buddhist works. The name seems to have reference to the doctrine of *Vivarta* (Illusion), which found so much currency in *post*-Śaṅkara Vedantism, but the term is never used in Buddhist philosophy as far as we know. The sect which was *founded* (as we interpret and construe the word *pratipādita* in the text) by Ācārya Śāntideva had probably a very narrow local existence and did not apparently long survive its founder. Nevertheless, it is an interesting fact that in the far Eastern corner of India *Mahāyāna* Buddhism flourished under the broad patronage of both Buddhist and Brahmanic kings fully a century before the time of Yuan Chwang and allowed one of its teachers to found a new and distinct school of monks. It is tempting to identify *Ācāryya Śāntideva* of our plate with the famous *Mahāyāna* teacher of the same name who wrote the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* and the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*. There is nothing however to show that they are identical. According to the Tibetan historian Tāranātha the author flourished in the middle of the 7th century and the late Dr. Bendall found nothing to contradict his statement (*Śikṣāsamuccaya*, p. v). The Tibetan account of the *Ācāryya* is substantially corroborated by a short life of the scholar in Sanskrit (Sastri's Des.

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Cat. of Buddhist Mss. pp. 51-53) according to which he lived and died at Nalanda.

The total measure of the granted land divided into five plots is 11 *Pāṭakas*, comprised in one village named Kāntedadaka situated in Uttara Maṇḍala. The measurement of the different plots are also given in the plate as follows :—

Plot I	...	7 *Pāṭakas* and	9 *Droṇavāpas*
Plot II	...		28 „
Plot III	...		23 „
Plot IV	...		30 „
Plot V	...	$1\frac{3}{4}$ „	
Total—		11 *Pāṭakas*.	

This easily works out the important equation 1 *Pāṭaka* = 40 *Droṇavāpas*. *Pāṭaka* as a measure of land is mentioned in the Asrafpur plate of Devakhaḍga and subsequently in the several Pāla and Sena records. The late Mr. Ganga Mohan Laskar worked out the equation 1 *Pāṭaka* = 50 *Droṇavāpas* from the Asrafpur plates (Mem. A.S.B., vol. I, p. 87) but this is definitely disproved by the present plate where exact figures are given, while the Asrafpur figures are only rough. Unfortunately there are no means yet available to determine the measure of a *Droṇavāpa*, as there is great divergence of views regarding the corn measure *Droṇa* whence it is derived. *Droṇa* as a land measure is still current in Eastern Bengal and probably provides a better clue to the extent of a *Droṇavāpa* than any of the ancient texts.

The lands were situated near the find place of the plate. For, among the boundaries of Plots Nos. I and II occurs the name of the village *Guṇikāgrahāra*, which can be safely identified with *Guṇāighar*. None of other place-names can be identified now. The fact that these lands were situated in the *Northern Maṇḍala* may lead us to conjecture that the main kingdom of Vainyagupta with the Headquarters were probably situated in the southern part of the District

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of Tippera. The village Guṇaighar belongs to the large *pargana Bardākhāt* (formerly Baldakhal) and is one of the twelve villages of the *pargana* with their names ending in "*-ghar*" (cf. the popular phrase in Bengali current in the *pargana*—"*Bāra ghar ek dwār*"). It is already well-known in the district as full of antiquities. A fine image of *Viṣṇu* in black stone was discovered many years ago in the village and is still worshipped there. About 5 years ago a stone image of the Buddhist God *Avalokiteśvara with twelve hands* was also discovered in the village, with the formula "*ye dharmmā* &c." inscribed in the pedestal. Only recently another stone image of *Viṣṇu* has been unearthed. Ruins of a temple of *Viṣṇu* exist in the village and a small mound popularly known as *Chuḍār Pār* is supposed to cover the ruins of another temple. The place is likely to yield more important finds if properly investigated. A temple of *Pradyumneśvara* is mentioned in the plate giving a far greater antiquity to the worship of a form of *Śiva*, immortalised by the poet Umāpatidhara in the Deopara *praśasti* of Vijayasena.

TEXT

Obverse

1. Svasti Mahā-nau-haṣty = aśva-jayaskandhāvārāt = Krīpurād = bhagavan = Mahādeva-pādānuddhyāto Mahārāja-Śrī-Vainyaguptaḥ

2. kuśalī[1]..... svapādopajīvinaś = ca kuśalam = āśaṃsya samājñāpayati viditaṃ bhavatām = astu yathā

3. mayā mātāpittror = ātmanaś = ca pu(ṇyā)bhivṛ(ddha)ye smat = pādadāsa-Mahārāja-Rudradatta-vijñāpyād = anenaiva Māhāyānika-Śākyabhikṣv = ā-

1 About 8 letters are effaced by corrosion here.

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4. cāryya-Śāntidevam = uddiśya gopa (?)[1]..... gbhāge (?) kāryyamāṇakāryyāvalokiteśvarāśrama-vihāre anenai-

5. vācāryyeṇa pratipādita(ka ?) Māhāyānika (?)-Vaivarttika[2]-bhikṣusaghanām[3] = parigrahe Bhagavato Buddhasya satatam triṣkālam

6. gandha-puṣpa-dīpa-dhūpādi-pra[4].....sya bhikṣusaṃghasya ca cīvara-piṇḍapāta-śayanāsana-glāna-pratyaya-bhaiṣajyādi-

7. paribhogāya vihāre[5] (ca) khaṇḍa-phuṭṭa-pratisaṃskāra-karaṇāya Uttara-Māṇḍalika-Kānteḍadaka-grāme sarvato bno-

8. genāgrahāratvenaikādaśa-khila-pāṭakāh pañcabhiḥ khaṇḍ is = tāmrapaṭṭenātisṛṣṭāḥ (॥*) Api ca khalu śruti-smṛtī-

9. hāpavihitā (॥*) Puṇya-bhūmidāna-śrutim = aihik = āmuttrika-phalaviśeṣe smṛto (?)[6] bhāvatah samupagamya svatastu pī-

10. ḍām = apy = ūrīkṛtya pāttrebhyo bhūmiṃ[7].....dviṣa (?) dbhir = asmad = vacana-gauravāt = sva-yaśo-dharmmāvāptaye c = aite

11. pāṭakā asmin = bi (? vi)hāre śaśvat = kālam = abhy[8]

1 This important portion apparently giving the situation of the *Vihāra* is almost lost by corrosion: the last word seems to be *digbhāge.*

2 The superscript *r* is formed here below the top-stroke (cf *purvveṇa* in l. 28 below).

3 Read saṅghānām. The letter gh has a curl here to the left which is not found in the letter in l. 6 below.

4 The portion effaced here would read something like *-vartta-nāya ta-.*"

5 The superior stroke for *ā* in *-hā-* is unusual, looking like that for *e.*

6 Read *smṛtau* or *smṛtāṃ.*

7 About 4 letters are indistinct here.

8 4 or 5 letters are cut off here reading something like *-anumantavyāh.*

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.....(||*) Anupālanam = prati ca Bhagavatā Parāśarātma-
jena Vedavyā-

12. sena Vyāsena gītāḥ ślokā bhavanti (||*) Ṣaṣṭiṃ varṣa
sa(hasrā)ṇi svargge modati bhūmidaḥ (1*) Ākṣepta c = ānu-
mantā ca tā-

13. nyeva nake[1] vaset (||*) Svadattāṃ paradattām =
vā yo hareta (vasu)ndharāṃ (1*) (sa) viṣṭhāyāṃ kṛmir = bhū-
tvā pitṛbhiḥ saha pacyate

14. Purvadattāṃ dvijātibhyo yatnād = rakṣa yudhiṣṭhira
(1*) Mahīṃ mahimatāṃ śreṣṭha dānāt = śreyonupālanaṃ (||*)
Varttamān = āṣṭāśity = u-

15. ttara-śata-sāṃvatsare pauṣamāsasya caturvviṅśa-
titama-divase Dūtakena Mahāpratīhāra-Mahāpīlupati-Pañ-
cādhi-

16. karaṇoparika-pāṭyuparika-[2] ? ? -purapāloparika-
Mahārāja-śrī-mahā-sāmanta-Vijayasenen = aitad = ekādaśapāṭa-
ka-dā-

17. nāyājñām = anubhāvitāḥ Kumārāmātya-Revajjasvāmī-
Bhāmaha-Vatsabhogikāḥ (||*) Likhitaṃ Sandhi-vigrahāri[3]-
karaṇa-kāya-

18. stha-Naradattena(||*) Yattr = aika-kṣettra-khaṇḍe
nava-droṇavāpā-dhika-sapta-pāṭaka-parimāṇe sīmā-liṅgāni Pūr-
vveṇa Guṇekā-

19. grahāra-grāma-sīmā Viṣṇu-vardhaki-kṣettraś = ca
Dakṣiṇena Miduvilala (?)-kṣettraṃ Rājavihāra-kṣettrañca
Paścimena Sūrīnāśīram = pūrnneka-

20. kṣettraṃ Uttareṇa Doṣibhoga-puṣkariṇi[4].....
... ... vam = piyāk = Ādityavandhu-
kṣettrāṇāñca sīmā (||*)

1 Read *narake.*

2 2 letters cannot be correctly deciphered here: it is possibly *sura* or *pura,* in the latter case a repetition by mistake of the same word *pura.* 3 Read *-vigrahādhikāri-*.

4 A number of letters here as well as in ll. 22 and 23 below are all but effaced. It will serve no useful purpose by conjectural readings of these portions.

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21. Dvitīya-khaṇḍasy = āṣṭāvinśati-droṇavāpa-parimāṇasya sīmā Pūrvveṇa Guṇikāgrahāra-grāma-sīmā Dakṣiṇena Pakka-

22. vilāla(?)-kṣettraṃ Paścimena Rājavihāra-kṣettraṃ Uttareṇa Vaidya(?)-kṣettraṃ(||*) Tṛtīya-khaṇḍasya trayovinśati-droṇavāpa-

23. parimāṇasya sīmā Pūrvveṇa ... ... kṣettraṃ Dakṣiṇena-nakhaddārccarika(?)-kṣettrasīmā Paścimena

REVERSE

24. J(o?)lārī-kṣettraṃ Uttareṇa Nāgījoḍāka-kṣettraṃ (||*) Caturthasya triṃśaddroṇavāpa-parimāṇa-kṣettra-khaṇḍasya sīmā Pūrvveṇa

25. Buddhāka-kṣettra-sīmā Dakṣiṇena Kālāka-kṣettram Paścimena (S)ūryya-kṣettra-sīmā Uttareṇa Mahīpāla-kṣettraṃ (||*) (Pa)ñcamasya

26. pādona-pāṭaka-dvaya-parimāṇa-kṣettra-khaṇḍasya sīmā Pūrvveṇa Khaṇḍa-viḍ(u)ggūrika-kṣettraṃ Dakṣiṇena Maṇibhaddra-

27. kṣettraṃ Paścimena Yajñarāta-kṣettra-sīmā Uttareṇa Nādaḍadaka-grāmasīmeti (||*) Vihāra-talabhumer = api sīmā-liṅgāni

28. Pūrvveṇa Cūḍāmaṇi-Nagaraśrī-Nauyogayor = mmaddhye Jolā Dakṣiṇena Gaṇeśvara-vilāla-puṣkariṇyā nau-khāṭaḥ

29. Paścimena Pradyumneśvara-devakula-kṣetra-prāntaḥ Uttareṇa Praḍāmāra-Nauyoga-khāṭah (||*) Etad = Vihāra-prāveśya-śūnya-pratikara-

30. hajjika-khila-bhumer = api sīmā-liṅgāni Pūrvveṇa Pradyumneśvara-devakula-kṣettra-sīmā Dakṣiṇena Śākyabhikṣv = ācāryya-Jita-

31. Sena-Vaihārika-kṣettrāvasā (?) naḥ Paścimena Ha (?) cāta-gaṃga Uttareṇa Daṇḍa-puṣkiṇī[1] c = eti || Saṃ 100 80 8 poṣṣya-di[2] 20 4.

1 Read *puṣkariṇī*. 2 Read *-pauṣa-*

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TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-2) Hail ! From the victorious camp full of great ships and elephants and horses[1] (situated) at Kripura, the glorious Mahārāja Vainyagupta,[2] who meditates on the feet of God Mahādeva, being in good health, issues a command after wishing health to.....and his own dependents : Be it known to you that

(Lines 3-8) For enhancing the religious merits of myself and my parents, on the request of Mahārāja Rudradatta, a slave to our feet, in the village of Kanteḍadaka situated in the "*Northern Maṇḍala*," eleven *Pāṭakas* of uncultivated lands in five plots are granted by Me, by means of a copper-plate as an *Agrahāra* in absolute possession ; for providing perpetually for perfumes, flowers, lights, incense, etc. thrice a day unto the Lord Buddha in the abode of the Vaivarttika congregation of monks (belonging) to the *Mahāyāna*, established by the Buddhist monk of the *Mahāyāna, Ācāryya Śāntideva*, in the *Āśrama-Vihāra* (dedicated) to *Ārya-Avalokiteśvara*, which (Vihāra) was being constructed in the..... part of.....by that (king) for the sake of that *Ācāryya* ; and for the enjoyment of garments, food, beds, seats, medicines for the sick etc. by that congregation ; and also for repairing breaks and cracks in the *Vihāra*.

(Lines 8-11) Here, again, both *veda* and *smṛti* (texts) are indeed prescribed.[3] By reading in the legal text, enjoining special merits both here and hereafter, the sense of

1 The opening expression *mahānau etc.* occurs in the Gaya plate of Samudragupta (Gupta Ins., p. 256) and also in the Banskhera and Madhuban plates of Harṣa.

2 Vainya, a synonym for "the first king" Pṛthu, is spelt here with the dental nasal as in Ṛgveda, VIII. ix. 10. It is now generally spelt with the cerebral (cf. Gupta Ins., p. 74—*dhiyāti-guṇena vaiṇyam*).

3 *Apa-vihitā* is a rare word not found elsewhere.

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a (now lost) Vedic text regarding holy gift of lands,[1] and themselves courting even hardships, enemy kings, who (are agreeable to giving) lands to proper persons, should, upon our honour in words and also for themselves acquiring fame and merits, approve (the grant of) these *Pāṭakas* unto this *Vihāra*.

(Lines 11-14) Regarding keeping up (in future), there are again verses sung by the revered Vyāsa, the compiler of the *Vedas*, and the son of Parāśara :—(v. 1) The giver of land rejoices in Heaven for sixty thousand years and he who confiscates and he who assents live in Heli for that period. (v. 2) He who takes away land given by himself or by others rots along with his forefathers becoming a worm in soil. (v. 3) O Yudhiṣṭhira, the best of kings, protect carefully the land granted by former (kings) to Brahmins, for, protection is better than the gift itself.

(Lines 14-18) In the current year of One Hundred and Eighty-Eight, on the 24th day of the month of *Pauṣa*, by the Royal Ambassador, the great Frontier King Mahārāja Vijayasena, who is the High Chamberlain, the Officer-in-charge of Elephants, the President of the Board of Five Law Court Officers and President of City Governors, the (royal) command for the gift of these eleven *Pāṭakas* is made known unto the *Kumārāmātyas Revajjasvāmī*, *Bhāmaha* and *Vatsabhojika*. (This is) written by *Karaṇa-Kāyastha* Naradatta, who is the Minister in charge of Peace and War.

(Lines 18-27) Wherein the first plot of land measuring seven *Pāṭakas* and nine *Droṇavāpas*, the boundary marks are, to the East, the border of the *Guṇikāgrahāra* village and the field of Engineer Viṣṇu ; to the South, the field of Miduvilala (?) and the field belonging to the Royal *Vihāra* ; to the West, the Surinasirampurnneka (?) field ; to the North, the tank of Dosibhoga,.....and the boundaries of the fields of (?) Vampiyaka and Ādityabandhu. Of the second plot measur-

1 Reading *Smṛtau*. *Smṛtāṃ* makes much the same sense.

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ing twenty-eight *Droṇavāpas*, the boundaries are, to the East, border of *Guṇikāgrahāra* village ; to the South, the field of Pakkavilala (?) ; to the West, the field of the Royal *Vihāra*. To the North, the field of Vaidya..... Of the third plot measuring twenty-three *Droṇavāpas* the boundaries are, to the East, the field of..... ; to the South, the boundary limit of the field of..... ; to the West, the field of Jolari ; to the North, the field of Nagijodaka. Of the fourth plot of land measuring thirty *Droṇavāpas*, the boundaries are, to the East, the boundary limit of the field of Buddhaka ; to the South, the field of Kalaka ; to the West, the boundary limit of the field of Suryya ; to the North, the field of Mahīpāla. Of the fifth plot of land measuring a couple of *Pāṭakas less* a quarter, the boundaries are, to the East, the field of Khandaviduggurika ; to the South, the field of Maṇibhadra ; to the West, the boundary limit of the field of Yajñarāta ; to the North, the boundary limit of the village *Nādaḍadaka*.

(Lines 27-31) The boundary marks of the low lands[1] belonging to the *Vihāra* are, to the East, the channel between the (two) ports of ships at *Cūḍāmaṇi* and *Nagaraśrī*[2] ; to the South, the channel open to ships connected to the large marshy pond of *Gaṇeśvara*[3] ; to the West, the end of the field belonging to the temple of *Pradyumneśvara* ; to the North, the channel (leading) to the port of *Praḍāmāra*.[4] The boundary marks also of water-logged waste lands pertaining to the right of entrance[5] of this *Vihāra* and paying no

1 For *talabhūmi* cf. *tala-pāṭaka* in the Khalimpur grant l. 52.

2 There are possibly two place names here : it may also mean "at the *town of Cūḍāmaṇi*," the epithet *Śrī* is then ill construed with *nauyoga*.

3 Can it be a place name ?

4 Also seems to be a place name rather than that of a person.

5 The word *prāveśya* is difficult to interpret. The meaning suggested by Dr. Sukthankar, following Hultzsch, "that which belongs to the *prāveśa*" (a territorial division), *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 106, does

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requital (tax)[1] are to the East, the boundary limit of the field belonging to the temple of *Pradyumneśvara*; to the South, the limit of the field belonging to the *Vihāra* of the Buddhist monk, *Ācāryya Jitasena*; to the West, the stream[2] *Hacāta*; to the North, the tank of Daṇḍa (?).

(Line 31) *The year 188, the 24th day of Pauṣa.*

DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

Grant of Bhāskara Varman of Kāmarūpa and the Nagara Brāhmaṇas

In 1912 three copper plates were found at village Nidhanapura in Pañcakhaṇḍa Pargana of the district of Sylhet (Assam). These plates form parts of a grant of land to certain Brāhmaṇas by Bhāskara Varman, the king of Kāmarūpa issued from the camp at Karṇasuvarṇa. Subsequently two more plates were found. It is said that one more plate is wanting to make the grant complete. It is rumoured that the missing plate is in the possession of a Mahomedan. The readings of the first three were published in the Epigraphia Indica, vol. xii, pp. 65-79 and also in the Bengali Journal 'Vijayā,' vol. i, pp. 625 ff. The

not seem to apply here. The expression *etad-vihāra-prāveśya* qualifies the *Khila-bhūmi* whose boundaries are given and must convey some legal right with respect to these lands, belonging to the *Vihāra*. The nature of this right cannot be determined, but the subsequent expression *Śūnya-pratikara* would seem to suggest by implication that this "*right of entrance*" is evidently of an inferior kind (cf. the well-known phrase *a-cāta-bhaṭa-prāveśya*).

1 *Pratikara* can hardly mean 'the right of alienation'; it may simply mean 'tax' (*kara*) or better 'a state allowance.'

2 *Gaṃgā* 'a stream' survives in the word *gāng* still current in East Bengal (cf. Dr. S. K. Chatterji : *loc. cit.* pp. 305 and 363).

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two plates found subsequently were published in the Bengali journal 'Pratibhā' of the Dacca Sāhitya Pariṣad. All these were edited by Mahāmahopādhyāya Padmanātha Bhattacharya Vidyāvinoda. The grant was originally made by king Bhūti Varman (circa 497-520 A.C.) the great-great-grandfather of Bhāskara Varman, but the plates having been burnt, these renewed plates were issued to the successors of the original grantees.

The time of issue of the renewed grant is not mentioned in the plate. Our learned editor assumed, perhaps rightly, that Bhāskara Varman was rewarded with the possession of Karṇa-suvarṇa after the death of his great friend Harṣa for the valuable assistance rendered by him to the powerful Chinese invader Wang-hiuen-tsi (647-49 A.C.), who crushed the usurper Arjuna, the minister of Harṣa, who had ascended the throne after the latter's demise. Harṣa could not have allowed the kingdom of such a powerful rival (Śaśāṅka) to be included in the territory of Bhāskara Varman, a weaker king in all appearance, however friendly he might have been.[1] But he has subsequently changed his opinion with no plausible reason, and surmised that the grant was made after the repulsion of Śaśāṅka and the regular investiture of Harṣa sometime between 605-612.[2]

As regards the identification of the donated land, we are sorry, we could not agree with our learned editor, which he places somewhere in North Bengal not far off from Karṇa-suvarṇa. It is generally the case that the land is in or about the place where the plates are found and the exceptions are few. He says that 'the fact that the copper-plates have been found in Sylhet does not prove that the land must have belonged to that district. The copper-plates inscribed under the orders of Vaidyadeva, king of Kāmarūpa, were found in Kamauli near Benares City'.[3] What he says is true but

1 Ep. Ind., vol. XII, p. 66.
2 Ep. Ind., 1927.
3 Ep. Ind., vol. II, pp. 347ff.

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should we not first of all look to the geography of the find spot to see if the land can be located there and failing in that look for it elsewhere? Mm. Vidyāvinoda has done nothing of the sort. He has at once run to the North Bengal. It may be stated that the instances like the one he has cited are very rare and the case of Benares is a special one, for that being a place of pilgrimage where people go to live for the rest of their lives or for ever and take with them all their valuable belongings. Such cannot be said of Sylhet.

Let us see if from the boundaries given, we can identify the land in Pañcakhaṇḍa, where the plates have been found, and then we shall see how far the arguments given in favour of North Bengal are tenable. The boundaries are:— to the east dried-up Kauśikā; to the south-east the dried-up Kauśikā, marked by a cut-down fig-tree; to the south fencing of fig trees; to the south-west the dried river-bed (Gaṅginika), marked by a cut-down fig-tree; to the west now the dried up river-bed (Gaṅginikā); to the north-west a potter's pit and the (said) dried-up river-bed (Gaṅginikā), bent east-wards; to the north a large Jātali tree; to the north-east the pond of the tradesman Khasoka and the dried-up (river) Kauśikā. These dried-up Gaṅginikā and Kauśikā are the important landmarks. In East Bengal including Sylhet all rivers are called Gāṅg, a corruption of the word Gaṅgā and the word Gaṅginikā is a Sanskritised word for a rivulet. Thus we have dried-up river-beds both in the east and west. By looking at the map of Sylhet we find that a river named Kuśiārā is flowing by the north-west of Pañca-khaṇḍa. This river is perhaps the Kauśikā mentioned in the plates, which probably gave up its former bed in the east and took the course of the dried-up Gaṅganikā in the west after the grant of the plates. The land was under Candrapuri Viṣaya. If we can show that there is such a place in Sylhet, we may be pretty sure that the land is in Pañca-khaṇḍa. In Rennel's map of 1679 A.C. is found a place named Candrapura or Cāndapura

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near the present village of Bāgāsurā.[1] This may be the Candrapuri Viṣaya. We will give other proofs in support, hereafter. Mention is made of a place named Candrapari on the west bank of the river Trisrotā in the grant of Vanamāla = Varmadeva of Kāmarūpa,[2] who also claims his descent from Bhagadatta like Bhāskara Varman. He ruled in about 830-865 A.C.[3] Even if it is read as Candrapuri we need not go to the west bank of the Trisrotā when we can find one nearer to the place in Sylhet. Besides this Candrapari is not stated to be a Viṣaya.

Now let us see how far the learned editor is right in supposing the land to be in North Bengal.

(1) He says that Yuan Chwang after leaving Kāmarūpa in 643 A.C. got information of certain regions one of which was 'Shihlichatolo' and he holds this to be Śrīhaṭṭa and therefore the find-place which is in Śrīhaṭṭa cannot be within Kāmarūpa.

Scholars do not agree in identifying 'Shihlichatolo' with Śrīhaṭṭa and controversies are still going on. Even if we concede this, does the mere fact of mentioning Śrīhaṭṭa as a country precludes its being a part of Bhāskara's dominions? On the other hand Bhāskara Varman has been described in the contemporary history of China as the ruler of Eastern India.[4] So it is not at all difficult to assume that Śrīhaṭṭa formed a part of the kingdom of Bhāskara Varman. It may be that the country which came to be known as Śrīhaṭṭa afterwards formed a part of Bhūti Varman's kingdom but got out of the hands of his successors and Bhāskara re-conquered it after Yuan Chwang left Kāmarūpa. We have seen before that the issue of the grant was made some time

1 Śrīhatter Itivṛtta, part IV, f. n. to p. 74.

2 J.A.S.B., 1840, p. 766 and Rangpur Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā, vol. IX, p. 27.

3 The Social History of Kāmarūpa, vol. I, p. 178.

4 Ibid., p. 153.

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after the death of Harṣa in 648 A. C. Besides this the tradition is in favour of placing Sylhet within the kingdom of Kāmarūpa.[1] The author of Śrīhaṭṭer Itivṛtta quotes several authorities to show that Sylhet once belonged to Kāmarūpa.[2]

(2) His next argument is that the Sāmpradāyika Brāhmaṇas of Sylhet who are said to have come from Mithilā, have genealogical accounts of their families. It is recorded therein that five of their ancestors were imported by the king of Tipperah in 651 A. C., and that the very locality where the plates have been found was allotted to these Brāhmaṇas and so the place was called Pañcakhaṇḍa. This event took place two years before Yuan Chwang heard of 'Shihlichatolo', and although such geneological accounts are only to be accepted with reservation, yet there can be no doubt that much of the eastern part of the district of Sylhet including Pañcakhaṇḍa, the place of the find, belonged to the king of Tipperah at that period.

We cannot well follow the latter part of this argument. The Mahāmahopādhyāya himself admits that the authority of the genealogical documents on which he bases his argument cannot be depended on but still he is *sure* that Pañcakhaṇḍa belonged to the Tipperah Rāj. In fact that the two books named 'Vaidika Saṃvādinī' and 'Vaidika Purāvṛtta' which he apparently alludes to, are not at all reliable, has been amply proved by Mr. Achyuta Charan Chaudhuri. He says in his notes to the 4th and 5th chapters of his book, 'Śrīhattera Itivṛtta, vol. ii, part I, pp. 67, 69 and 70 about these two books thus.—"There are grave doubts as to the originality of the text of the grant incorporated by the author of the "Vaidika Saṃvādinī in his book."

"Story is heard of bringing in Brāhmaṇas in another place (at Sāmantasāra in the Faridpur district) by the renowned

1 Śrīhatter Itivṛtta, vol. II, part I, ch. I, pp. 8-11.

2 The Social History of Kāmarūpa, I, p. 178.

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king Sāmala-Varmā, to perform sacrifice on account of the fall of vultures (on his palace). Does it not appear that this affair (of bringing five brāhmaṇas to perform the vulture-sacrifice by the king Ādi Dharmaphā of Tipperah) was fabricated in imitation of the sacrifice of Sāmala-Varmā and the word 'Ādi' prefixed to the name (of king Dharmaphā) following the king Ādiśūra of Bengal, who brought five Brāhmaṇas to perform sacrifice ?"

"In our opinion even if the fact of this sacrifice and the grant of land be true, plates were lost long before. A Sāmpradāyika Brāhmaṇa (late Śyāma Sundara Bhaṭṭācāryya) wrote his Vaidika Saṃvādinī only in recent times basing on this well-known tradition and converting it into a history."

"According to a section of the Sāmpradāyika Brāhmaṇas Ādi Dharmaphā like king Ādiśūra brought five brāhmaṇas from Kanauj (and not from Mithilā as stated by the Vaidika Saṃvādinī) and they are the descendants of these brāhmaṇas. In support of their statements they refer to a book named 'Vaidika-purāvṛtta,' but many are sceptical about its existence."

What reliance can be placed on these books of genealogies of these Vaidika brāhmaṇas (Sāmpradāyikas are also known as Vaidikas) will be apparent when we learn the facts about the alleged copper-plate grants of Sāmala-Varmā. The two copper plates produced by the Vaidika brāhmaṇas of Koṭālipāḍā and Sāmantasāra, said to have been granted to their forefathers by Sāmala-Varmā, are proved to be the grants made by Hari-Varmā and Viśvarūpa-Sena to some brāhmaṇas other than their forefathers. Sāmala-Varmā is a historical person, while Ādi Dharmaphā is a myth. It is very curious that they have recorded even the texts of these grants in their books. Koṭālipāḍā and Sāmantasāra Vaidikas are later arrivals in this country than those of Sylhet, so their traditions are not so much lost as those of their brethren of Sylhet and so the former had not to build upon much on their imagination to fill up the gap.

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The date (641 A. D.) of the grant of Ādi Dharmaphā almost synchronises with the time of grant of the Bhāskara Varman, which, we have seen before, is about 649 A.D.

The name of Pañcakhaṇḍa originated perhaps with the number five of the brāhmaṇas who were granted the land originally by Bhūti Varmā and whose descendants, direct and otherwise, numbered to about 120 in 150 years by the time his great-great-grandson Bhāskara Varmā. This also may account for the numbers of gotras being more than five. Or the name may have been derived from the number five of the divisions of the Veda to which the brāhmaṇas belonged, viz., Bahvṛca branch of the Ṛgveda, Chāndogya branch of the Sāmaveda, the Taittirīya Caraka and Vājasaneya branches of the Yajurveda.

In his third argument he says that the name of Śrīhaṭṭa has very curiously found its place in an inscription of a date prior to that of Bhāskara Varmā, viz., in the Praśasti of the temple of the Lakkhā Maṇḍala at Madhā in the Jaunsār Bāwar district.[1] Just on the top of the inscription is the word 'Śrīhaṭṭādhīśvarebhyaḥ.' Dr. Bühler, who read the inscription and assigned to it a date of about 600 A.D. was of opinion that the letters were of a later date. They, however, could not from their very nature be of a posterior date. They were apparently inserted to fill in some omission somewhere in the inscription, and very probably the calligraphic difference is due to a different hand that corrected the mistake. At any rate it becomes evident that by 600 A.D. there was a place called Śrīhaṭṭa, which had its adhīśvaras (lords). This argument has been refuted by Prof. Sten Konow, the then editor of the Epigraphia Indica. He said that there was no indication that the words in question were to be inserted anywhere in the inscription. The alphabet is certainly later than the Praśasti, and no inference can be drawn for the time about A.D. 600.

1 Ep. Ind., vol. I, pp. 10 ff.

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For reasons given hereafter we are led to think that the brāhmaṇas, to whom Bhūti Varmā granted the land in about 500 A.D. were of the same stock as the Nāgara brāhmaṇas who are said to have migrated to Guzrat about the same time with the rise of the Valabhi kings. From the Nāgara-khaṇḍa of Skanda Purāṇa as well as from Nāgara-kusumāñjali we learn that Hāṭakeśvara Śiva is their principal family deity (Kuladevatā). We find a Hāṭakeśvara Liṅga at Pañcakhaṇḍa (cf. Nāgarakhaṇḍa) probably installed by these brāhmaṇas. We find in the grant that seven shares of the land were for the purpose of Bali, Caru and Satra. We think that they were meant for Hāṭakeśvara Śiva, the family deity of the donees. It may be that the name Śrīhaṭṭa was derived from Hāṭakeśvara. If our surmise is correct, there is no difficulty to conclude that the name of Śrīhaṭṭa is not of a later date than 600 A. D.

Mm. Vidyāvinod says that the grant issued from the camp of Karṇasuvarṇa must have related to the locality within the jurisdictions of that territory. He also supposes this to be somewhat near the north-western boundary of Karṇasuvarṇa, i.e. in northern Bengal. In support of his supposition he refers to the grant of Dharmapāla, which relates to the same locality, i.e., North Bengal, where even now the word Gaṅginā is used to denote a dried-up river-bed.[2] We have already said that Gaṅginā or Gaṅg is a common word in East Bengal including Sylhet.

To prove that the land was in North Bengal, we have also to prove that the country was comprised within the kingdom of Bhūti Varmā in about 500 A.D. when the land was originally granted. But it is clear from the Dāmodarapur copper-plates that Puṇḍra-vardhaṇa of North Bengal was within the Gupta empire at least from 443 A.D. to 545 A.D.[3]

Taking these facts into consideration we are led to believe

1 Ind. Ant., 1911, p. 31. 2 Ep. Ind., vol. IV, pp. 243ff.
3 Ibid., vol. XV, pp. 113.

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that these brāhmaṇas are none other than a branch of the Nāgara brāhmaṇas and the present day Sāmpradāyika brāhmaṇas of Sylhet are their descendants and represent the Bhikṣus among the Nāgaras. Our learned editor also admits that the Sāmpradāyika brāhmaṇas might have some connection with them. According to 'Vaidika-Saṃvādinī' they come from Mithilā and according to 'Vaidika-Purāvṛtta' they came from Kanauj. Apparently these brāhmaṇas came via Mithilā and Kanauj and some of them settled in those countries. In fact the Nāgaras can be found in both these provinces even now.

These brahmaṇas have surnames such as Ghoṣa, Vasu, Deva, Datta, Bhūti, Sena, Soma, Pālita, Kuṇḍa, Pāla, Bhaṭṭa, Kīrtti, Dāma, Dāsa, etc., whereas the Nāgara brāhmaṇas have got similar surnames such as Datta, Gupta, Nanda, Ghoṣa, Śarmā, Dāsa, Varmā, Nāgadatta, Bhūta, Mitra, Deva and Bhava.[1] Brāhmaṇas with similar surnames are also found in the Tippera copper-plate grant of Lokanātha of the eighth century (Ep. Ind., vol. xv).

Some of the Gotras of these brāhmaṇas with slight variations here and there are common with the Gotras of the Nāgara brāhmaṇas as are mentioned in the Skanda-Purāṇa, Nāgara-khaṇḍa, chapter 115.

These are Kauśika, Kāśyapa, Bharadvāja, Kauṇḍineya, Pārāśarya, Garga, Gautama, Bahvhṛca, Aṅgirā, Vātsya, Kautsa, Śāṇḍilya, Maudgala, Kātyāyana, Kṛṣṇātreya and Śaunaka. The Gotras of the Sāmpradāyika brāhmaṇas are: Vatsa, Vātsya, Bharadvāja, Kṛṣṇātreya, Parāśara, Kātyāyana, Kāśyapa, Maudgulya, Svarṇa-Kauśika, Gautama, and of the Prācīna (old) brāhmaṇas are: Śāṇḍilya, Kṛṣṇātreya, Maudgulya, Bharadvāja, Ātreya, Vātsya, Kāśyapa, Vaśiṣṭha, Gautama, Kātyāyana and Jātukarṇa.[2]

We find in the Nāgarakhaṇḍa of the Skanda-Purāṇa that

1 Ind. Ant., 1911, p. 31.

2 Śrīhaṭṭer Itivṛtta, Upakramaṇikā, pp. 6 f.

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Hāṭakeśvara Śiva is the family deity of Nāgara brāhmaṇas. We find a deity of the same name in Pañcakhaṇḍa. It is perhaps as old as Bhūti Varmā, who probably built the first temple and made endowments for Bali, Caru and Satra mentioned in the grant of Bhāskara Varmā, which is only a renewal of the grant of Bhūti Varmā. When the temple was in ruins, Vanamāladeva (830-865 A.D.),[1] another king of the Bhagadatta dynasty like those of Bhūti Varmā and Bhāskara Varmā rebuilt it and made endowments for it.[2] Mention of this Hāṭakeśvara Śiva is to be found in the Mahāliṅgeśvara Tantra.

The land-measure of Hala and paddy-measure of Pāilā are said to be in vogue both in Guzrat as well as in Sylhet. Our learned editor was much struck with this similarity in two extreme parts of India, and failed to account for it.[3] We think these were introduced in both places by the Nāgara brāhmaṇas. Our surmise is corroborated by the fact that the Sunak (North Gujrat) grant of 1099 A.D. (Ep. Ind., vol. I. p. 316) in which the two words occur, relates to Sunaka-grāma, which was within Ānandapura, 'Srīmadānandapura-pratibaddha', (modern Baḍanagara), the original home of the Nāgara-brāhmaṇas. But it is not correct to say that these were not in vogue in Bengal. We at least find that the word Hala occurs in the copper-plate grant of Hari-varmā-deva.[4]

Īśāṇa Nāgara, the author of the Advaita-Prakāśa was a Sylhet brāhmaṇa. Does not his surname indicate that he was a Nāgara brāhmaṇa ?

There is a script called 'Mussalman Nagri' in use among the Mussalmans of Sylhet.[5] It is on record that many Brahman families of Sylhet embraced Islam. It is perhaps in contradistinction to 'Deva Nāgarī' which the

1 The Social History of Kāmarūpa by N. N. Vasu, vol. I, p. 178.
2 Rangpur Sāhitya-Pariṣat Patrikā, vol. IX, no. I, p. 25.
3 Sāhitya Pariaṣt Patrikā, vol. xxiii, no. 4, pp. 181-182.
4 Vanger Jātiya Itihāsa, Brāhmaṇa Kāṇḍa, pt. iii, p. 215.
5 Śrīhaṭṭer Itivṛtta, appendix (i) to vol. I.

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Hindus used. It is for experts to say if the Nāgarī and the Mussalman Nāgri were derived from a common script.

It is said that there is much similarity in language and architecture between Bengal and Guzrat. In conclusion, we must not fail to notice that apart from the general historical value, these plates promise to be very important in throwing light on the social history of Bengal. It is very curious that brāhmaṇas with the surnames mentioned are nowadays not to be generally met with in Bengal but these surnames are very common among the Kāyasthas and other castes of Bengal. Some of the Kāyasthas are said to have come from Kanauj, but Kāyasthas with similar surnames are not heard of anywhere except in Bengal. Copper-plates recording the names of brāhmaṇas with similar surnames have been found in Etawa (Kanauj)[1], Tippera[2] and Orissa.[3] Copper-plates of about the same time have been found in Bengal and elsewhere bearing the names of persons holding the post of Kāyasthas snd other government offices and with similar surnames.[4]

Besides these surnames some peculiar customs and traditions are found common among these people. According to Bhandarkar and 'Nāgara-Puspāñjali' (a book on Nāgara brāhmaṇas, published by the Nāgara Club, Lucknow), some of the Nāgara brāhmaṇas are, according to their professions, have become Kṣatriyas (Rajputs) and Vaiśyas (Baniyās). Bhandarkar says that the Nāgaras originally came from the Sapādalakṣa country. Mention is found in the Karatoyā Māhātmya of a settlement of Sapādalakṣa brāhmaṇas on its bank in North Bengal. There is also a river named Nāgara in North Bengal. This shows that these brāhmaṇas came to Bengal also. How to explain all these facts? If proper

1 Ep. Ind., vol. I, p. 179.
2 Ep. Ind., vol. XV.
3 Ibid., vol. XV. (Neulpur Grant of Śubhakar).
4 J. A. S. B., 1911, p. 501.

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investigations are made more facts may be found, which may help to solve the mystery of formation of castes in Bengal at least.

We have strong reasons to suspect that these Nāgara brāhmaṇas can not only be traced in the brāhmaṇas of Bengal but also in other castes such as Kāyasthas, Vaidyas, Navaśākhas and Suvarṇa-vaṇikas. As this is not the place to discuss them here, we desist from doing so and reserve it for a subsequent article. We have also reasons to suspect that these Nāgaras came from the north-western border of Kāśmīra.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH

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Problems of the Nāṭyaśāstra

Pāṇini alludes in his grammar to *Naṭasūtras* (books of rules for Naṭas compiled by Śilālin and Kṛśāśva), and Prof. Hillebrandt has suggested that we should recognize in these works the earliest text-books on the Indian drama. But in the absence of such a suggestion from any other scholar, Prof. Keith confidently concludes "that these rules were laid down for the guidance of dancers or, perhaps pantomimes," and the basis of his conclusion is the fact that the Indian dramatic tradition knows nothing of Śilālin or Kṛśāśva and "makes the sage Bharata the eponymous hero of the drama."[1]

Now the argument of Prof. Keith is not without its flaw. He seems to have accepted the story of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Chapter I) without any qualification. But this story which makes Bharata the father of the drama does not occur in any other place. Though the Purāṇas and Epics mention Nārada (an authority on *saṅgīta*), they are silent, except on one occasion, about this Bharata-muni who holds such an important position in the history of Indian drama. The mention of this sage in the Uttarakāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* does not however help us very much, for this part of the Rāmāyaṇa has been placed in the second century after Christ—a time which is much later than the upper limit to which the date of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* can be shifted. However, we need not depend merely upon this argument of silence, for there are other evidences showing that the story of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is but a badly made legend worthy of no credence.

First, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* gives itself the honourable name of the *Nāṭyaveda*, though the name of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* does not occur in any of the existing Vedas or Upavedas. Of course there is a *Gāndharva-veda* but there is nothing to show that it is identical with the *Nāṭyaśāstra alias Nāṭyaveda*. And curiously enough we find that the author of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* knows *Gāndharva* and *Nāṭya* as two different things when he says *gāndharvaṃ caiva nāṭyaṃ ca dṛṣṭvā cintām upāgamat* [[2]N.S. xxxvii. 3 (Ch. xxxvi, 49)] and *gāndharvaṃ ceha nāṭyaṃ ca yaḥ samyak paripālayet* [N.S. xxxvii, 31

1 Sanskrit Drama, p. 290.

2 N.S. = Nirṇaya Sagara Edition & Ch. = Chowkhamba Ed.

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(ch. xxxvi, 78)]. Besides these the author of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* says somewhere that the *nāṭya* has originated not only from the Vedāṅga but also from the *Vedopāṅgas* [see N.S. xxxvi, 46 (ch. xxxvi, 44)] and that the audience and the performers of a *nāṭya* attain *tāṃ gatim—yā gatir vedaviduṣāṃ yā gatir yajñayājinaḥ* (*bhavati*). If the *Nāṭyaśāstra* were a Veda this inducement becomes meaningless. All these very forcibly shake the reliability of the legend given in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and hence of the tradition recorded therein. As a consequence of this, Bharatamuni's claim is considerably weakened, but those who are still willing to see in Bharata the creator of drama may ask if he was not the father of the art why should the actors (*naṭas*) be called *bharatas*. Indeed this has been the idea of Prof. Keith when he styles Bharata 'the eponymous hero of drama.' In reply to the above contention we shall have to investigate into the origin of the unique legend of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

It is a well-known fact that the *naṭas* who belonged to the Śūdra class were to the orthodox society a much despised people. The opinion of various authors of the Dharmasūtras and Dharmaśāstras should be remembered in this connection. But the orthodox people were not the entire society. Besides these there were possibly people who enjoyed the performance of *naṭas* and did everything in their power to glorify their art. It is to these people that we owe the legend which makes the *Nāṭyaśāstra* a Veda and its author a *muni*. Though the story may be said to have the desired effect of giving *nāṭya* a place in the religious ceremonies of Brāhmaṇism, it still had a flaw ; for the so-called *Nāṭyaveda* was not revealed to a *ṛṣi* but to a *muni*. The motive of the *Nāṭyaveda* story was to soften the *anti-Śūdra* attitude of the ritual-ridden orthodox lawgivers and their descendants to whom the mystic name of a Veda appealed more than the æsthetic feats of *naṭas*. This legend, instead of making *bharata* a synonym of *naṭa* after an individual named Bharāta, does make the latter trace his origin in *bharata* which from an earlier time meant *naṭa*. Besides there were famous mythical heroes named Bharata and this made the business of the legend-maker easier. The way in which the legend *might* have come into being seems to be something like the following. That the earlier version of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* was called *Bharata-sūtra* is to be learnt from the testimony of Abhinavagupta. The legend-maker came some time afterwards and, probably on the analogy of names like the Manusmṛti, Gotamasūtra and such others, found the author of

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the Bharatasūtra in a Bharatamuni of his own creation. As a parallel, we find a person, Mānasāra as the author of the encyclopædic work on Indian architecture named the *Mānasāra* which means "the essentials of measurement" or "the epitome of standard measurements." In the body of this work there occur conflicting remarks which make *Mānasāra* the name of a work in some places and the name of an individual in others. (vide P. K. Acharya, Indian Architecture pp. 2-4). A legend about the Mānasāra-muni would have completed the process and made the business of a historian more difficult. (Incidentally the tendency of Prof. Acharya to identify the author of the above mentioned work with Mānasāra of the Daśakumāracarita is worth noticing).

Now, if Bharata-muni was no historical figure why should Śilālin and Kṛśāśva be totally ignored by the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and allied literature? The question will offer no difficulty. The upper limit that can be allowed to the age of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is the second century before Christ,[1] though the work contains clear indication of later additions. Śilālin and Kṛśāśva mentioned by Pāṇini himself who flourished five centuries before Christ must have existed at least six hundred years before Christ. And the four centuries that intervene between Śilālin-Kṛśāśva and the *Nāṭyaśāstra* amply justify the silence of the latter about those *Nāṭyasūtrakāras* (Śilālin and Kṛśāśva). For in the latter half of the 4th century B.C. Kauṭilya was never for encouraging naṭas and similar people. Instead of being encouraged they were objects of constant suspicion on the part of the statesmen who exploited them often as spies and tolerated them as ugly tools. No wonder that owing to this attitude of the State to the naṭas, the enthusiasm of the cultured people who patronised these people and appreciated their art gradually cooled down. A natural outcome of this must have been a fall in the standard of the dramatic performance which had formerly had to conform strictly to the Śāstras and a deviation from the rules laid down in the sūtras were counted as a blemish. After Kauṭilya and his followers comes the great Buddhist monarch Aśoka. Every student of ancient Indian history knows how averse were the primitive Buddhists to arts like *nacca-gita-vaditāni* and how jealously Aśoka tried to preach the doctrine of good law to his own people. Should we wonder then if under these circumstances Naṭasūtras of Śilālin and

1 S. K. De, Sanskrit Poetics, vol. I, p. 23.

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Kṛśāśva did, owing to a sheer disuse for a long time, go out of existence at a time when the earliest version of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* was made. Such disappearance of authors and their works is no rare phenomena in the history of ancient Indian literature. We mentioned before that the legend about Bharata came into being some time after the earliest version of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, and this makes its ignorance of Śilālin and Kṛśāśva all the more possible. The name of the first *Naṭasūtras* and their authors were of course embedded in the aphorisms of Pāṇini. But as we have observed before the earliest version of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, which had as yet no legend about the origin of Nāṭya added to it, had no occasion to mention *Nāṭyaśāstras* or their authors. The person or persons who afterwards created the legend might have omitted (if he had not done so intentionally out of jealousy to a rival school) to mention Śilālin and Kṛśāśva because of his ignorance, for he might not have been a student of Pāṇini (there being many other original grammatical works beside that of this great master).

To sum up, it may be said that, (i) the *Nāṭyaśāstra* legend about the origin of Nāṭya is palpably a badly made table fitted to the text in a still worse manner (ii) the word *Bharata* meaning *naṭa* has not been derived from any person of the same name and an enquiry seems to point to a reverse process, (iii) the disappearance of the Naṭasūtras of Śilālin and Kṛśāśva was probably due to socio-political circumstances of the age that followed Pāṇini, and (iv) Śilālin and Kṛśāśva were the earliest known writers of any *Nāṭyaśāstra* or the text book for the *naṭas*.

II

Rāghavabhaṭṭa in his commentary of the *Abhijñāna-śakuntala* quotes from two works on *nāṭya* named the *Bharata* and the *Ādibharata*. Quotations from the latter (the *Ādibharata*) are nineteen in number. Out of these nineteen quotations twelve are traceable in the extant *Nāṭyaśāstra* and three among the remaining seven have their parallel in the same work. The quotations from the *Bharata* are nine in number. Of these nine quotations seven are traceable in the extant *Nāṭyaśāstra* while two have their parallels in it.[1] Now in

1 Quotations from the *Bharata* and the *Ādibharata* are given in the appendix to this paper. Parallels from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* whenever necessary have also been cited there.

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view of these facts one is justified in asking if the two works are identical. Dr. S. K. De seems to identify these two and by the *Bharata* of Rāghavabhaṭṭa he understands the extant Nāṭyaśāstra.[1] It is for the scholars to judge if Dr. De's view is correct. But if the *Ādibharata* and the *Bharata* prove to be two different works it will only strengthen the general belief that the extant *Nāṭyaśāstra* is not the work of a single author.

According to M. Ramkrishna Kavi the *Ādibharata* is another name for the *Dvādaśa-sāhasrī*, a work on *nāṭya* in the form of a dialogue between Pārvatī and Śiva, and the other name of the *Bharata* is the *Saṭsāhasrī*. To M. R. Kavi this work (the *Saṭśāhasrī*) 'appears to be an epitome of an earlier work called *Dvādaśasāhasrī*'.[2] This information furnished by M. R. Kavi seems to throw some light on the *Bharata-Ādibharata* problem. But on a study of Rāghavabhaṭṭa's quotations one finds it difficult to accept the view that the *Bharata* is the epitome of the *Ādibharata*, though this is the logical outcome of M. R. Kavi's information. This learned scholar possess some fragments of the *Sadāśiva-bharata* which according to him may be the *Ādibharata alias Dvādaśasāhasrī*. The publication of this may help us in solving the problem.

1 Sanskrit Poetics (1st edn.), vol. I, p. 24 footnote 3.

2 Nāṭyaśāstra (G.O.S.), vol. I. pp. 5f. of the Preface.

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APPENDIX

A. QUOTATIONS[1] FROM THE ĀDIBHARATA

I. *Those traceable in the Nāṭyaśāstra*

1. (pp. 6f.) वास्तं वा चतुरस्रं वा चित्रं गुह्यमथापि वा ।
प्रयुज्य रङ्गान्निष्क्रामेत् सूत्रधारः सहानुगः ।
... ...
स्थापकः प्रविशेत्तत्र सूत्रधारगुणाकृतिः ।
N (k). V. 149-150. (N. V. 163-164).

2. (p. 15) औत्सुक्यमात्रबन्धस्तु यो बीजस्य निबध्यते ।
महतः फलयोगस्य स खल्वारम्भ इष्यते ।
N (k). XIX. 8. (N. XXI. 10).

3. (p. 15) धीरोद्धते धीरललिते धीरोदात्ते तथैव च ।
धीरप्रशान्ते च तथा पाठ्यं योज्यं तु संस्कृतम् ।
N (k). XVII. 31. (N. XVIII. 29-30).

4. (p. 21) परिव्राज्य निशाक्येषु तापसश्रोत्रियेषु च ।
द्विजा ये चैव लिङ्गस्थाः संस्कृतं तेषु योजयेत् ।
N (k). XVII. 36. (N. XVIII. 34-35).

5. (p. 23) कार्यार्थस्यर्थ समुत्पत्तिरुपक्षेप इति स्मृतः ।
N (k). XIX. 65. (N. XXI. 71).

6 (p 40) सहसैवार्थसम्पत्तिर्नायकस्योपकारिका ।
पताकास्थानकं संधौ प्रथमे तन्मतमिति ।
N (k). XIX. 30. (N. XXI. 32).

7 (p. 54) अङ्ग इति रूढ़िशब्दो भावैश्च रसैश्च रोहयत्यर्थान् ।
नानाविधानयुक्तो यस्मात्तस्माद्भवेदङ्गः ।
यत्रार्थस्य समाप्तिर्यत्र च बीजस्य भवति संहारः ।
किंचिदवलग्नबिन्दुः सोऽङ्क इति सदाऽवगन्तव्यः ।
ये नायका निगदितास्तेषां प्रत्यक्षचरितसंयुक्ताः ।
नानावस्थान्तरितः कार्यस्तुङ्को यथार्थरसः ।
N (k). XVIII. 14-16. (N. XX. 14, 16-17).

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1 Pages cited in the beginning of quotations are those of the 2nd edn. of the *Abhijñānaśakuntala* with Rāghavabhaṭṭa's Com. published by the Nirṇayasāgara Press, Bombay. And N (k) and N. stands for the Kāvyamālā and the Chowkhāmbā Edns. of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* respectively.

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8. (p. 68) प्रयोजनानां विच्छेदे यदविच्छेदकारणम् ।
यावत्रुभाप्ति ब(बं)न्धस्य स बिन्दुरिति संज्ञितः ।
N (k). XIX. 22. (N. XXI. 24).

9. (p. 69) अपश्यतः फलप्राप्तिं यो व्यापारः फलं प्रति ।
परं चौत्सुक्यगमनं प्रयत्नः सः प्रकीर्तितः ।
N (k). XIX. 9. (N. XXI. 11).

10. (p. 108) उपपत्तिकृतो योऽर्थ उपन्यासस्तु स स्मृतः ।
N (k). XIX. 76. (N. XXI. 83).

11. (p. 115) उद्भेदस्य बीजस्य प्राप्तिरप्राप्तिरेव च ।
पुनश्चान्वेषणं यत्र स गर्भः परिकीर्तितः ।
N (k). XIX. 39. (N. XXI. 41).

12. (p. 248) निर्वहणे कर्तव्यो नित्यं हि रसोऽङ्गतः कविभिः ।
N (k). XVIII. 91. (N. XX. 47).

II. Those having parallels in the *Nāṭyaśāstra.*

1. (p. 5) आशीर्नमस्क्रियारूपः श्लोकः काव्यार्थसूचकः ।
नान्दीति कथ्यते ... ...

cf. आशीर्वचनसंयुक्ता नित्यं यस्मात् प्रवर्तते ।
देवद्विजनृपादीनां तस्मान्नान्दीति संज्ञिता ।
N (k). V. 25. (N. V. 24 25).

2. (p. 9) सभ्यास्तु विबुधैर्ज्ञेया ये दिष्टज्ञान्विता जनाः ।
मध्यस्था सावधानाश्च वाग्मिनो न्यायवेदिनः ।
त्रुटितावुटिताभिज्ञा विनयानमकन्धराः ।
अगर्वा रसभावज्ञास्तौर्यत्रितयकोविदाः ।
असह्यादनिषेद्धारस्त्वतुरा मत्सरच्छिदः ।
अमन्दरसनिष्यन्दहृदया भूषणोज्ज्वलाः ।
सुवेषा भोगिनी (?) नानाभाषावीर (?) विशारदाः ।
स्वस्वोचितस्थानमुख्यास्तत्प्रशंसापरायणाः ।

cf. चारित्राभिजनोपेताः शान्तिवृत्तश्रुतान्विताः ।
यशोधर्मरताश्चैव मध्यस्था वयसान्विताः ।
षड्ङ्गनाट्यकुशला अलुब्धाः शुचयः समाः ।
चतुरातोद्यकुशला नेपथ्यज्ञाः सुधार्मिकाः ।
देशभाषाविधानज्ञाः कलाशिल्पविचक्षणाः ।

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चतुर्धाभिनयज्ञाश्च सूक्ष्मज्ञा रसभावयोः ।
शब्दच्छन्दोविधानज्ञाः नानाशास्त्रविचक्षणाः ।
एवंविधास्तु कर्तव्याः प्रेक्षका (प्राश्निका) नाट्यदर्शने ।

N (k). XXVII. 47-50. (N. XXVII. 50-53).

3. (p. 264) देवद्विजनृपादीनां प्रशस्तिः स्यात्प्रशंसनम् ।
cf. नृपदेवप्रशस्तिश्च प्रशस्तिरित्यभिधीयते ।

N (k). XIX. 98. (N. XXI. 105).

III. Those not traceable in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and having no parallels in the same work.

1. (p. 12) वक्ष्ये भङ्गादिसंभिन्नं नाट्यगानमतःपरम् ।
मध्यमोत्तमपात्राणां नाटके सिद्धिदायकम् ॥

2. (p. 12) विलम्बितलया यत्र गुरवो द्विपदी तु सा ।
शृङ्गारे करुणे हास्ये योज्या चोत्तममध्यमैः ।
अवस्थान्तरमासाद्य गातव्या साधमैरपि ।

3. (p. 105) आघूर्णमानमध्या या चामा चाञ्चिततारका ।
दृष्टिर्विकसितापाङ्गा मदिरा तरुणे मदे ॥

cf. *Saṅgītaratnākara*, VII. 430.

4. (p 248) शिरोधुतं पताकश्च वक्षस्थो विस्मये भवेत् ।

B. QUOTATIONS FROM BHARATA.

I Those traced in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

1. (p 5) पूर्वं कृता मया नान्दी आशीर्वचनसंयुता ।
अष्टाङ्गपदसंयुक्ता प्रशस्ता वेदसंमता ।

N (k). I. 23. (N. I. 57).

2. (pp. 5-6) सूत्रधारः पठेन्नान्दीं मध्यमस्वरमाश्रितः ।
नान्दीपदैर्द्वादशभिरष्टाभिर्वाप्यलंकृताम् ।

N (k). V. 98. (N. V. 106-107).

3. (p. 6) नमोऽस्तु सर्वदेवेभ्यो द्विजातिभ्यस्ततो नमः ।
जितं सोमेन वै राज्ञा शिवं गोब्राह्मणाय च ॥
ब्रह्मोत्तरं तथैवास्तु हता ब्रह्मद्विषस्तथा ।
प्रशास्त्विमां महाराजः पृथिवीं च ससागराम् ॥
राज्यं प्रवर्धतां चैव रङ्गः स्वांशः समृध्यतु ।
प्रेक्षाकर्तुर्महान् धर्मो भवतु ब्रह्मभाषितः ॥

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काव्यवर्तुर्यशश्चापि धर्मश्चापि प्रवर्धताम् ।
इज्यया चानया नित्यं प्रीयन्तां देवता इति ॥

N (k). V. 99-102 (N. V. 107-111).

4. (p. 7) पत्नी चार्यति संभाष्या ।

N (k). XVII. 88. (N. XIX. 26).

5. (p. 8) सर्वस्त्रीभिः पतिर्वाच्य आर्यपुत्रेति यौवने ।

N (k). XVII. 82 (N. XIX. 19).

6. (p. 26) समानाभिस्तथा सख्यो हलाभाष्याःपरस्परम् ।

N (k). XVII. 89. (N. XIX. 26).

7. (p. 20) विभूषणं चाक्षरसंहतिश्च शोभाभिमानी गुणकीर्तनं च ।
प्रोत्साहनोदाहरणे नियुक्तं गुणानुवादोऽतिशयश्च हेतुः ॥
सारूपमिथ्याध्यवसायसिद्धिपदोच्चयभ्रंशमनोरथाश्च ।
आख्यामयाज्ञा (नयाच्ञा) प्रतिषेधपृच्छादृष्टान्तनिर्भासनसंश्च (श) याश्च ॥
आशीः प्रियं वै कपटं क्षमा च पातिः क्षयश्चोत्तपनं तथैव ।
अथानुवृत्तिर्ह्युपपत्तियुक्ता कार्यानुभूतिः परिदेवनं च ॥

N (k). XVI. 1-4. (cf. N. XVI. 1-5).

II. Those not traceable in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

1. (p. 2) आशीर्नमस्क्रियारूपाः
2. (p. 7) रामादिव्यञ्जको वेषोनटे नेपथ्यमिष्यते ।

MONOMOHAN GHOSE

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Birbhum and Western Bengal in the Eighteenth Century

II

The Mahratta raids during the time of Ali Verdi Khan seem to have been the chief factor which gave to a large portion of 18th century Western Bengal its unsettled character of peculiar restlessness. The numerous cases of "*deed lost*" or "*deed destroyed*" *in the Mahratta raids* (*Bargī hāngām*) as found in Mitra's *Types of early Bengali Prose* eloquently testify to the breaking down of the economic and fiscal system of the country. The fact, however, that these deeds were replaced again and could be replaced legally, is a testimony to the inherent law-abiding instincts of the people of this section and also speaks well for the stability of the fiscal institutions of the country.

There are certain localities in Western Bengal where the Mahratta raiders spent years,—points of vantage from which they descended on the helpless population. Midnapur is one of these places. They seem to have clearly recognized the strategic position of that town which lies on the southern edge of a Laterite plateau, around which the river Kasai sweeps,—in the rains a turbulent torrent.

From this point, which was in the possession of the Mahrattas for some time, Bhaskar Pandit's hordes swept over the neighbouring districts, and once or twice came to the very gates of Murshidabad followed by a deluge of bloodshed and plunder.

Another position of importance much to the liking of the wild Hindu free-booters was a low and broad hill near Nalhati Railway station in Birbhum. It rises rather steeply out of the plains, several miles away from the spurs of the neighbouring Santal Pargana Hills to the west. Here the Mahrattas camped for several years.

Naturally the Mahrattas must have appreciated the dry and solid ground of both localities, which reminded them of their home country and was a most desirable camping ground all the year round. The deeds of horror perpetrated by these marauders from Western India, their yearly expeditions, form one of the darkest chapters in Indian history and in the annals of Western Bengal.

Theories of Land Tenure

It will now be necessary for our proper understanding of the tangled

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history of the 18th century to discuss the theory of land tenure in Mughal times.

In the controversies over the land system of Bengal, the fact that the fiscal system of the former Muhammadan rulers had grown out of rights which they acquired by conquest has often been overlooked. That is to say, there was a clean break with the ancient Hindu system of landholding when the Muhammadan conquerors after their conquest established their own administrative and fiscal system at the end of the 12th century.

Though many relics of Hindu system of landholding have survived (see the previous discussions of the Pargana system), the fact remains that the system introduced by the conquerers was based on rights acquired solely by that conquest.

The British after taking over the fiscal management of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1765, continued the land system of the Mughals who in their turn had largely taken it over from the Afghan and other earlier Muhammadan conquerors. During all that long period of Indian history, from the middle of the 13th century down to nearly our own times, though the principle that the king owns the soil, has not passed uncontested, it has nevertheless very largely remained the political theory on which the economic system of India, as regards the holding and cultivating of land, is largely based. In other words, the theories at least of landholding in Bengal, down to this very day, are largely those which grew up during the Muhammadan period of India's Middle Ages.

Whether Mughal governors leased out tracts of crown land to Hindu landholders, and again took the land away from them, or whether Lord Cornwallis effected the Permanent Settlement of Bengal, the fact remains that in both cases the rights of the State, as the only real proprietor of the soil, were clearly recognised, or else such settlements would have been neither necessary nor possible. If Government proprietorship of the soil had not existed as an accomplished fact, or, at least, as an assumed fact, no such settlement could have taken place.

In his recent book, *History and Economics of the Land System in Bengal*, Kshitish Chandra Chaudhuri quotes from the general letter of the Court of Directors of the East India Company of 19th Sept., 1792, as follows :

"On the fullest consideration we are inclined to think, that whatever doubts may exist with respect to their original character, whether as proprietors of land or collectors of revenue, or with respect to chan-

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ges which may in process of time have taken place in their situation, there can at least be little difference of opinion as to the actual condition of the Zemindars under the Moghul government. Custom generally gave them a certain species of hereditary occupancy; but the sovereign nowhere appears to have bound himself by any law or compact not to deprive them of it; and the rents to be paid by them remained always to be fixed by his arbitrary will and pleasure, which were constantly exercised upon this object. If considered, therefore, as a right of property, it was very imperfect and very precarious; having not at all, or but in a very small degree, those qualities that confer independence and value upon the landed property in Europe. Though such be our ultimate view pf the question, our originating a system of fixed equitable taxation will sufficiently show that our intention has been to act upon the high tone of Asiatic despotism."

"We are, on the contrary, for establishning real, permanent, valuable landed rights in our provinces; and for conferring such rights upon the Zemindars; but it is just that the nature of this concession should be known, and that our subjects should see they receive from the enlightened principles of a British Government what they never enjoyed under the happiest of their own."

Chaudhuri goes on to say:

"Thus the momentous decision was made. If the State was not the owner of the land, Zemindars must be. Since definite proofs were wanting of the State's being the landlord, proprietorship must as a matter of policy, if not of right, be vested in the Zemindars. Such was the logic of the persons who were in power. It did never occur to them that there was a third party connected with the land, namely, the tillers of it, and that proprietary rights, perhaps did, and could, with advantage belong to them,"—pp. 16, 17.

Whether today in British India, the State has practically lost or given away its ancient rights of sole proprietorship of the soil or not, is a question that does not touch our present investigation which merely deals with the *theory* of land tenures as supported by the Muhammadan governors and ruling dynasties of Bengal and by their British successors down to our times. The theory on which all land legislation, down to the Bengal Tenancy Act as modified in Feb. 1929, is based, is, I believe, still the theory that the State is the final and actual proprietor of the soil, and so far at least, this theory has most significantly affected the whole economic

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life of Bengal and of India. And the right of the State of disposing of the land, by letting it out to landholders of any and every kind, directly or indirectly, and by a bewildering variety of contracts which such landholders again made with secondary middlemen during the last 170 years, is still very largely the right which the present government in this part of India inherited from its Muhammadan predecessors.

This fact accounts for the conflict that existed during the whole Muhammadan period between the government and its own revenue collectors who were very largely Hindus. As has often been remarked, nearly every Hindu institution, office or employment, tends to become hereditary. As has been shown in another place, revenue collectors during the entire Moslem period tended to become Zemindars. Due to Hindu conceptions being of much greater age and persistency than the official Muhammadan fiscal theory, such revenue collectors by a very easy process from having been officers of the crown often became semi-independent chiefs, and often rebels to the existing system of government.

The underlying principle of the Muhammadan State was that all the lands belonged to the crown and were at the free disposal of it. This conflict of principles, the Hindu one of heredity of office or possession, and the Muhammadan one of absolute and unquestionable State rights over all the soil of the country, did no doubt contribute in no small measure to the notorious instability of most of the politicai institutions and dynasties of the Muhammadan period. When the British fiscally did take over from the Muhammadans these assumed or actual rights of control or actual ownership of the soil by the State, the hereditary Hindu principle of land ownership or tenure was greatly strengthened by the elimination of the Muhammadan theory of non-hereditary land tenure and State ownership on the downfall of the Muslim regime. Thus while throughout the British period the State is nominally still the owner of the soil, the power of the former middlemen between the State and the tenants, the Zemindars, with all their subdivisions, patnidars and others, have grown enormously, so that in most cases, it now amounts to a sort of ill-defined joint ownership of the land between[1] Zemindar and

1 Here, like everywhere in this paper, Zemindar is used in its popular sense, including patnidars and all other middlemen, between the State and the tenant.

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tenant, both having their legal rights on the soil. While however the hold on the soil of the landholding classes during the British period has been greatly strengthened, this strengthening has been at the expense not only of the State, but also of the tenant. Generally speaking, legislation in British India has been distinctly more favourable to the Zemindar than to the tenant, largely because the classes to which Zemindars belong, by reason of superior education and prestige, could better defend their rights than the illiterate peasant tenants could.

But the turn in favour of the Zemindars took place towards the end of the 18th century in the discussions between Shore, Grant and others, and the above long passage of the general letter of the Court of Directors is merely the prelude to the Permanent Settlement that took place the following year, 1793.

Bengal Revenue

It now remains for us to take a closer view of the amount of land rent which constituted the revenue of Bengal during the Mughal period, especially during latter half. The figures as quoted below show a steady increase in the revenue totals. Bengal down to the very last of the Mughal period constituted largely to the exchequer of the tottering empire, of which it had become, historically one of the last, but in amounts of revenue, one of the foremost of the several provinces.

1. The 19 Sarkars which made up Bengal proper in 1582, paid a revenue, on *khalsa* lands (crown lands) inclusive of a few duties on salt, *hats* (markets) and fisheries, of Rs. 63,37,052. According to Grant, the value of *jagir* lands was fixed at Rs. 4,348,892, so that in 1582 A.D. Rs. 1,06,85,944 was the total revenue of Bengal, (see JAS, 1873, p. 219.)

This was derived from ryots in specie, as the equivalent of the sixth share of the entire produce of the land, claimed by the sovereign as his share. This rent roll remains in force during the reign of Jahangir.

2. Under Shah Jahan, Midnapur and Hijli were annexed to Bengal, also Tipperah and Koch Hajo, and in 1658 Prince Shuja, made a new rent roll containing 34 Sarkars, and 1,350 mahals with a total revenue, in *khalsa* and *jagir* lands, of Rs. 1,31,15,997.

3. Shuja's rent roll remained in force till 1722 A.D., when Murshid Quli Khan prepared his *Kāmil Jama Tamari* (the perfect rent roll).

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He instituted 34 Sarkars, forming 13 chaklahs, subdivided into 1,660 parganas, with a revenue of Rs. 1,42,88,186.

After Jafar Khan (Murshid Q. Khan) *abwabs*, imposts on fees etc., appear in the books, the whole revenue amounting in 1765, when the East India Company acquired the *dewani* from Emperor Shah Alam, to Rs. 2,56,24,223. (All in footnote on pages 49-50 of Riyazul-Salatin).

This is a short outline of the amounts of revenue during the Moghul period.

A little sidelight on Bengal revenues is given by the French traveller Travernier in his "Travels in India".

He has the following entry :

"On the 1st December 1665 on my way from Serail Sekandera. I met 110 wagons, every wagon drawn by six oxen, and in every wagon 50,000 Rupees. This is the revenue of the province of Bengala, which with all charges defraid and the Governor's purse well-filled, comes to 5,500,000 Rupees", p. 91.

The amount given here by Tavernier differs materially from the perhaps more or less theoretical figure of the rent roll at different periods, even if we allow a large discount for overhead expenses. If Tavernier did manage to get the correct figure, and did hear correctly, even the amount of over five millions of Rupees per annum, that went from Bengal to North India, must have been an enormous drain on the resources of Bengal as it then was, for nothing was contributed by North India in return. It is possible that Western Bengal got off easier than the portions of Central and Eastern Bengal for the reasons stated in the previous paper, namely its distance from headquarters, at least when the provincial government was at Dacca, and the inaccessibility of large portions of it, as well as their economically more undeveloped condition. Again, while Murshid Quli Khan to the end of his life sent the annual tribute to Delhi, nothing was paid into the Imperial Treasury by Ali Verdi Khan, who, while nominally still a Mughal governor, was actually an independent ruler free from allegiance to the degenerated puppet kings of great Akbar's line at Delhi.

G. SCHANZLIN

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Literary Patronage under the Zamorins of Calicut*

After the so-called disruption of the Perumāḷ Empire subsequent to the alleged partition and apostacy of the 'last Perumāḷ', learning and arts continued to thrive with appreciable, if not better, results under the petty pro-consuls who had established themselves as rulers in the outlying provinces; for, while the patronage was formerly extended by the suzerain Perumāḷ alone it was now available from all his vassals, each vying with the other in liberality. The number of such principalities was over a dozen, namely, the royal houses of Kōlattiri, Kaṭattanād, Kōṭṭayam, Calicut, Veṭṭattnāḍ, Cochin, Crāṅganūr, Cembakaśśēri, Vaṭakkenkūr, Tekkenkūr, Quilon, Koṭṭārakkara, Vēṇāḍ, etc. Though, with the unification of Travancore, Cochin and British Malabar, these kingdoms lost their existence as independent political units, their rulers continued to shower their favours on talented men of letters.

It is proposed here to take a stock of the invaluable services rendered to the noble cause of literature and learning by one of the most important of such royal families, namely, the Zamorins of Calicut. Be it said that this family has itself produced many illustrious scholars and gifted poets including some distinguished princesses.

The first about whom we have any reliable record is Māna Vikṛaman Śaktan Tampurān, the second king of that name, who reigned in the first half of the 15th century A. C. In the matter of patronage, he rivalled the great Vikṛama of Ujjain; for, while that prince could boast of only nine gems at his court, the Vikṛama of Calicut gathered around him more than double that number.

An enthusiastic lover of indigenous culture, he fostered the intensive cultivation and development of the arts and sciences of the country, and spared no pains for their further development and dissemination among the people. In him Malayāḷi and non-Malayāḷi genius found a bountiful benefactor. The immemorial institution of *Tānam* at Taḷi, inaugurated by one of his predecessors, was successfully utilised by this master-mind for the attainment of his life-long

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* A paper contributed to the last Oriental Conference at Lahore.

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ambition. It gave a fillip to the cause of learning by Śāstric contests used to be held on the occasion of the *Śrāddhas* of his ancestors. A hundred and eight purses were awarded to eminent scholars who carried off the palm in the debates in various branches of learning. Each prize was set apart for each of the 108 departments of knowledge into which the Vedas, the Śāstras and the Purāṇas were divided for this purpose. The contests were open to talented men of letters from every country. The most important competition was held once in a *Vyāḷa Vaṭṭam.* The irony of fate would have it that for some years a famous and eloquent pandit from Conjevaram, familiarly known as Uddaṇḍa Sāstrī, whose sound scholarship was buttressed by an intensive study of the sciences, won all the laurels and lived triumphantly at the court. Dāmodaran, a Malayāḷam scholar popularly known as Kākkaśśeri Bhaṭṭatiri, proved himself a veritable prodigy endowed with a marvellously productive intellect and retentive memory and justified the most sanguine expectations of the Nambūtiris. The Śāstrī was foiled in his own field of dialectics, and Dāmōdara carried off every one of the coveted prizes at the early age of eleven.

These two intellectual giants have left us permanent relics of their scholarship. The Śāstrī is the author of the *Kokilasandeśam*, which describes the charming scenes of Cennamaṅgalam on the Alwaye river and of Keraḷa to the north of it, in the manner usual to Sandeśa Kāvyas. He is also the author of *Mallikā Mārutam*, a drama intended to be staged in the famous Taḷi temple of Calicut, the meeting place of that august body which constituted the intellectual aristocracy of Keraḷa. *Vasumatī Vikṛamam* is the rival piece in six acts produced for the same stage by his young and victorious adversary. In this play, the dramatist gratefully acknowledges the fact that he was educated by a devout Nambūtiri named Nārāyaṇan of Tiruvegappuṛa at the expense of the reigning sovereign, whom he has immortalised in the drama as its hero (Vikṛama).

Tradition has faithfully recorded that, besides these two brilliant luminaries, there were sixteen and a half others who together formed the celebrated *patinettara kavis* or eighteen and a half gems of the Śaktan Tampurān's court. The half-poet referred to is Pūnam Nambūtiri, who was an inspired vernacular poet, considered by the Sanskritists of his day to be eligible only for the epithet of '*arakkavi*' or half-poet; for, the indigenous language, in their opinion, was not suited to the expression of noble ideas in dignified, attractive and elegant form. It speaks much to the exceptional merit of the Nambū-

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tiri's poems that the unique distinction of a place in this distinguished hierarchy was ungrudingly extended to him even by the most uncompromising Sanskritists of his day.

Another striking figure of this group was the Cennos Nambūtiripāḍ, the principal *Tantri* or adviser of the Zamorin and the author of the *Tantra-Samuccayam*, which deals in a masterful and terse manner with the subject of *Tāntric* rituals, temple architecture, iconography, etc., and which constitutes the standard treatise on the subject for the Malayāḷis. The peculiar circumstances which led to its composition are of remarkable interest, as disclosing an essential trait in the character of this ideal monarch. Cennos Nārāyaṇan Nambūtiripāḍ and one of the five Mullappaḷḷi Nambūtiris who adorned the Court were punished at the royal hands for some verses composed by them. The punishment inflicted on them was characteristic of the patron of learning. He ordered that the Cennos Nambūtiripāḍ was not to be admitted into his presence, unless the latter produced an original work. This singular treatment, prompted the Cennos Nambūtiripāḍ to write his *Tantra Samuccayam.* The Mullappaḷḷi Nambūtiri was humiliated by being awarded the first of the purses but not the prize for supremacy in debate conducted before the *pandita sadas*, while another was adjudged as the winner of the prize. The punishment was intended to stimulate the lazy Nambūtiri to greater exertions so as to make him deserve better of his sovereign and merit public appreciation. And, this treatment had the desired effect.

The Payyūr Bhaṭṭatiris, the last ten of this group, were talented Mīmāṃsā scholars who have rendered an inestimable service to Keraḷa by popularising the Sanskrit culture. It was on their mutual understanding that, every year, on the occasion of their meeting for the *Śrāddha* of the eight brothers, each one was to produce an original work on Mīmāṃsā, and it is said to their credit that they faithfully carried out this undertaking for several years.[1]

Literary investigations would further enrich our already rich heritage of Sanskrit literature by revealing the names and works of a few more poets and wits who flourished at Māna Vikrama's Court, and about whom almost all traditions have been lost—poets and writers who can stand comparison with even their brilliant and better known contemporaries, and who were the best products of the free

1 Several of these works with the names of their authors are now available.

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extension of Sanskrit learning to those occupying the lower rungs of the social ladder of the caste-ridden Keraḷa. Of these Śaṅkarārya, the son and disciple of Cennos Nārāyaṇan Nambūtiri, a renowned scholar, was a distinguished courtier of Zamorin. He has given us a lucid commentary on his father's pioneer work. Karuṇākara Piṣārōṭi is another celebrity of the same court. He was a native of Mūkkola, one of the most sacred places in South Malabar. In his treatise on Alaṅkāra, called the *Kavicintāmaṇi*, a commentary on the *Vṛttaratnākara*, he admits that he was a court-poet of the "Rāja Rāja" of Calicut, who may be identical with our Māna Vikrama, the Vikramāditya. He had a Nambūtiri disciple called Vāsudeva (referred to as Vāsudeva Bhūsura) who was a commentator of the *Viddhasālabhañjika*,[1] one of the few dramas in which an Emperor of Keraḷa is the hero. Vāsudeva, the author of this commentary, is the author of *Bhṛṅga Sandeśam*, written under the Zamorin's orders and as a reply to Uddaṇḍa's *Kokila Sandeśa*. He was perhaps one of the youngest courtiers of Vikrama's court. He acknowledges his indebtedness to his *guru*, Karuṇākara Piṣārōṭi of Mūkkōla. It is still not beyond doubt whether this is the same Vāsudeva whose *Vāsudeva Vijayam* was continued by the great Meppattūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri in his *Dhātukāvya*. The question whether he is identical with Vāsudeva, the author of the kāvyas, *Devacaritra*, *Acyutalīlā*, *Śivodaya*, and the *Vākyāvali* is not yet settled. The last kāvya is a work in four Sargas, treating of the adventures of Lord Kṛṣṇa. The first illustrates certain grammatical peculiarities, the second certain *Alaṅkāras*, the third *Chandas* (prosody) and the last *Citras* in poetry. His style in conventional poetry is said to resemble that of the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* of the Vāsudeva of Yamaka fame. It may also be stated that tradition has recorded as many as three *Vāsudevas* Nambūtirīs of the Paṭṭattu Mana at Perumanam, to which the Yamaka poet belonged. Hence it is a point worthy of consideration whether any of the three Vāsudevas referred to previously were descendants of Kulaśekhara's protégé of Yamaka fame.

Due to the annual Śāstric contests in the *vidvat sabhās* of the

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1 It is significant that the few commentaries on this work hitherto discovered are mostly confined to Keraḷa, a fact which shows not merely its popularity here, but may also serve to prove that Rājaśekhara, the author, was a native of Keraḷa and probably identical with one of the kings of that name known to Keraḷa epigraphy.

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Zamorins, particularly from the 13th century A.C., a constant stream of students and professors, learned in the Vedas, the Śāstras and the Purāṇas, and desirous of gaining recognition as well as of enriching themselves or enjoying the unbounded hospitality of the rulers, was pouring into Calicut from other parts of Keraḷa and from the Tamil and other provinces of India. The healthy contact of the indigenous scholars with one another and intellectual intercourse between the Malayāḷi and non-Malayāḷi paṇḍits thus brought together were, no doubt, of immense mutual benefit, and ushered in a renaissance in Keraḷa in which Nambūtiris, naturalised Tamil Brahmins and Ambalavāsis and Nāyars alike played a prominent part.

Next we come to Māna Vikrama Rāja, another great patron of arts and sciences, better known as the third Śaktan Tampurān, who ruled Calicut in the first half of the 17th century A.C. The Tiruvoṇam Tirunāḷ Mahārājā, the Zamorin referred to above, after his coronation in 1538 A.C., conducted *Māmānkam* and performed the *Tulābharam*, *Hiraṇyagarbham* and other ceremonies on a grand scale—ceremonies which were accompanied with the distribution of gold to the devout and talented Brahmin scholars. For the major part of his prosperous reign of 21 years, this Rājā, the Śaktan Tampurān, resided in the Vaṭakkekkara Palace at Trichur, where he held his court in all its splendour. He was one of the greatest monarchs of his dynasty, an ideal sovereign whom his successors tried to imitate. One of his greatest services to the cause of literature and science is the splendid education that he managed to gave to his nephew and niece—an education which enabled them the better to measure the worth of their court-poets justly and correctly and to reward them according to their deserts. Mānaveda and his sister, Manorama Tampurāṭṭi, were the disciples of Śrī Raṅganātha Śāstri, their colleagues being Śekhara and Śekhara, probably Wariars of the Deśamaṅgalam family.

Mānaveda, as his works reveal him and as tradition makes him out, was a quiet and unassuming prince of scholarly habits and of a devotional temperament. While his brilliant predecessor had distinguished himself in the field of war and statecraft, Mānaveda made his mark as a man of exceptional talents in the arena of letters. This, coupled with his wise and liberal dispensation upon patronage of the learned, rightly entitled him to the epithet of Dakṣiṇa Bhoja. A prince of paṇḍits and *yōgīs* and a friend of the last of the famous Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyārs, he was responsible for a new departure in dramaturgy, named *Kṛṣṇāṭṭam*. He resolved to gratify

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his sense of devotion by composing stories of Kṛṣṇa Līlā in eight parts, which he set to music and got enacted under his guidance. During these performances, the actor impersonating Bāla Gopāla used to wear a crown. The date of the composition is about 1657, as is seen from the cryptogram *Grāhyāstutirgāthakai*. It was when he was the Eṛālpāḍ Rāja (Eḷaya Rāja or heir-apparent) that he wrote a commentary called *Vilāsini* on the *Śuka Sandeśam* of Kariṇṇampiḷḷi Lakṣmīdāsan Nambūtiri. He is probably the author of *Vikramīyam*, a commentary on the *Anargha Rāghava* of Murāri, generally attributed to the second Śaktan Tampurān. A brilliant poet, he was well fitted by nature and training to lead in literature. He had worked the original *Mahābhārata* into Sanskrit in the *Campu* form, and produced his *Mānaveda Campu*,—a lasting monument of his literary skill and erudition. The date of the completion of this work is known from the *Kalivācakam* "*Pāpōdyullālasoyam*" appearing in it, which works out to be 823 M.E. (1648 A.C. roughly). Following the Zamorin's lead, the Maḷamaṅgalam and Celapparambu Nambūtirīs who flourished at his court as well as under his uncle and predecessor, had each written a *Campu* on the *Bhāratam*. He has also rendered the *Rāmāyaṇa* into *Campu*. There are many anecdotes about this Zamorin which prove the intimate relationship that existed between him and the courtier-poets of his day and his critical appreciation of their spontaneous productions.

Among these poets, Maḷamaṅgalam Nambūtiri, a native of Perumanam Grāmam in the Cochin State, and a gifted poet and scholarly writer—alike in Sanskrit and Malayāḷam—is reputed to be the author of a *Bhāṣā Naiṣadha Campu*. His reputation as a *Śriṅgāra Kavi* rests on his innumerable ślokas and couplets. For his powers of imagery, his mastery of alliteration and rhyme, for the depth of his thought and the sublimity of his ideas, he is unexcelled by his contemporaries. The *Āśauca Prāyaścittavidhi*, the *Maḷamaṅgalam Bhānam* and *Koṭiviraham*, believed to have been his productions, have to be assigned to his namesake of the 13th century A.C., a great ancestor of his.

Celapparambu Nambūtiri, a native of Calicut, was a resourceful poet who was a master of *extempore* composition, for which he received countless presents not merely from the Zamorins but also from the Rajas of Cochin and Travancore, at whose courts too he had stayed for considerable periods.

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From the catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts secured from Keraḷa by the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library, during the triennium 1918-1921, it will be seen that a poet named Nārāyaṇa lived in the court of a certain Mānavēda, a king of Malabār, who can well be identified with this prince of poets. He completed the latter part of the *Mānameyodayam* begun by the famous Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri of Meppattūr. Another production of this author, familiar more as the author of the *Vivaraṇas* is a work on Nyāya entitled the *Tamovāda*. This scientific treatise contains an able dissertation on the existence of *Tamas* or Darkness as an independent entity, and with an exposition of the views of Kumārila, Maṇḍanamiśra and other Vedāntins on this matter. From the *Uttara Rāmacarita Vyākhya* of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita of Veḷḷāṅgallūr, a disciple of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, we understand that his work, named *Bhāvārthadīpikā*, was written under the orders of one Netranārāyaṇa, who is no other person than the distinguished Āḷuvānceri Tampurākkaḷ, the high-priest of Keraḷa and the great *Purohita* of the Zāmorin. Consequently, it may not be far-fetched to identify this Nārāyaṇa with the commentator. He is also the author of *Vivaraṇa*, commentary on the *Kumāra-sambhava*, while his commentary on the *Raghuvaṁśa* is named *Padārtha-dīpikā*. He has also composed a *Kāvya* known as the *Govinda Caritam*. He mentions Kṛṣṇa Kavi also, known as Kṛṣṇārya, who was a prominent scholar and poet of this patron's court. This Kṛṣṇa may be identified with Kṛṣṇa Kavi, who is admittedly the author of the *Bhārata Caritam* of the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*, and of the *Campū Bhāratam* named *Kṛṣṇīyam* as well as of a commentary on the *Mānaveda Bhārata Campu*.

Rudra Wariar (of Deśamaṅgalam ?) was also a protégé of the same Zamorin, and has written a commentary on the *Nārāyaṇīyam* of Meppattūr Bhaṭṭatīri called *Bhaktapriya* and a *Campu* based on *Śiśupālavadha* of Māgha. It was at the court of this Mānaveda that a Wariar disciple of Śrīkaṇḍha Wariar of Deśamaṅgalam lived and wrote his *Mānaveda Saṭṭaka*, a drama in Prakrit. He seems to be identical with Rudra Wariar, already referred to.

Two favourite diciples of Tuncatt Rāmānujan Eruttaccan—the father of modern Malayāḷam literature—appear to have been tutors of the Zamorins. Of these, Karuṇākaran Eruttaccan, the author of *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇam* in *Kiḷippāṭṭu* and one of the earliest *śiṣyas* of Tunchatt Eruttaccan, was for some time the preceptor of the Eḷaya Rājā who resided in his palace in Waḷḷuvanāḍ. Sūryanārāyaṇa

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Eruttaccan, of Ciṟṟūr (Cochin State), one of the last disciples of the poet, after completing his pilgrimage to the holy city of Benares at the age of 32, became a tutor to the reigning Raja of the Neṭiyirippu Svarūpam. It is not possible, at this stage and at this distance of time, to state from the meagre details that are available whether this king was the third Śaktan Tampurān mentioned above or Mānaveda, the Aśvatī Tirunāḷ Mahārāja, his successor. This is a point which requires further investigation.

Manorama Tampurāṭṭi, a distinguished sister of Mānaveda, the Dakṣiṇa Bhoja, who died at Cranganur in 838 M.E., was the most learned and accomplished scholar of her time. She took an abiding interest in the arts and sciences. Attracted by the fame of Celapparambu Nambūtiri as a master of *ex-tempore* versification, she had him once introduced to her. Surprised at the extreme tenderness of his age, she doubted whether it was reported correctly of the youthful poet's maturity of thought, and to convince herself, she requested him to compose a śloka in her presence. The Nambūtiri recited *ex-tempore*, with astonishing rapidity and ease, an excellent verse which extremely gratified her. It was, probably, at her instance that a hitherto unknown poet named Bhagavat Dāsan wrote a commentary on the *Bhāgavata*.

The Zamorin Bharaṇī Tirunāḷ who conducted the *Māmānkam* festival of 869 M.E., (1694) witnessed by Mr. Alexander Hamilton is the hero of Kāṭanceri Nambūtiri's *Keraḷolpatti and Māmānkotsavam*. He was a very powerful sovereign who patronised scholars to a great extent. He held his court, for the most part of his reign, in the Vākkai Palace at Ponnāni.

Kāṭanceri Nambūtiri, most probably a dependent of his—in any case, a contemporary—has immortalised him in his *Keraḷolpatti and Māmānkotsavam*, a work written in the *Kiḷippāṭṭu* metre. One of its most important and useful chapters, the *Māmānkam* of 869 M.E., is in about 45 pages. From this poem we find that the fourth Prince of the family, then a mere youth, was a *tapasvin* who had already acquired considerable distinction as a master of Vyākaraṇa.

The poet has also recorded that the Zamorin was very much interested in the *Kūttu*, *Pāthakam*, *Kṛṣṇāṭṭam* and *Rāmanāṭṭam* (*Kathakaḷi*) and other performances which formed an attractive feature of the *Māmānkam*.

In the latter half of the 18th century, we again meet with a very distinguished princess, well-known as Manorama Tampurāṭṭi, the last,

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probably, of these noble patrons of culture. She was closely related to the successor of the Zamorin who passed away in 1744 A. C. She had, among her numerous disciples, the Arūr Aṭitri, who later on became the preceptor of the well-known Vidvān Eḷaya Rāja of Cranganur who died in about 1853 A. C.

One of the Zamorins is said to have been so keenly interested in the Nyāya Śāstra that he is said to have visited Benares to study first-hand, from the erudite scholars there, the *Maṇigrantha*, a standard work on Nyāya. This Prince is hence known as Maṇi Tampurān, but at present we are unable to correctly arrive at the period of his reign.

Similarly, we have literary evidence that one of the Zamorins had a courtier named Timmakavi who was the grandson of a Jeggakavi, and was a writer of a *campu* called *Sujanamanomukunda-candrikā*, but his age too is unknown, as also of Bhāskaran Nambūtiri, said to be a contemporary of a Māna Vikṛama, who wrote a *Śṛṅgāra tilātilakam*, a drama, at the early age of 16.

Thus, from a brief survey of the main landmarks in the chequered history of literary patronage under the Zamorins, it will be evident that the early 15th century and the second and third quarters of the 17th century A.C. were the most glorious epochs in the history of indigenous culture at the Zamorin's court. After a period of preparation and consolidation of the material prosperity of their kingdom and the assertion of their supremacy over their neighbours—culminating in their successful performance of the *Māmānkam*—the Zamorins emerge into the public eye in the 15th century as a power to be reckoned with. Such an unprecedented accession of wealth and power had inevitably its corresponding influence in the regions of literature and science. We thus find that, under the strong rule and able direction of the second Śaktan Tampurān, the Vikramāditya of Keraḷa, the Calicut court rose to the acme of its glory, and eclipsed the courts of other Keraḷa princes in brilliance. With the demise of this noble sovereign, however, we see that the surging stream of literary effort had lost much of its velocity, and for more than a century and a half the annals of literary enterprise under the Zamorins are quite blank, the current having been diverted to the courts of Cochin and Cembakaśśēri. Tuncatt Eḷuttaccan, Tṛkkaṇḍiyūr Acyuta Piṣārōṭi, Meppattūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri, Rāma Pāṇi Vāda and other renowned scholars of the age make no references to the Calicut court in their works. The beginning of the 17th century witnessed the end of this period of reaction and lethargy, and it ushered into being another in which a

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successful endeavour was made to beat the 15th century record of royal patronage at Calicut. The literary revival thus inaugurated continued with redoubled force during the middle of the century, and lasted till the end of the century, when it saw its exhaustion.

Our study also reveals the titles of a few unknown works and the names of at least a dozen scholars, most of whom are absolutely new to the history of Kerala culture, poets whose productions entitle them to be ranked with the greatest of literary worthies. To mention only a few such instances, the study of Vikrama's (the second Śaktan Tampurān's) age yields us the names of such poets as Śaṅkarārya—the son of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita of Cennös Mana, and the commentator of the *Tantra Samuccaya*, Karuṇākara—the author of the *Kavicintāmaṇi*—his disciple, Vāsudeva Bhūsura who produced a commentary on the *Viddhasālabhañjika*, the author of the *Bhṛṇga Sandeśa*. The court of Mānaveda, the successor of the last Śaktan Tampurān, has produced a Nārāyaṇa who continued the *Mānameyōdayam*, and wrote the *Tamovāda*, a Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita—the commentator of the *Uttara Rāmacarita*—the *Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita* of *Vivaraṇa* fame, a Rudra Wariar who wrote a commentary on the *Nārāyaṇyam*, Kṛṣṇa Kavi or Kṛṣṇārya, the author of *Kṛṣṇīyam* and *Bhāratacaritam*, Bhaghvat Dāsan, the commentator of the *Bhāgavatam* and Śrīkaṇḍha Wariar—the writer of the *Mānaveda Saṭṭaka*.

Over and above these, there are a few others, a Bhāskaran Nambūtiri who wrote a *Śṛṅgāralīlātilakam*, and was a contemporary of one of the Vikramas, a Maṇi Tampurān—a Calicut Prince and a Naiyāyika scholar, and a Timmakavi—the author of the *Sujanamanamukunda Candrika*, who have to be assigned to the periods to which they respectively belonged.

Besides these, there are other problems to be tackled with, not the least important of which, is the identification of the Vāsudevas, that is, the Vāsudevas referred to above as the Zamorin's protégés and Vāsudeva, the author of the *Devīcarita*, *Acyutalīlā*, etc. The identification of the Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍitas with Nārāyaṇa of the *Tamōvāda* is also a point to be settled. Apart from what has been stated above, there is also the question of settling the dates and other particulars of the respective royal patrons of Karuṇākaran Eruttaccan and Sūryanārāyaṇan Eruttaccan, the disciples of the great Tuncatt Eruttaccan. These points, it is confidently hoped, will engage the early and careful attention of the scholars engaged in literary and historical research.

A GOVINDA WARIAR

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On Some Tāntrik texts studied in Ancient Kambuja
II

The Āgamas and their influence—The inscriptions of Kambuja abound in references to the Śaivite canon. Various inscriptions refer to *Śivaśāstra*,[1] *Śaivāgama*,[2] *Sarvāgama*,[3] and *Śaiva-vyākaraṇa*.[4] *Āgama* means the oldest *Śaivite* canon which conformed to the Vedas and had not entirely separated from the Vedic religion like the later Śaiva sects. *Śāstra* was a term synonymous with *Āgama*. Āgamas are generally believed to be 28 in number but we have already discussed the text of the *Niśvāsatattva Saṃhitā*, itself an Āgama, which mentions only 18. We have also pointed out that these 18 Āgamic texts must have existed long before the 8th century. The references to Āgamas in the inscriptions of Kambuja, the oldest of which go back to the beginning of the 9th century, confirm the same view. One of the four texts mentioned in the inscription of Kambuja, viz. the *Nayottara* at least belong to the Āgama proper while the three other belong to the canon which grew later on under its inspiration. In the inscription of Angkor vat[5] we find another reference to an Āgamic text : it is the *Pārameśvara* (*tasmin kuru mahadyāgaṃ yathokataṃ pārameśvare*). It is the *Pārameśvaratantra* also called *Pārameśvaramatatantra* which is one of the 18 Āgamas mentioned in the *Niśvāsasaṃhitā* list. It is the 25th of the 28 Āgamas mentioned in later literature.[6] We have already seen that there is a ms. of the *Pārameśvaratantra* copied in 859 A.D. The work was certainly much older, as it is mentioned in the *Niśvāsasaṃhitā* list of which we have a manuscript of about the middle of the 8th century.

In my last article I have tried to show that the original Śaivite

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1 Inscription of *Phnom Sandak* of about the end of the 9th century A.D. Bergaigne—*Inscription de Campa et du Cambodge*, II, p. 157.

2 Inscription of *Angkor vat*, *Ibid.* p. 392.

3 *Ibid.* p. 389. 4 *Ibid.* p. 392.

5 Bergaigne, *Inscription* etc. p. 390 ; also p. 384 with the note of Barth.

6 Gopinath Rao—*Hindu Iconography*, II, part I, pp. 367-368.

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canon which contained the 18 *Āgamas* was of North-Indian origin as according to them, the best *Śivācāryas* were the Brahmins of Āryāvarta. But the people of the surrounding countries, Kāmarūpa, Kāśmīra, Kaliṅga, Koṅkaṇa, Kāñcī, Kośala, Kāverī and Rāṣṭra were not eligible to that position for their physical deformities. By physical deformities we have to understand that their statures did not follow the prescribed standard and were either too tall or too short (*atidīrgha atihrasvaka*). Such a conclusion is also substantiated by other evidences. The *Tantrasāra* which is a famous compendium of Bengal Tantrism says on the authority of *Kriyāsārasamuccaya*, *Yāmala* and *Vaiśampāyana-saṃhitā* that persons with physical deformities of various description, and persons who are diseased, immoral etc. cannot be *gurus* (*Ibid.* p. 3)—atha nindyagurumāha—

Kriyāsāra-samuccaye—Śvitrī caiva galatkuṣṭhī netrarogī ca vāmanaḥ/
kunakhī śyāvadantaś ca strījitaś cādhikāṅgakaḥ//
hīnāṅgaḥ kapaṭī rogī bahvāśī bahujalpakaḥ/
etair doṣair vihīno yaḥ sa guruḥ śiṣyasammataḥ//
Yāmale—abhiśaptam aputrañ ca kadaryaṃ kitavaṃ tathā/
kriyāhīnaṃ śaṭhañ cāpi vāmanaṃ gurunindakam//
jalaraktavikārañ ca varjayen matimān sadā/
sadā matsara-saṃyuktaṃ guruṃ tantreṇa varjayet//.
Vaiśampāyana-saṃhitāyāṃ—
aputro mṛtaputraś ca kuṣṭhī ca vāmanas tathā.....//

The same compendium again says on the authority of *Jābāla* (quoted by Vidyādharācārya) that the quality of the *gurus* differ according to the countries in which they are born. According to it the best *gurus* are found in the countries of Madhyadeśa, Kurukṣetra, Naṭa and Koṅkaṇa (or Naṭa-Koṅkaṇa ?), Antarvedi, Pratiṣṭhāna, and Avanti. The Madhyadeśa is Āryāvarta. The *gurus* of the second quality are found in Gauḍa, Śālva, Sura (?), Magadha, Kerala, Kośala and Daśārṇa. The worst *gurus* are those who belong to the countries of Karṇāṭa, Narmadā, Rāṣtra,[1] Kaccha, Kālinda, Kalamba and Kamboja[2] (*Ibid.* p. 10-11); *tathā Vidyādharācāryadhṛtaṃ Jābālavacanaṃ*—

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1 It is evidently the same name as quoted in the list of the *Piṅgalāmata*. Through mistake I connected it with Kāveri and took it to mean *Kāveri-rāṣṭra*. It seems to be a different country and probably is meant for Surāṣṭra.

2 *Koṅkaṇa* which is amongst the forbidden countries in the Āgama list here is placed in the first rank. *Naṭa Koṅkana* may however

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Madhyadeśa-Kurukṣetra-Naṭakoṅkaṇasambhavāḥ/
Antarvedi-Pratiṣṭhānā Āvantyāś ca gurūttamāḥ//
Madhyadeśa Āryāvartaḥ/
Gauḍāḥ Śālvāḥ Surāś caiva Māgadhāḥ Keralās tathā/
Kośalāś ca Daśārṇāś ca guravaḥ sapta madhyamāḥ//
Karṇāṭa-Naramdā-Rāṣṭra-Kacchatirodbhavās tathā/
Kālindāś ca Kalambāś ca Kāmbojāś cādhamā matāḥ//

This list was certainly drawn up at a time when the authority of the orthodox Āgamas was a little undermined by the rise of the heterodox schools. But it still shows the old tendency according to which the *ācāryas* of North Indian origin were given the first place.

This throws some unexpected light on the recruitment of *Śivācāryas* in different countries including ancient Kambuja. We have seen that Hiraṇyadāma came with the new *Śāstras* from a *janapada*, which was most probably a *janapada* in India. The family of Śivakaivalya, who was initiated to these Śāstras, was long established in Kambuja. The history of this family, recorded in the inscription of Sdok kak Thom is of great interest. The members of this family enjoyed the priesthood of the king through succession since the time of Bhāvavarman (middle of the 6th century A. D.). They were *Śivācāryas* and were guardians of *liṅga* established in different places, The succession of the priests was determined according to the *mātṛvaṃśa* "i.e. maternal lineage" (*tanmātṛvaṃśe yatayas striyo vā jātā vidyā-vikrama-yukta-bhāvāḥ/ tad-yājakās syuḥ*.....BEFEO, 1915, p. 62) which implied that the succession was to go to the children of the sisters (*bhāgineya*) or to those of the daughter of the sisters, or the elder brother. There are several cases of such succession recorded in the inscriptions (*Ibid.*, p. 54). It is difficult to explain the necessity of such an arrangement. Barth in 1901 thought that such an arrangement was necessary because the royal priests used to take the vow of celebacy and therefore they had to choose their successor from the line of their sisters. But M. Finot (Ibid., p. 56) says that it is difficult to admit this explanation as

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be a mistake for some other country. The countries of *Kālinda* and *Kalamba* are not known. *Kālinda* (certainly not *Kālindī*) seems to be a mistake for *Kulinda*. *Kamboja* does not seem to be the ancient country of the Kamboja-Gāndhāra group. It may be the country of the people called *Kam-po-tsa* in the Tibetan sources and located in Assam. These people seem to have been the predecessors of the modern Kôch.

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we hear of priests (though of very late times—11th century A.D.) who were married. It is however clear that the intention was to avoid difficulty in finding a successor because when the branch lines are counted the family has an unlimited scope. But what was the necessity of sticking to a particular family for the selection of priests? The only explanation that occurs to my mind is that according to the Āgamas the *Sivācāryas* had to be chosen preferably from the Brahmanical families of North Indian origin. Such families were not numerous in Kambuja. The family of Śivakaivalya was probably a rare one and priests had to be chosen from that family and its branch lines, as the members of them alone were fit to be *Śivācāryas*. In the inscriptions of Kambuja we have several other references to the families of North Indian origin, of which the members attained the position of royal chaplain. Thus we hear of the royal chaplain Bhaṭṭa Divākara who came from the banks of the *Kālindī* (Yamunā) and was thus an expert in the Vedic sacrifices (Bergaigne—*Inscription* I, p. 81ff.) In an inscription of Angkor vat we are told that the royal priest Sarvajñamuni who was a special adept in the Śaivite rites came from the Āryadeśa. (Bergaigne—*Inscriptions* etc. lxv. 9. p. 388. *Āryyadeśe samutpannaś Śivārādhanatatparaḥ/ yo yogenāgataḥ Kamvudeśe*...). In the same inscription we hear that a descendant of Sarvajñamuni filled the country called Madhyadeśa (here a part of the ancient Kambuja) with Brahmins versed in the *Veda* and *Vedāṅga* (lxv. 22. *cakāra deśaṃ nāmnemaṃ, madhyadeśaṃ janākulaṃ/ vedavedāṅgavidvipraṃ*...). There seems to be a reference here to the immigration of Brahmins from India. In the inscription of Prah vat we find mention of a Brahmin, named Agastya related to the royal family, who originally came from the Āryadeśa. (Bergaigne—*Inscriptions* etc. xliv. 5; p. 184—*atha dvijo' gastya iti pratīto, yo vedavedāṅgavid āryyadeśe*...). Such practices were known in India too. The great Cola king Rājendra Cola who built the Rājarājeśvara temple at Tanjore is stated to have "appointed Sarvaśiva Paṇḍita-Śivācārya as the priest of that temple and have ordered that thenceforth the *Śiṣyas* and their *Śiṣyas* alone, belonging to the Āryadeśa, the Madhyadeśa and the Gauḍadeśa shall be eligible for the office of chief priest," (*South Indian Inscription* II, 1. p. 105, wrongly referred to as II, 2. p. 153 in *Hindu Iconography* II, 1. pp. 5-6). We also know that the Malla kings of Bhatgaon (Nepal) had Brahmins from Bengal as their priests. These Brahmin families used to come to Bengal from time to time to contract their marriages in order to

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maintain the purity of their family tradition. This was however the custom most probably in the pure *Śivasādhanā* i.e. *Āgamānta* Śaivism. For the heterodox Śaiva sects like the *Pāśupatas* and others the practice was different. Thus in Nepal the priests of *Paśupatinātha* were recruited only from amongst the South Indian Brahmins (S. Lévi, *Le Nepal* I, p. 364-365).

The influence of the Āgamas can also be traced in the Śaivite cult practised in Kambuja and Campā. There are ample evidences in the ancient inscriptions to prove that the constructions of the *Śiva-liṅgas* were made according to the prescription of the canon. According to the Āgamas the *liṅgas* can be of two kinds, the *cala* i.e. moveable and the *acala*, i.e, immoveable. The *cala liṅgas* are again of different types: *mṛṇmaya*, earthen; *lohaja*, metallic; *ratnaja*, of precious stones; *dāruja*, wooden; *śailaja*, of stone; and *kṣaṇika*, those made for temporary worship. The *lohaja* i.e. metallic *liṅgas* are made of 8 metals: gold, silver, copper, bell-metal, iron, lead, brass and tin and the *ratnaja* ones are made of pearls, coral, *vaidūrya*, topaz, emerald and bluestone.[1]

The *acala* or *sthāvara liṅgas* are of 10 kinds, Svāyambhuva, Pūrva, Daivata, Gāṇapatya, Asura, Sura, Ārṣa, Rākṣasa, Mānuṣa and Bāṇa. The *Makuṭāgama* calls them *Sthira liṅgas* and divide them into four classes: Daivika, Ārṣaka, Gāṇapa and Mānuṣa.

In ancient Campā Śaivism was the predominant religion and Śiva was worshipped mostly in the form of a *liṅga*. A *liṅga* established by king Bhadravarman towards the close of the 4th or the beginning of the 5th century A.D. became a sort of national deity for the people of Campā. This *liṅga* is differently called in the inscriptions—Bhadreśvara, Śambhu-Bhadreśvara, and most probably also as Śrīśāna-Bhadreśvara (see R. C. Majumdar—*Campā*, pp. 177ff.). The inscriptions do not generally speak of the materials used for the construction of the *liṅgas*. Many of them, specially the *mukhaliṅgas* were certainly curved from stone. But we have some references to other types of *liṅgas* too. An inscription of Po-nagâr, dated 965 A.D. (Majumder II, n° 47), speaks of the gold and stone images of the goddess i.e. Bhagavatī (*haimī* and *śailamayī pratimā*; inscr.

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1 See Gopinath Rao, Hindu Iconography II, (I) pp. 75 ff: The *Āgamas* from which he derives the information are: *Suprabhedāgama Kāraṇāgama*, *Kāmikāgama*, *Makuṭāgama* and the *Kiraṇāgama*. See *Ibid*. II (2) App. B. p. 3 ff.

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n° 45 *kalādhautadehā*), erected by king Indravarman. This shows that both gold and stone was used in the construction of the images of deities in Campā. Another inscription is more explicit on the point. The *Yang Tikuh* Inscription of Indravarman I (dated 721 śaka =799 A.D.) contains two stanzas which have not been correctly interpreted till now. The stanzas in question are (See Majumdar, II, n° 23, viii and ix) :—

तस्यापि पार्थिवं लिङ्गं स्थापितं श्रीन्द्रवर्म्मणा ।
इन्द्रभद्रेश्वरो नाम्ना ततश्चाभूत् स एव वा ॥ [VIII]
तस्यैव स्थापितन्तेन द्वयं कोशश्चरस्थिरं ।
समुखश्चरकोशं हि शाके शशियमाद्रिगे ॥ [IX]

Dr. Majumdar translates the stanzas thus : "Indravarman also installed an earthen *liṅga* of the God, which therefore came to be known as Indrabhadreśvara. He also established in the year of the Śakas Śaśi yam ādri (721), two treasures for the god, the one composed of moveable and immoveable property, and the other moveable and with a mouth (priests ?)."[1] The last part of the translation is evidently unintelligible. There is no question of "property" in the text and "a moveable treasure with a mouth (?)" does not convey any meaning. *Kośa* here, as in many other cases in these inscriptions, should be taken in the sense of *liṅga-kośa*. *Kośa* was apparently an outer covering of the *liṅga*, and was used probably for decorative purposes. The inscriptions of Campā very often record the gifts of *kośa* made by the kings to the *liṅgas*. These *kośas* were often golden and decorated with costly gems. The *kośas* had sometimes faces and *kośa* with six faces are twice spoken of. We find mention of *Ūrddhva-kośa* which was most probably a detachable one (See Majumdar, *Campā* I, p. 182). If in the present case we take *kośa* in the sense of *liṅga-kośa*, the text becomes clear. It should then be translated : "Indravarman also installed an earthen—*pārthiva-liṅga*—of him (the god) which therefore came to be known as Indrabhadreśvara. He

1 Bergaigne—*Inscriptions* etc. II, p. 33 et 37—VIII-IX "Śrī-Indravarman a érigé aussi un *liṅga* terrestre de ce dieu, qui a été appelé désormais d' un autre nom Indrabhadreśvara. Il a aussi constitué pour lui deux trésors : l'un composé de biens meubles et doué d'eloquence" (les prêtres du temple—Barth).

2 Cf. *Ibid.* I, Inscr. II. 10, XV. B- 26, XVII. B. 26, XVIII. D. 27, B. 24 and II, Inscr. LXI. C. 11.

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also established, in the *Śāka* year *śaśi-yama-adri* (721), two *kośas*, one *cara* i.e. moveable and the other *sthira* i.e. immoveable. The moveable (*cara*) *kośa* had a face (or faces)." The *liṅga* was an earthen one (*pārthiva*) which corresponds to the *mṛṇmaya-liṅga* mentioned by the Āgamas and it had two kośas, of which one was moveable and the other, probably a simple cylindrical one was a fixed one. The *cara kośa*, had a face (or faces) and thus when fixed to the *liṅgas* used to convert them into *mukhaliṅgas*. The two words *cara* and *sthira* naturally remind us of the two types of *liṅga*, *cala*, moveable *acala*, immoveable, also called *sthira* or *sthāvara* in the *Āgamas*.

In ancient Kambuja the *liṅgas* used to be made of metal as well as precious stones. We have references to *liṅgaṃ haimaśobhaṃ*, *suvarṇamayaliṅga*, *svarṇaliṅga*, *kāladhauta-linga*, *sphaṭikaliṅga* and *maṇiliṅga*. The materials used for the construction of these *liṅgas* therefore were chosen in accordance with the prescription of the *Āgamas*. They all were of the type known as *calaliṅga* and fell under its subdivisions: *śailaja*, *lohaja* and *ratnaja*.

The four faces of Tumburu—I have already tried to establish that the four Tāntrik texts *śiraścheda*, *vināśikha*, *sammohana* and *nayottara* mentioned in the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom were authentic Śaivaśāstras being studied in India in the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. if not earlier. These texts constituted the "*vaktracatuṣkam*"[1] of the god

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1 We have now a definite text before us which supports the identification of Tumburu with Śiva. In the *Yogavāsiṣṭha-Rāmāyaṇa* (*Nirvāṇa-prakaraṇa*, I. XVIII 23-26), compiled before the 9th century A. D., we find the following verses:

ity aṣṭaiśvarya-yuktās tā mātaro raudra-ceṣṭhitāḥ/
kadācinmilitā vyomni sarvāḥ kenāpi hetunā//
utsavaṃ paramaṃ cakruḥ paramārthaprakāśakaṃ /
vāmasrotogatā etās Tumburuṃ Rudram āśritāḥ//
pūjayitvā jagatpūjyau devau Tumburu-Bhairavau/
vicitrārthāḥ kathāś cakrur-madirā-madatoṣitāḥ//

These things are spoken of the eight *mātṛkās* who were one day out for amusement. They are here characterised as the followers of the left current (*vāmasrotogatā*) and related to Rudra who is Tumburu i.e. the Tumburu aspect of Rudra (*Tumburuṃ Rudraṃ*). The eight-*mātṛkās* are here made to worship the two gods Tumburu and Bhairava. This passage clearly mentions Tumburu as an aspect of Rudra. It should also be noted that Śiva is often referred to in the inscrip-

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Tumburu and were introduced in Kambuja for establishing the mystic rites known as *devarāja* (*siddhiḥ.....devarājābhikhyā*). Tumburu evidently had some sort of connection with the *Devarāja* cult. Devarāja was a phallic representation (*liṅgarāja*) of Śiva—and we have already seen that Tumburu was an emanation of Śiva himself. The inscription of Sdok Kak Thom tells us that the first temple of Devarāja was built by Jayavarman II (802 A.D.) in his new capital Mahendraparvata (Phnom Kulen), and the royal chaplain Śivakaivalya was appointed priest. The deity was subsequently taken to Hariharālaya where the capital was shifted. Afterwards when the king Paramaśivaloka (i.e., Yaçovarman 889-910 A.D.) built his capital at Yośodhārāpur (Angkor Thom) he brought the deity to the new capital and placed him in the temple of *Vnaṃ kāntāl* (lit. the central mount) which was built in the centre of the city for receiving the deity.

This central edifice erected by Yaśovarman was for a long time believed to be the Bayon which is situated just in the centre of Angkor. But M. Finot in his recent studies (*Etudes Asiatiques*, vol. I p. 245ff.) has tried to show that the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom has told a lie. A detailed examination of the sculpture of Bayon has led M. Finot to believe that Bayon could not have been originally a Śaiva temple. He thinks that the newly built capital of Yaśovarman was not placed under the protection of the *liṅga* Devarāja, the national deity of Kambuja, but under that of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. Necessarily he was led to conclude that Angkor Thom and Bayon were not built by king Yaśovarman, as the inscription would have us believe, because he was a Śaiva, but by his predecessor Jayavarman II who was a Mahāyānist. Yaśovarman according to him played the part of a vandal and changed Bayon into a sanctuary of the *liṅga*. The principal reason for starting this theory was that the sculpture of Bayon is almost entirely Buddhist. But it might be argued that the temple was begun as a Buddhist one and finished as a Śaiva one. But to this objection M. Finot answers that even in several *niches* of the towers the central figures were originally those of Buddha. They were later on deliberately destroyed and replaced by *liṅga*. Another serious difficulty remained to be explained away. Each tower of Bayon is decorated with four colossal faces turning towards the four cardinal points. In 1911 M. Finot interpreted them

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tions of Kambuja as *Caturānana*, *Caturmukha* etc. Cf. Bergaigne *Inscriptions* etc. H, n° LXIV (p. 377); n° XLIV (p. 183); n° LV (p. 213).

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as the architectural translation of a *caturmukhaliṅga*. He, however, gives up that explanation in the light of later researches and now thinks that they represent the faces of the Avalokiteśvara. He is aware of the fact that no such architectural representation of Avalokiteśvara is at present available but he still supposes that the architect wanted to represent Avalokiteśvara as looking in the four directions and thus protecting the city on all sides. M. Finot would therefore conclude that the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom has distorted the facts. Bayon was not originally a Śaiva temple and Yaśovarman, who was a staunch Śaiva, could not be its founder. It was founded in the time of Jayavarman II (802-869 A.D.) who was a Buddhist king.

But M. Phillip Stern in his study on the evolution of the Khmer Art (*Le Bayon d'Angkor et l'Evolution de l'Art Khmer*, 1927) has questioned the hitherto admitted chronology of the monuments of Angkor on grounds of style. According to him, Bayon did not exist in the time of Yaśovarman. Therefore, the central mount (*Vnaṃ kantāl*) of Yaśovarman has to be searched for elsewhere. He thinks that it should be identified with the *Phimānakas*, which in all appearance, occupied the central position in the old city. The city developed in course of subsequent centuries and its centre was naturally removed. According to the chronology proposed by him, Bayon could not have been built before the time of Udayādityavarman II (1049-1052 A.D.) or that of his predecessor Sūryavarman I (1002-1049 A.D.). The outer walls of the city would belong to this period.

But M. Coedès in a recent study (BEFEO, XXVIII, pp. 81 ff.) has tried to prove that Bayon was built still later during the reign of Jayavarman VII (1182-1201 A.D.). According to him the outer walls of Angkor Thom and some other buildings, which is of the style of Bayon, were constructed in the same period. Thus both M. Stern and Coedès agree in placing Bayon and the outer walls of the city in the same epoch though they do not assign the same date to their construction. Both of them disbelieve in the testimony of the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom which clearly attributes the foundation of Yaśodharapura (i.e. Angkor Thom) and Vnaṃ Kantāl, "the central mount," to Yaśovarman.

This inscription, we have already seen, was composed in Śaka 974 (= 1052 A.D.). The date of its composition therefore falls in the period to which M. Stern would attribute the construction of Bayon. It seems strange that a contemporary inscription would mean by *Vnaṃ*

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Kantāl any other edifice except the Bayon. What is possible is that the traditional history of religious foundations, which it records, is confused. Its attribution of the foundation of Bayon to Yaśovarman may therefore be easily questioned but Bayon was certainly considered as a sufficiently old edifice in the middle of the 11th century for affording scope for confusion about its real founder to the author of the inscription.

According to M. Coedès and M. Stern, the construction of Bayon and the outer walls of the city would fall in the same period. The towers of Bayon and those of the five city-gates are all decorated with four colossal faces. What do these four colossal faces represent? Are they the representations of the faces of Avalokiteśvara, as M. Finot thinks? Even admitting that Jayavarman II, if not directly but through his tradition, influenced the construction of Bayon, it is difficult to believe with M. Finot that he was a Buddhist king. M. Finot takes him to be a Buddhist—firstly, because he came from Java or from Śrīvijaya which was a great centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism in this period and—secondly, because he founded the city of Amarendrapura, formerly identified with the ruins of Bantay Chmar which is completely a Buddhist city to judge from the sculptures. But the identification of Amarendrapura with Bantay Chmar has been reasonably doubted by M. Stern (*loc. cit.*). We should also bear in mind that the posthumous name of Jayavarman II is *Parameśvara* (the Supreme Lord=Śiva). The cities which he built—Mahendraparvata, Hariharālaya and Amarendrapura are all connected with the names of Śiva. The last name seems to be only a different form of Devarāja. The priest whom he chose as his chaplain, Śivakaivalya was a Śaiva and came from a Śaiva family. It was again he who authorised Hiraṇyadāma to introduce the texts of Śaivāgama along with the Śaiva cult of Devarāja into Kambuja. He really made it the religion of the state, erected its temples and granted lands to the priestly family for its maintenance. Besides it would be wrong to say that the sculptures of Bayon have no trace of Śaivism. An important bas-relief of the first gallery of Bayon (See Comaille, *Guides aux Ruines d'Angkor* p. 135, n. 36) represents three temples in one row, of which the towers bear tridents (*triśūla*) and the deity in the centre is a *Śivaliṅga*. In the face of these facts it is difficult to admit that Jayavarman II was a Buddhist king and that he introduced Mahāyāna from Śrīvijaya into Kambuja. There is no reason to suppose that the four Tāntrik texts brought by Hiraṇyadāma had

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anything to do with Mahāyāna. Jayavarman II was a Śaiva. If any of the edifices (for example Bantay Chmar, Bayon, etc.) containing some Buddhist sculptures can even be proved to have been constructed in the time of Jayavarman II, the only possible explanation is either that he was a tolerant king and allowed Mahāyāna to flourish in the country, or that he had employed artists who had come from the neighbouring territory of Śrīvijaya and had Mahāyānist training. It will be wrong to suppose that Mahāyāna Buddhism of the 8th-9th century A.D. was very much antagonistic to Tāntrik Śaivism. Though the sculpture of the temples partly seem to be Mahāyānist, the indwelling deity was no doubt Śiva.

It seems difficult to admit that Bayon was not originally a Śaiva temple. The state religion of Kambuja was always the cult of Devarāja. A temple like Bayon, which is situated just in the centre of the city, could not therefore have been meant for any other deity except Devarāja. If in some of the *niches* of the towers of Bayon the figures of Buddha have been deliberately destroyed and substituted by *liṅga* we must attribute that work of vandalism to a period when the king was a very orthodox one and did not even tolerate the sculptural representation of Buddha in the temple of *Devarāja*, as his predecessors used to do. It is therefore necessary to go back to the older theory of M. Finot that the four faces of the towers of Bayon (as well as those of the towers of the city gates) are the sculptural representation of the four faces of Śiva. *Devarāja* was in all probability a *mukhaliṅga* and it was quite natural that the towers of its temple and those of the city-gates constructed in the same period would bear the *mukhaliṅga* symbol. This explanation seems to have a strong support in the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom which says that the four *śāstras* which prescribed the cult of *Devarāja* constituted the *four faces of the Tumburu*. It may not be therefore improbable that the four colossal faces on the towers are architectural translation of the four faces of Tumburu, *Tumvuror vaktracatuṣkam*, mentioned in the inscription, because, it is through those four faces that the god originally communicated the four fundamental texts which prescribed the religious rites of the king and his people. They are the symbol of the different *āmnāyas* of the Śaivite Canon.

P. C. BAGCHI

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Śaṅkara on the Relation between the Vedas and Reason

Reverence for the authority of the Vedas has been pointed out to be one of the defects of Indian Philosophy, and in some quarters this acceptance of the Vedic authority is taken to be tantamount to the sacrifice of Reason out of devotion to the scriptures. The orthodox systems of Indian Philosophy, generally known as the Six Systems, undoubtedly accept the authority of the Vedas, but except, perhaps the Pūrva Mimāṃsā, no other school may be said to have suffered from such an acceptance of the Vedic authority ; and to be fair, even the Pūrva Mimāṃsā has shown great power of free thinking.

In this paper I am concerned to show the place Śaṅkara gives to Reason in relation to the Vedas; and I hope this will prove that while accepting the the Vedic authority, he was quite conscious of of the demands of Reason ; and that his acceptance of the authority of the Vedas, rightly understood, is not inconsistent with free thinking. Śaṅkara as an exponent of the Uttara Mimāṃsā or Vedānta system, unlike the writers of the four other systems, viz., Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Sāṃkhya and Yoga, has to explain, interpret, and reconcile the Vedic texts, and so has to deal with the Vedas directly. It is, therefore, interesting and important to note what he has got to say about the authority of the Vedas. In this paper I shall depend entirely upon the definite utterances of Śaṅkara on the point without drawing any implication from his philosophy, as the latter may be looked at with suspicious eyes by some.

Śaṅkara, like all orthodox Hindus, bases the authority of the Vedas on their non-human origin. Human beings are, by their very finitude, liable to error, and anything that comes out of them must be so. If the Vedas are the works of one or a number of Ṛṣis, they will not be free from errors. Śaṅkara in his Brahmasūtra Bhāṣya says "The Ṛgveda and the other Vedas are the source of all knowledge and wisdom, and hence they must originate from Brahman."[1]

Now, since the Vedas are the source of "all knowledge and wisdom," any thing that does not tally with the Vedas, must be wrong

1 पुरुषनिःश्वसितवदयत्नोत्थितत्वात् प्रमाणं वेदः।

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and unworthy of acceptance. While criticising a certain doctrine Śaṅkara says—"The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas holding that desire, aversion, etc. are qualities of the Soul contradict the Upaniṣads, and since this theory also contradicts the Upaniṣads, they are not to be accepted."[1] A certain theory is, thus, unacceptable because it contradicts certain scriptural texts.

Again when one accepts the Vedas as the highest authority and also holds that anything contradicting the Vedas must be thrown away, will naturally cite as many instances as possible either to prove his own theory or to disprove that of his rival, and this Śaṅkara, like all other orthodox Indian philosophers, does. His amazing scholarship of the Vedas is shown when he brings in texts after texts in favour of his own theory or against that of his rival. It seems to be the height of useless textual scholasticism where the debators have given good-bye to their intelligence and initiative, and have become parrots.

To a casual observer these are sufficient to damn any system. But if we push our enquiry further into the matter, we shall find some relieving features as well.

In the first place, though the Vedas are of super-human origin, yet different grades of honour are given to different parts of the Vedas. The Vedas, it is well known, are divided into two parts, viz., the Jñānakāṇḍa and the Karmakāṇḍa. Of these the authority of the Jñānakāṇḍa is superior to that of the Karmakāṇḍa. "Before one is fit to take to Jñāna he should go on with ordinary duties which are only like pools while compared with (the ocean of) Jñāna."[2] The reason is that, according to Śaṅkara, *mokṣa* is not possible through the practising of sacrifice and other rituals, while it is possible only through Jñāna. It may be noted, by the way, that Śaṅkara does not

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1 यथेच्छादीनां आत्मधर्म्मत्वं कल्पयन्तो वैशेषिकाः नैयायिकाश्च उपनिषच्छास्त्रार्थेन न संगच्छन्ते, तथा इयमपि कल्पना उपनिषच्छास्त्रार्थबाधनात् नादरणीया। *Bṛhadāraṇyaka.*

2 तस्माद् प्राक् ज्ञाननिष्ठाधिकारप्राप्तेः कर्म्माण्यधिकृत्यैव कूपतड़ागाद्यर्थस्थानीयमपि कर्म्म कर्त्तव्यम्। *Gītā Bhāṣya.*

The legend of his debate with Maṇḍana Miśra, the great Mimāṃsist who held the capability of Karma to bring Mokṣa, is well known. He was, however, defeated by Śaṅkara, and became his disciple under the name of Śureśvarācāryya.

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deny the efficacy of Karmas, but only gives them a subordinate place—they are necessary for purifying the mind (citta-śuddhi).[1]

Then again, even in the Jñānakāṇḍa there is a gradation of authority. Some texts of the Jñānakāṇḍa try to establish the Nirguṇa Brahman while there are others which support the Saguṇa Brahman. Now, since according to him, the Nirguṇa-Brahmavāda is the final truth of all philosophy, Śaṅkara holds that those texts which do not subscribe to the Nirguṇa-Brahmavāda are inferior in authority to those which support it.[2] Śaṅkara attempts to prove on Vedic authority and on rational grounds that Nirguṇa-Brahmavāda is the true explanation of reality, and also that mokṣa is achievable only through Jñāṇa.[3] But here at present we need not enter into any philosophical discussion. We thus see that Śaṅkara, though he holds the authority of the Vedas, yet does not sacrifice his rational speculations, rather he gives the texts which contradict his speculations a subordinate place; and only the texts which support Nirguṇa-Brahmavāda which he holds on rational grounds as well, are, really speaking, of paramount authority for him.

Let us look at our problem from another standpoint, viz., the authority of the Vedas in relation to Perception and Reason. Supposing there are things in the Vedas which palpably contradict human experience, are they also to be taken as authoritative? No—Śaṅkara would say without any hesitation. The Vedas are only concerned with enlightening us on things which neither perception nor inference can give us. As regards things secular perception and inference are quite reliable guides, and there is no necessity of seeking help from the Vedas. It is, thus, clearly laid down that regarding our experience of the world we need not at all seek the assistance of the Vedas—the Vedas are only limited to super-mundane affairs where perception and inference cannot help us. Not only the Vedas have no authority over secular things, it is even inferior to perception and inference in that sphere.[4] Supposing a contradiction arises between a Vedic text and perception, the preference is to be given to perception. "Hundred

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1 *Gītā Bhāṣya*, 13. 2.

2 भेदस्योपासनार्थत्वादभेदे तात्पर्यात्। *Sūtra Bhāṣya*, 3. 2. 12.

3 As for example, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Bhāṣya*, 3. 3. 1.

4 दृष्टविषये च इष्टानिष्टप्राप्ति-परिहारोपायज्ञानस्य प्रत्यक्षानुमानाभ्यामेव सिद्धत्वात् नागमान्वेषणा।
Bṛhadāraṇyaka Bhāṣya, 1, *Introduction*.

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Vedic texts declaring that 'fire is cold' or 'the Sun does not shine,' cannot prove such statements, because such statements are contradicted by other Pramāṇas (perception, inference, etc.)."[1] Science and Art are, thus, left entirely free to pursue their own course unhampered by any scriptural authority. The scientist could say that it is the earth that moves and not the sun without any fear of being burnt at the stake; or one could preserve a library containing books other than the scriptures, from its being burnt down. If scriptures are not allowed to overstep their limit, unfortunate incidents like the burning of Gallelio at the stake, or the burning of the Library at Alexandria, cannot take place.

Śaṅkara rejects some doctrines, as we noticed, simply on the ground that they do not tally with the scriptural texts. This may seem to be extremely objectionable. The objection will, however, disappear when we consider that Śaṅkara proves, with the help of reasoning, things which he attempts to prove on Vedic authority. He takes two lines. For those who believe in the authority of the Vedas he quotes Vedic texts, but he does not stop there; he gives rational grounds for his contentions as well. If what is proved by the Vedas is also sought to be proved on independent reasoning, there can be no question of scriptural dogmatism. Śaṅkara, e.g., says: "There is no place for duality in (the highest) Jñāna, as has been proved by such Vedic texts. "He is one and without a second." But this is merely Vedic authority. But this very fact can also be proved by reasoning; and so let us begin the second chapter."[2] In another place he tells us that the Madhukāṇḍa is chiefly based on Āgama. So let us begin the Yājñavalkyakāṇḍa which is mainly based on reasoning, so that we may test the Āgama.[3] In the face of such clear statements perhaps none can still maintain that Śaṅkara dogmatically clings to the Vedas. What he does is to prove the same things in different ways, e.g., with the help of the Vedas, and with the help of independ-

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1 नहि अग्निः शीतः आदित्यो न तपतीति वा दृष्टान्तशतेनापि प्रतिपादयितुं शक्यं प्रमाणान्तरेण अन्यथाधिगतत्वाद् वस्तुनः। *Ibid.*

2 ज्ञाने द्वैतं न विद्यते इत्युक्तं, एकमेवाद्वितीयमिति श्रुतिभ्यः। आगममात्रं तत्। तत्रोपपत्त्यापि द्वैतस्य वैतथ्यं शक्यते अवधारयितुमिति द्वितीयं प्रकरणमारभ्यते।

Gauḍapāda-Kārikā Bhāṣya, 30. 1.

3 मधुकाण्डं हि आगमप्रधानं। ... ... आगमस्यैव परीक्षापूर्वकं निर्धारणाय याज्ञवल्क्यीयं काण्डमुपपत्तिप्रधानमारभ्यते। *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Bhāṣya, Introduction.*

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ent reasoning. The relation between Reason and the Vedas has been put in clear terms. 'They are', says Śaṅkara, 'complimentary.' The union of the Vedas and Reason is the best way of gaining the highest wisdom. "If we take the help of the Vedas and Reason for the understanding of the highest wisdom", he says, "it will be as clear to us as a fruit on our palm".[1] Reason is thus given an equal position with the Vedas. But when Reason is once allowed to enter, it will have its own course to victory. The Vedic texts are there, but they are to be interpreted as Reason demands and not arbitrarily. This is sufficient to give Reason sufficient liberty ; when one has been given the right of interpreting according to reason, it all depends upon the intepreter what import he will read in the texts. The texts lose their colour and assumes the colour the interpreter choses to give. This will be evident from the fact that the same texts have been made to yield entirely different, nay, even contradictory meanings, by different commentators. The different Vedāntic schools of Advaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita, Dvaitādvaita, etc. all base their doctrines upon the Upaniṣads, but what a gulf of difference is there among the different interpretations.

The third complaint that he adduces numerous texts either to support his contention or to disprove that of his rival is rather trivial, and vanishes when we remember two things, viz., that he never adduces them while arguing with those who do not recognise their authority e. g. the Buddhists and the Jainas, he fights with them entirely with the help of his formidable dialectic.[2] And even while arguing with the believers in the Vedas he gives independent reasonings, as we have seen just above. While arguing with heterodox schools he depends entirely on reasoning and while arguing with the orthodox schools he uses both Vedic texts and reasoning. Secondly, the Vedic texts which he cites in defence of his own theory or against that of his rival, are themselves explained on quite inde-

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1 आगमीपपत्ती हि आत्मैकत्वप्रदर्शनाय प्रवृत्ते शक्नुतः करतलविल्वमिव दर्शयितुम् ।

Ibid., 153, 1, *Introduction.*

2 As for example his Bhāṣya to the Brahma Sūtra, 2. 2. 18--36 where he criticises the Buddhist and Jaina doctrines and which is one of the best parts of his writings, does not contain a single citation from the Vedas. The portion in question is big enough to cover about 34 pages in the S.B.E. Series, vol. XXXIV, pp. 400-434.

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pendent grounds, and this is just the business of his Upaniṣad Bhāṣyas, and will be evident to every reader. We have also seen that the right of interpreting the texts according to reason gives the interpreter all possible freedom, so that when one employs the Vedic texts after interpreting according to his reason, he really uses his own property.

Last of all let us take note of one most interesting fact. Though Śaṅkara accepts the authority of the Vedas so earnestly, yet he is not in the least reluctant to shake off its authority absolutely and without reservation when reason demands it. We should not be astonished to see that the philosopher who looks upon Brahman as the only reality, and declares the whole world to be an imposition of Avidyā, declares the Vedas also to be products of Avidyā. "All the Pramāṇas," he tells us, "whether the Vedas or other ordinary ones (Perception, etc.) and also all the Śāstras which give us Vidhi, or Niṣedha, or Mokṣa are due to certain confusion."[1] Reason demands that the ultimate Reality should be one and without any relation, and so all that smacks of multiplicity must be due to the influence of Avidyā, and the Vedas which deal with multiplicity of the world, however, full of wisdom they be—must be stigmatised as such. They lose their validity and authoritativeness when true knowledge springs.[2] Thus at the altar of Reason are sacrificed the Vedas whose authority he accepted so earnestly when there was necessity for it. To a philosopher there is nothing more valuable than Truth. The philosopher who can thus dispose of with the Vedas as product of Avidyā is, perhaps, the last person to be fettered by the Vedas in his quest for the Nirguṇa Brahman.

SATINDRA KUMAR MUKHERJEE

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1 ... ... अध्यासं पुरस्कृत्य सर्वे प्रमातृप्रमाणप्रमेयव्यवहारा लौकिका वैदिकाश्च प्रवृत्ताः सर्वाणि च शास्त्राणि विधिनिषेधमोक्षपराणि। *Introduction to Brahma Sūtra Bhāṣya*, I. I. I.

अतः कर्माणि अविद्यावस्थायामेव चोद्यन्ते न विद्यावस्थायाम्। *Gītā Bhāṣya*, 2. 69.

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Antiquity of Tāntricism

Whatever be the age of the Tantras and however varying may be the views regarding their authority[1] it will be seen that rites closely similar to those that are found in these works have in many cases a hoary antiquity. In fact some of them in one form or other seem to have come down from primitive times and are known to be prevalent even in the present days among people with a primitive culture not in the least affected by modern civilisation and culture. And many of them almost seem to have a universal character being popular among peoples distantly situated and having no cultural or ethnic affinity. It is true that we miss in these the philosophy and spiritual significance, associated at least in a later stage with Tāntricism in India, but still the close outward similarity would naturally induce one to put them under the same class or type and that not quite erroneously. In the present paper an attempt has been made to put together some references to Tāntricism among ancient peoples—specially in admittedly old literary works. It will be shown that Tāntricism—if not the Tantras—had a long history of un-interrupted popularity in India.

Tāntricism—its universal character—its prevalence among primitive peoples

Thus the parallels of Tāntric Ṣaṭkarmas (the six magical rites), the use of charms and amulets, the revolting rites[2] of the Kaulas, use of intoxicating drugs for producing ecstasy, the belief in the efficacy of *mantras* consisting sometimes of apparently unmeaning syllables are found among various primitive peoples. As a matter of fact some of these constituted essential parts of primitive religion all the world over.

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1 An account of these will be found in a separate paper by the present author entitled *Controversy regarding the Authority of the Tantras* to be published in the K. B. Pathak Commemoration Volume.

2 The antiquity of this aspect of Tantric worship is found to have been dealt with in full detail by Mr. M. Bose in his recently published work the *Post-Caitanya Sahajiyā Cult of Bengal* (Calcutta University—1930), pp. 98ff.

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The practice of what is called sympathetic magic is known to have been very widely prevalent in old days. It was by this means that various attempts were made to acquire control over other persons.[1]

Enemies were destroyed or injured with the help of imitative magic. "Perhaps the most familiar application of the principle that like produces like is" says Dr. Frazer, "the attempt which has been made by many peoples in many ages to injure or destory an enemy by injuring or destroying an image of him."[2]

"The use of small figures of wax or other plastic materials fashioned with incantations in the likeness of some enemy and then pierced with nails and pins, or melted before the fire, that their human counterpart may by these means be made to suffer all kinds of torment" is known to have been prevalent among Semetic peoples.[3] It was considered more effective to obtain some portion of the victim's nails or hair.....as an additional connection whereby the wax figures may be brought into still closer affinity with its prototype." It has been supposed by Dr. J. J. Modi that injunctions contained in the Vendidad of the Iranians to bury nails and hair to avoid future calamities was due to the prevalence of similar customs among them.[4] As a matter of fact the Persian *Zarthus-t-nameh* relates how the enemies of Zoroaster accused him of sorcery by secretly placing hair, nails and such other impurities in his room and got him imprisoned for sorcery. This clearly points to the use of these things as instruments of magic.

The use of charms and amulets is known to have been a very wide-spread custom among primitive peoples of different ages and lands.[5] Rings were used with the object of preventing the entrance of evil spirits into the body.[6]

We have long and nauseating accounts of rank and unmixed sensualism forming part of religious observances in many a land. These

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1 Principles of Sociology—Spencer, I, pp. 262 ff.

2 Golden Bough—Dr. J. G. Frazer, London, 1900, vol. I, pp. 10 ff.

3 Semitic Magic : Its origin and development—R. Campbell Thomson, pp. 142-143.

4 Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, vol. viii, pp. 557ff.

5 Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, vol. iii, pp. 392ff.

6 Golden Bough—Frazer, vol. I, pp. 402ff.

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undoubtedly give a rude shock to the modern civilised notions of religion and morality.

Impure and revolting practices having religious significance clustered round the worship of Pan in Greece and later Rome as also in the islands of the southern Pacific Ocean.[1]

Sex-worship was practised frankly and openly by primitive people all the world over and it is supposed that with the advance of civilisation the worship came to be carried on by means of symbolism. And many of the religious practices even now are traced to an idea of the deification of the sex. "This worship has been shown to be so general and wide-spread that it is to be regarded as part of the general evolution of the human mind; it seems to be indigenous with the race rather than an isolated or exceptional circumstance."[2]

E. H. Hartland in a detailed and informative article[3] on Phallism deals with the subject in a sympathetic tone. He shows how sex worship forms a part of the history of religion and how it is found to exist in different countries among peoples belonging to different strata of culture.

Wall has gone so far as to find traces, direct or indirect, of sex-worship in almost all kinds of religious practices. "All religions are based on sex," says he, "some like the ancient Egyptian, Greek and Roman or the modern Brahmanic worship of Śiva more coarsely so, according to modern civilised thought; others like the Christian religion more obscurely so."[4]

The use of wine and various other intoxicating drugs is supposed to have been one of the various means adopted by primitive peoples with a view to produce ecstasy and other morbid exaltation for religious ends.[5] Different kinds of bodily exercises resembling the *mudrās*, *āsanas* and *nyāsas* of the Tantras, were also undertaken for this purpose.[6]

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1 Sex-worship and Symbolism of Primitive Races—Brown, pp. 27-28.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 29-30.

3 Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, vol. ix, pp. 815-31.

4 Sex and Sex-worship—Wall, p. 2.

5 Primitive Culture—Tylor, third edition, London, vol. II, pp. 410ff., 416ff.

6 *Ibid.*, pp. 419ff.

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The power of the word is believed to be very marked in all systems of magic. Sometimes names of inexplicable and perhaps esoteric character are used. This is said to be in accordance with the well-known rule that in magic a mysterious name is the most potent of all.[1]

There was this belief in the efficacy of words among ancient Iranians too. "Peculiar words" says Geiger, "were thought peculiarly eficacious in certain cases and regarded as a counter charm able to repel the attacks of evil spirits."[2]

It is thus abundantly clear that rites similar to many of those prescribed in the Tantras were quite well-known among primitive peoples of all countries. What we have got to determine at present is when and how it was that these rites were first introduced into India and were accepted by the Indian Aryans as part of their elaborate religious observances.

According to some scholars, some at least of these or similar rites were known to the Dravidian and other Non-Aryan peoples of India from whom they were borrowed by the Aryans and systematised in the Tantras.

Tāntricism in pre-historic India

Traces of some aspects of Tāntricism are suspected to be found in India as early as the Pre-historic period. Thus, Bruce Foote is said to have met with objects supposed by him to be Phalli among the Neolithic remains brought to light by him in the Deccan.[3]

According to Prof. Shama Sastri, the Tantra form of worship may be traced back in India as early as the first millennium B.C. Thus, he seeks to show that the symbols which admittedly old coins (supposed to be earlier than even the 6th or 7th century B.C.) bear and of which no satisfactory explanation could be suggested by Western scholars[4] are nothing but Tāntric hieroglyphics. These, he shows,

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1 Keith—Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads, p. 393.

2 Geiger—Civilisation of Eastern Iranians in Ancient times, p. 16.

3 Foote—Collection of Indian Pre-historic and Proto-historic Antiquities, Madras, 1916, pp. 20, 61, 139; K. R. Subranian—Origin of Śaivism and its History in the Tamil Land, Madras, 1929, p. 23. See also P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar—Stone Age in India (Madras University).

4 J.A.S.B., vol. iv, p. 628.

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are the origin of the Devanāgarī alphabets. He is also of opinion that though some of the Tantras are comparatively modern they undoubtedly embody old tradition.[1] The Tāntric Upaniṣads like the *Tripuropaniṣad*, he says, containing the description of Tantra hieroglyphics only reproduce a tradition of bygone ages.[2]

Tāntricism in the Vedas

Elements of the various Tantra rites are distinctly traceable in the Vedic times, though there is a great controversy among scholars of old as regards the question whether Tantras had a Vedic origin or not. It is not only in the Atharvaveda—one of the latest of the Vedic saṃhitās—that we meet with these elements. They are to be found even in the earliest of the Vedic works, *e.g.*, the Ṛgveda as also in other parts of the Vedic literature. Tāntricism as a system may not have been developed at that time. But many of the rites that went to constitute the system at a later time are found scattered in the different parts of the Vedic literature in their crudest forms.

Of course many of the practices which were fully developed in the Tantras and Yoga philosophy are absent in the Vedic period. The elaborate rules concerning the regulation of breath and the high importance attached to it in Yoga have scarcely any trace in the Vedas. Nor is there any clear reference in the Vedic literature to the various sitting postures mentioned in the Tantras.[3]

The upholders of the Tantras have however gone to the extent of attempting to demonstrate the Vedic origin of everything found in the Tantras. They had therefore to resort occasionally to considerable twisting and far-fetchedness to find traces of various rites connected with Tantricism in the Vedas.

The general view is that the Tantras originated from the Saubhāgya-kāṇḍa of the Atharva-Veda. Some of the Tantra works are found to record this in definite terms. The Kālikulārṇava Tantra has got two lines in the beginning stating "Now Devī says in the Ātharvaṇa Saṃhitā."[4] This in fact identifies this work as an Ātharvaṇa-saṃhitā, thus clearly hinting at the close connection of the Atharvaveda with this Tantra.

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1 Ind. Ant., 1906, pp. 277ff.

2 Ind. Ant., 1906, pp. 274-276.

3 Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 401.

4 H.P.S., Nep., I, p. 160.

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The Rudrayāmala (chap. xvii) calls Mahādevī Atharvaveda-śākhinī, and Buddheśvarī though curiously the worship of the goddess is, in the same breath, definitely put down as Veda-bahiṣkṛta or un-vedic.

In the opinion of the great scholar Bhāskara Rāya, the Tantras came as a sequel to the Upaniṣad section of the Vedas as the Śrauta sūtras and Dharma Saṃhitās were to the first portion of the Vedic literature.[1] The tāntric Upaniṣads[2] (*e.g.* Kaula, Rudra, etc.) are supposed to maintain the direct connection of the Vedas with the tantras.

The Yantra-Cintāmaṇi[3] of Dāmodara is eulogised in the beginning of the work as being the quintessence of the Atharvaveda. The followers of the Pañcarātra system of Vaiṣṇavism trace the origin of the system to an unknown Vedic school called the *ekāyana śākhā* (*Kalpataruparimala* under *Brahma Sūtra*, II. 2. 42).

According to the Kulārṇava tantra (II. 10) even Kaula rites—which have been the object of abject criticism at the hands of various scholars ancient or modern—are represented as being the essence of the Vedas. In fact Kulaśāstra has been described as *Vedātmaka* (II. 85) or Vedic in spirit. Vedic authorities are also cited (II. 140-141) in justification of Kaula rites.

Attempts have been made to trace tāntric mantras consisting of seemingly unmeaning monosyllabic sounds in the Vedas.[4] The practice of worshipping symbolical diagrams (*yantras*, *cakras*) of the tantras has also been traced to the Vedas (*e.g.* Atharvaveda, Taittirīya Āraṇyaka).[5] Lakṣmīdhara in his commentary on verse 32 of the *Saundaryalaharī* of Śaṅkara has quoted extracts from the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa and Āraṇyaka and explained them as having reference to Śrīvidyā.[6]

Even if one feels disinclined to set much value on the above views of the advocates of tāntricism as being biassed it must be admitted

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1 Setubandha, A.S.S., p. 5.

2 For these see the Minor Upaniṣads published by the Adyar Library, Madras.

3 A Ms. of this work is in the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat—see beginning of Pīṭhikā II.

4 Commentary of Naṭānanda Nātha on the Kāmakalāvilāsa—p. 13 of Arthur Avalon's edition.

5 R. Shamasastri, Ind. Ant., 1906, pp. 262-267.

6 Govt. Oriental Library Series, Mysore, pp. 100-109.

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that any disinterested scholar is sure to find at least the elements of tāntricism in the Vedas. In fact the ground for the growth of tāntricism was almost ready at the time of the Vedas.

Thus traces of monosyllabic and seemingly unmeaning mantras on the importance of which the Tantras lay definite emphasis are really met with in the Vedic literature. 'The use of harsh words like *phaṭ* says Prof. Keith 'is mentioned possibly as early as the Ṛgveda'.[1] The Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (iv. 27) mentions a distinct tāntric charm which according to Sāyaṇa pertains to Abhicāra rites. This charm consists of words like Khaṭ, Phaṭ, Kaṭ, etc. Phaṭ is also found mentioned in the Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā (vii. 3).

Symbolising in terms of the letters of the alphabet may also be clearly traced in the Hiṅkāropāsanā and Oṅkāropāsanā found in the Upaniṣads (Cf. Chāndogya Upaniṣad).

Sensualism in connection with religious rites is also met with in the Vedas. It is found to be frequently referred to in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa symbolically. According to the Aitareya Āraṇyaka (II. 3. 7. 3) neither the seed of man nor the blood of woman should be despised as they are forms of Āditya and Agni respectively. Vāmadevya Upāsanā may be cited as an instance in point.[2]

There are other Vedic rites as well, which though on the face of them, have nothing to do with sex worship, have been interpreted in that light.[3]

The use of liquor for sacrificial purposes in Vedic times was not unknown. Spirituous liquor was offered in the Sautrāmaṇī sacrifice to Indra, Aśvin and Sarasvatī.[4] It was also used in the Vājapeya sacrifice.[5] Besides, the intoxicating effect of Soma juice is also quite well-known. The effect of the drinking of soma juice is "mada" or intoxication (Ṛg. II. 19. 1).

The use of the juice expressly for getting intoxicated led Eggeling to make the statement with reference to the Atirātra sacrifice that 'it partook largely of the character of a regular nocturnal carousal'.[6]

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1 Keith, *op. cit.* p. 356.

2 Chāndogya Upaniṣad, II. 13, 1-2.

3 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, I. 1, 18, 20, 21 etc.

4 *Ibid.*, v. 4, 5, 19ff.

5 *Ibid.*, V. 1, 2, 10-19.

6 *Ibid.*, S.B.E. vol. xli, Introduction, p. xviii.

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Various were the animals sacrificed in Vedic sacrifices. Man, horse, bull, ram and he-goat are mentioned in this connection.[1] Horses were killed in the Aśvamedha. It is curious that bulls that were held sacred in later times were not exempted. And these are known to have been sacrificed in the Gomedha and Śūlagava. And the meat was taken at least in some cases at the end of the sacrifice. Even provision was made for taking beef.[2] Human beings are said to have been killed along with other animals in the Sarvamedha or All-Animals-Sacrifice. Self-immolation was practised in the Sarva-yajña.

Phallism is supposed by some to be as old as the Ṛgveda (vii. 21, 3, 5) where the Asuras are referred to as *śiśnadevas* or those that regard phallus as deities. But the meaning of the term is not free from doubt.[3]

The beginnings of the worship of female deities—the Śakti cult—an important characteristic of the tantra form of worship is also traced in the Vedas.

Traces of some of the Ṣaṭ-karmas of the Tantras are also distinctly met with in different parts of the Vedic literature. Two hymns of the Ṛgveda (x. 145, 159) explicitly refer to the practice of removing co-wives and thereby attaining supreme sway over the husband. The Āpastamba Gṛhya Sūtra (ix. 5-8, 9) in explaining the application of these hymns has also made this quite clear. Another hymn (Ṛg. x. 162) is nothing but a curative spell intended to drive away disease. Hymns like i. 191 and vii. 750 are charms which are intended to serve as antedotes against poison and those like vi. 52 and vii. 104 are charms which aim at putting away demons and have therefore some similarity with *māraṇa* or destructive practice of the Tantras. Such practices were also known at the times of the Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā (vii. 3), Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra (ix. 4, 39) and Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (iv. 27).

The Taittirīya Saṃhitā (ii. 3, 9, 1) prescribes a sacrifice called Sāṃgrahaṇī by which persons can be won over to one's side. Sāyaṇa in explaining the significance of the term has stated how by this sacrifice one could bring under one's control the prominent persons of the

1 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, S. B. E., vol. xli, pp. 165f.

2 *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, iv. 8, 34.

3 Muir, Sanskrit texts, vol. iv, pp. 354ff.

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family or the village as also wives, sisters and mothers, who thus brought under control, wait upon him.

The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (ii. 3, 10) relates how Sītā, daughter of Prajāpati, resorted to a sorcery practice to win the heart of Soma. These practices are undoubtedly similar to *Vaśīkaraṇa* of the Tantras.

The rites of the Atharvaveda again more than those of any other Veda have in many cases a close and striking similarity to those of the Tantras. The contents of the Atharvaveda are primarily magic, charm and sorcery, which also form not an insignificant part of the Tantras. And Bloomfield's arrangement of the hymns of the Atharvaveda into fourteen classes in accordance with their subject matter[1] as also the applications of them as noted in the Kauśika Sūtra reveal how a large portion of its contents has its analogue in the Tantras. Thus the *abhicāra*, *strīkarma*, *sāṃmanasya*, *pauṣṭika* and other sorcery rites of which we get indications in the Atharvaveda are quite common in the Tantras.

Some of the Atharvanic practices of witchcraft are almost identical with similar practices of the Tantras. Some of the hymns of the Atharvaveda are recited with a view to excite love in the heart of a woman. The most important symbolical practice which is to accompany the recital of such a hymn (AV. iii. 25) is thus described in the Kauśika Sūtra (35. 28): "By means of darbhyuṣa bow, with a bowstring made of hemp, an arrow whose barb is a thorn, whose plume is derived from an owl and whose shaft is made of black *ala* wood, the lover pierces the heart of the pictorial representation of a woman."[2] The Tantras are also found to prescribe the same practice with an identical object in view.

The use of protective amulets also seems to have been quite popular at the time of the Atharvaveda. (AV. ii. 11, viii. 5, x. 6; Kauśika Sūtra 19, 22, 27; 42, 22-43. 1).

Tāntricism in Buddhist Literature

Various revolting and mystic practices that seem to have been observed by different religious sects for spiritual uplift in and previous to the time of the Buddha, are referred to in Buddhist canonical works in Pāli. Some of these practices are apparently tāntric in character.

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1 Atharvaveda—Grundriss Series—pp. 57ff.

2 Ind. Ant. 1906, pp. 270ff.

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Thus the Buddhist canonical texts in Pāli in several places refer to systems of thought and rituals which are apparently of the Tantra type but for the name. Buddha mentions the *pañca-kāma-guṇa-diṭṭha-dhamma-nibbāna-vāda*[1] which is explained as an opinion according to which the soul attains Nirvāṇa through the full indulgence of the five pleasures of the sense.[2] Some at least of the Buddhist and Brahmanic tāntric scholars were exactly of the view referred to by the Buddha as an established doctrine upheld by a section of the people in his time.

The *Majjhima-Nikāya* (*Culladhammasamādāna Sutta*—vol. I, p. 305) sets forth the views of a class of Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas according to whom no fault would attach to acts of lust. It is described how these people took pleasure in the company of youthful female ascetics. Of course it is not clear from the text as to whether these ascetics like the later day tāntrics took part in sensual enjoyment with a desire for religious merit. The *Kathāvatthu*[3] however throws some welcome light on this point in that it refers to *Maithuna* (sensual enjoyment) as *dharma* which probably means a religious act.

The use of skulls etc. by a class of people like later day followers of tāntricism was known at this time as is testified to by a passage in the *Cullavagga*[4] which refers to a Bhikkhu "who had taken upon himself to wear or use nothing except what he could procure from dust-heaps or cemeteries" and who "went on his rounds for alms carrying a bowl made out of a skull."

That this was the usual practice with a certain class of persons is testified to by the statement of the people that saw him—'How

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1 *Dialogues of the Buddha*—II. 49, 50.

2 Barua—*A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*—p. 337.

3 *Kathāvatthu*, xxiii. 1-2 : *Ekādhippāyena methuno dhammo sevitabbo. Arhantānaṃ vaṇṇena amanussā methunaṃ dhammaṃ paṭisevanti*, I am indebted for these references to Prof. Barua's paper on *Maskari Gosāla's early life* (Calcutta Review, June 1927, pp. 362-63).

4 V. 10, 2—S.B.E. vol. XX—p. 89. For this as also for some other references from Buddhist literature I am indebted to Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya who has incidentally dealt with the history of Tantricism among the Buddhists in his Introduction to *Sādhana-mālā* (Vol. II) and in his paper *A Peep into Vajrayāna* (Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute—Vol. X).

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can the Sākyaputtiya Samanas carry about bowls made out of skulls as the devil-worshippers (*Piśācillikā*) do.'

That cemeteries were resorted to by some seekers after religious merit is also clear from the *Majjhima Nikāya*. Buddha himself in his early days is here stated to have stayed in a cemetery with charred bones as his pillow.[1]

Magical rites like the *ṣaṭ-karmas* of the tantras are also known to have some amount of popularity at that time. We learn from the *Tevijjia Sutta* that there were some Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas who lived by teaching spells for preserving the body and for warding off wounds. We are further told that some Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas lived by teaching spells to procure prosperity or to cau se adversity, to remove sterility, to produce dumbness, locked-jaw, deformity or deafness.[2] Further still we are told how some lived by teaching rituals for imparting virility and rendering impotent by prescribing medicines.[3]

The *Brahmajāla Sutta* refers to the practice of drawing blood from one's knee as a sacrifice to the gods[4] and of using charms to make people lucky or unlucky.[5] It is from the same *sutta* that we learn that there were certain gods debauched by pleasure[6] and that there were recluses or Brāhmaṇas who thought that full enjoyment and possession of the pleasures of sense lead to Nirvāṇa.[7]

Tāntricism in Jaina Literature

In the Jaina canonical works in Prākṛt too we meet with traces of Tantricism. In the Sthānāṅga Sūtra (iv. 4) Mahāvira refers to the Sāya-vadins who are supposed to have been sensulists.[8] The Uttarādhyayana Sūtra has reference to curative spells.[9] The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*

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1 Majjhima, I. 79—*Further Dialogues of the Buddha*—Lord Chalmers, vol. I, p. 35.

2 *Buddhist Suttas*—Translated by Rhys Davids—S.B.E. xi. p. 196, 199.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 199-200.

4 *Brahmajāla Sutta*, 21—*Dialogues of the Buddha*—Rhys Davids, p. 17.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 23. 6 *Ibid.*, p. 32. 7 *Ibid.*, p. 50.

8 Barua—*A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, pp. 196-197, 337. 9 S.B.E.—XLV p. 103.

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(II. 2) mentions men who practise incantations (*ātharvaṇi*) and conjuring, the art to make one happy or miserable.[1]

Tāntricism in Dharmaśāstra, Purāṇas, etc.

Detractors of Tantra rites are inclined to read the denunciation of Tāntricism in early *Dharmasūtras* and *Saṃhitās* like those of Āpastamba, Manu, Yājñavalkaya etc. (See introductory portions of Aparārka's commentary on *Yājñavalkya*). Commentators interpret paritcular sūtras of the *Brahma Sūtra* (II. 2. 34) as having reference to Tāntricism *e.g.* Śaivas, Pañcarātras, etc.

The efficacy of *mantra* and drugs for the attainment of perfection has been mentioned by Patañjali in his Yogasūtra (iv. 1).

Many a Purāṇa work of which the dates have not been definitely ascertained refer to the tantras generally or to particular tantra rites. Purāṇas like Devī, Kālikā and Liṅga explicitly deal with tantra worship. In the *Padma Purāṇa* (Svarga Khaṇḍa, chapter xxvii) and Kālikāpurāṇa (chapter liv) are found elaborate descriptions of *ṣaṭ cakras* of the tantras. Kūrma and some other Purāṇas, however, are found to decry the tantras. There are many passages in the Mahābhārata too showing that Śiva was already venerated under the emblem of the phallus when the epic was composed. The use of wine and meat in the worship of the river-goddess Gaṅgā is mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa (*Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa*—LII. 89).

Tāntricism in early secular works

Secular works—some of which are evidently quite early—are also found incidentally to refer to tantra rites confirming their high popularity and wide prevalence. We shall refer to only a few of these.

Various charms and incantations for the stupefication of beings are described in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya (xiv. 3). Here we get reference to the offering of sacrifices in cremation grounds on the 14th day of the dark half of the month. Of deities to whom oblations were made mention may be made of such queer names Amila, Kimila, Vayujara etc.

The *Lalitavistara*[2] (chapter xii) refers to the Buddha's surpassing

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1 *Jainasūtras*—S.B.E.—XLV p. 366.

2 Bibliotheca Indica edition, p. 179.

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knowledge in *nigama* along with other branches of learning. In chapter xvii it incidentally throws light on some of the religious practices of the time of the Buddha.[1] Though the sense is not quite clear it seems to refer to the use of well-scrutinised mantras and the use of wine and meat for religious purposes. The carrying of skulls and *Khaṭvāṅgas* is also referred to. *Nikumbha-sādhana* as one of the practices for the attainment of salvation is mentioned. And we learn from it that the worship of gods and goddesses (*Mātṛ*, *Devī*, *Kātyāyanī*) was offered at pasture lands and cemeteries.

The tantric goddess Kālī is represented by Aśvaghoṣa as having been known in the time of the Buddha. Thus we read in the Chinese translation of Aśvaghosa's *Buddhacarita* :[2]

"Now, Mārá had an aunt-attendant whose name was *Ma-kia-ka-li* (*Mahā kālī*), 1084, who held a skull dish in her hands, and stood in front of Bodhisattva, and with every kind of winsome gesture, tempted him to lust, 1085."

The attendants of Māra who attacked Buddha are stated to have carried weapons similar to those possessed by Śivaite gods (*e.g.* Triśūla, Khaṭvāṅga).[3] It is thus quite clear that at least a little before the time of Aśvaghoṣa (*circa* 1st century A.D.) Tāntric deities were quite well-known.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

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1 Lalitavistara, p. 312-13.

2 S.B.E. vol. xix, p. 153. In the published Sanskrit text the goddess is called *Meghakālī* (xiii, 49).

3 Buddhacarita—xiii, 21, 26.

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A short sketch of the Second Dynasty of the Zamorins of Malabar (1742-1774)

I

Wars with the Rajas of Walluvanad, Palghat, Cochin and Travancore and the Dutch-Extension of Empire (1742-1758).

Necessity for adoption 1706 A.D.

After 9 centuries of continuous existence, at the beginning of the 18th century, the Zamorin's dynasty was threatened with extinction. There were only two males—the Zamorin himself and the second prince, known as Eralpad. The princesses or Tampuratties were all past child-bearing age. And as succession was regulated by the *Marmakkattayam* law[1], according to which the offspring belongs to the mother's family and the eldest male member looks after its affairs, it became clear that the house would die out. It was therefore resolved to adopt three princes and two princesses from the Nileswaram branch.

The origin of the Nileswaram branch

This branch had its origin in a love affair between a Tampuratty of the Zamorin's house and a Tampuran or prince of the house of Kōlathiri or Chirakkal. The senior Kōlathiri sent his younger brother on a diplomatic mission to Calicut. The young prince fell in love with one of the nieces of the Zamorin and utilised his stay at the palace in improving his love-scheme rather than in forwarding the business he had come to settle. The love was returned and the lovers, instead of seeking the permission of the Zamorin which would have been granted, resolved to leave the place without his knowledge. Some Nambutiris—Malayalee Bramins who had the free run of the Zamorin's palace—abetted the enterprise. And one day the princess

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1 For a fuller account of this system vide *Malabar Gazetteer*—p. 95.

2 Miraporam of Duarte Barbosa.

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escaped from the palace and in company with her lover fled to his dominions in the north. The Zamorin not unnaturally became furious at the deception practised upon him against all rights of hospitality and in absolute defiance of his own authority. He looked upon the event as an insult to his family honour and invaded the *Kola thunad* to teach this Romeo and Juliet a severe lesson. Unable to resist, the Kolathiri Raja appealed to the Nambutiris to intercede on his behalf. And the Zamorin consented to regard the family honour sufficiently vindicated by ceding his dominions as far as the Kottapuzha (Kotta river) and by investing the princess with all rights over Nileswaram. This event which happened probably in the 13th century before Ibn Batuta's visit to the Malabar coast proved to be a blessing, for it enabled the Zamorin to provide for the continuance of his line without rousing the jealousy of the neighbouring powers or sowing the seeds of a dynastic dissension like that which distracted Cochin throughout the greater part of its recorded history. For the adoption was in the nature of a family re-union to which no one could reasonably take any objection.

The adoption on the 16th Makaram, 881 M. E.

The ceremony took place on the 16thMakaram 881 M. E., corresponding to 1706 A.D. The princes took rank as Mūnālpad or 3rd prince, Edattralpad or 4th prince and Neduttralpad or 5th prince. The elder of the two sisters was adopted in the Kizhakke Kovilagam and the younger in the Puththan Kovilagam. The princes, after going through the training in arms prescribed for every member of the family under the eye of the hereditary preceptor, the Tamme Panikkar, were entrusted with the responsibilities of their separate offices.

The First Zamorin of the New Dynasty 1742-58

In course of time, the eldest of the princes, originally adopted as Munalpad, became the Zamorin in 1742. Even as Munalpad he had earned a name for prowess and bravery. For he defeated the Vellatri or Walluvanad Raja and overpowering his commander-in-chief captured the fortresses of *Kottakkal* and *Kolathur*. The accession of such a prince was gladly welcomed by the warlike Nayars, and the events of the reign did not belie the expectation of war and conquest which it had aroused in their minds. But the impression

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he made on the foreigners was, however, that of a comparatively gentle and peace-loving king.

The account of the Dutch Commander Gollenesse

Writing in 1743, Gollenesse, the Dutch Commandant at Cochin, says in his memorandum[1] :—

"The king is a prince between 30 and 35 years old; adopted from the house of Nileseram he came to the throne last year, and seems to be a man of a good disposition, but a little too gentle to oppose adequately the seething humours of his second prince who boasts that he intends to live and die a mortal enemy of the Hon'ble Company. Some months ago we felt something of the effects of his boasts when this foolhardy prince without the slightest show of reason made a raid upon the kingdom of Cochin and laid waste the land of Mangalam. At the same time the English of Madras received information of the return to these regions of the right worshipful Von Imhoff and they spread the report of it, whereupon all his nefarious schemes fell to pieces and he thought it advisable to sheathe the sword quickly. The Zamorin declared that everything had been done without his orders; we did not fail to profit by this and a peace was concluded on the 3rd of Dec. ultimo. It is to be hoped that this peace will be lasting. At any rate we have seriously warned the king of Cochin to avoid carefully every occasion of new disturbances and rather bear and digest a small injustice than bring greater upon himself inasmuch as the Hon'ble company cannot help him at present. The king holds his court at Panany (Ponnani) where the Hon'ble Company has a Resident *i.e.*, the book keeper, Gerrit Van Darpeu, and as, since the late war very little good is spoken of the Hon'ble Company in those parts one seldom gets anything but reports of danger from there. At present the Zamorin is celebrating the feast of *Mamanga*[2] at Tirunevay (Tirnnavayi) with much pomp and not without heavy expenses."

The war with Walluvanad

Immediately after the festival—which took place in February—March, 1743—the Zamorin invaded Walluvanad. Between this Rāja

1 Galletti—*The Dutch in Malabar* p. 66.

2 This festival is held once in 12 years and lasts 30 days. Vide Logan—*Malabar Manual*, vol. i, pp. 162-168.

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and the Zamorin there was a long standing feud dating from the 12th century A.D. The fact that they were neighbours would itself have been sufficient to account for this. Besides, there was also a specific ground for quarrel. The Mamankam festival had originally been celebrated under the auspices of the Chera emperors. When the rule of these Perumals came to an end, this sacred prerogative was exercised by the Vellatri in whose dominion Tirunavayī lay. In the 12th century the Zamorin conquered this place and assumed the proud function of the Rakṣapuruṣa or protector of the Mamankam. And ever since, the Vellatri used to send a dozen or two of the bravest of his men to assassinate the Zamorin when the festival was being celebrated.

As has already been remarked, this Zamorin had as Munalpad waged war with the Vellatri. Vellatri retaliated by causing "two elephants of the Zamorin to be carried off."[1] So the Ten Thousand and Thirty Thousand, who had come as in duty bound for the Mamankam, were ordered to take the field against the Vellatri. Tuvur, Tiruvalamkunnu, Tenkara, Kumaramputur, Karimpuzha, Tachanattukara and Aliparamba were occupied. Walluvanad was cut into two as by a wedge and Ernad, the ancestral dominion of the Zamorin, was connected with Nedunganad, an older acquisition from the Vellatri.

War with Palghat

The victorious forces did not stop there. They advanced south into Palghat and occupied the country, Coming after these brilliant successes, the Mamankam of 1755 was celebrated with much greater pomp than before.

The advance of Travancore under Martanda Varma

Hardly was this twelvth yearly festival over, when, to the surprise of every one, envoys from Cochin waited upon the Zamorin soliciting his help against Martanda Varma of Travancore. Succeeding his uncle in 1729 to a petty principality, dominated by over-weening vassals, this prince, by a judicious mixture of guile and might, put down the factions in his kingdom aud annexed Travancore, Quilon and Kottarakkara. The progress of this prince alarmed the Dutch, who would

1 Galletti—*The Dutch in Malabar*, p. 65.

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have Malabar divided among petty rulers with themselves holding the scales between them. They took up the cause of the dispossessed Rājas. But they were defeated and compelled to sign an ignominious treaty at Mavelikara[1] in 1748. By the 9th article of this treaty they agreed to secede from all engagements which they might have entered into with other Malabar princes whom the king of Travancore might choose to attack, and on no account interfere in their disputes or afford them assistance or shelter; nor in any respect raise any opposition to the enterprises of the king. Aided by the counsels of the astute Brahmin, Rama Iyen—who played the same part and stood in the same relation to his master as the famous Kauṭilya had done to Candragupta Maurya—Martānda Varma entered the territory of the Cochin Rājā. His army, organised and disciplined on the European model by Eustatius D'Lanoy, a Fleming taken captive at the battle of Colachel with the Dutch in 1741, easily dispersed the ill-organised levies of the enemy, overran Chenganachery and Kottayam and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Cochin forces at Poracad in 1754. The Cochin Rājā turned to his ancient allies, the Dutch, for help. But they were bound hand and foot by the treaty of 1748 and they advised a peaceful settlement by submission. Deserted by the Dutch, Cochin sought the aid of the Zamorin.

The league of the northern princes 1755

"His Highness (of Cochin)," says Commandeur Moens,[2] "united with the Zamorin and the northern princes to oppose the king of Travancore in his designs." That his traditional and inveterate foe should seek his friendship was in itself an inducement for the Zamorin to join him. Further it was well known that the range of Martānda Varma's ambitions included the whole of the Malayalam-speaking country, and after the conquest of Cochin it was certain that the Travancoreans would turn their arms against him. He would then have to fight a foe strengthened by recent conquests and the prestige of uninterrupted victories. By supporting the Rājā of Cochin and the dispossessed chiefs of Chenganachery and Kottayam he would be able to interpose an effectual barrier and perhaps engage Martānda Varma within his own boundaries. Impelled by a sense of chivalry

1 *The Travancore Manual*, Vol. I, p. 348.
2 Galletti—*The Dutch in Malabar*, p. 128.

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reinforced by weighty political considerations, the Zamorin agreed to assist Cochin, provided Cochin paid the expenses of the war.

The league proves abortive

But the new alliance proved abortive. The Zamorin's forces crossed into Pappinivattam (Papponetty of the Dutch writers) on their way to join the Cochinites. But Pappinivattam had been ceded to the Dutch by the Zamorin in 1717. Between the Dutch and the Zamorin no love was lost and the entry of the Nayars into Pappinivattam was resented by them, though just then they were not in a position to show their resentment. In the meanwhile the proximity of the Zamorin's Nayars roused in the minds of the Cochin princes the memories of ancient days and they began to grow nervous. The Dutch skilfully played upon these fears and succeeded in breaking up the league. "These princes", says Moens,[1] "realised their mistake and dared not continue their operations. The Zamorin, demanded compensation for his expenses from the king of Cochin on the pretext that he had marched up with his army at his request, and when this was not forthcoming, he invaded the territory of Cochin and took possession of the 18 half-villages."

War with the Dutch and Cochin

These were not his only acquisitions. The chiefs of Alangad and Paroor joined him. Now that the Dutch were intriguing with the enemy, the Zamorin turned his position in the vicinity of their territories to the best account by capturing the fort of Enamakkal. He then occupied Trichur and performed a grand Tulabharam ceremony in the temple. The Rājā of Cranganore, the Changaran Kanda Carta, Chittoor Namburi, and Velos Nambiar—whose allegiance the Zamorin had transferred to the Dutch by the treaty of 1717—gladly returned to the standard of their former sovereign, and the Zamorin found himself once more master of Oorakam, Aratupuzha and Mapranam. The chiefs of Mukundapuram, and the Rājās of Talapilly submitted to him, and Tripunathara, the capital of Cochin, would itself have been occupied but for the hostility of the Dutch in the rear.

The attack on Travancore 1756

Caught between two enemies the Raja of Cochin sought to appease Martānda Varma. The Paliat Achchan, his hereditary prime minister,

1 Gallotti—*The Dutch in Malabar*, p. 128.

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who had been taken captive at Poracad in 1754, turned his captivity to the advantage of his sovereign by influencing the Travancore ministers to advocate his cause with their master. And it seemed before long a treaty of friendship would be concluded.

This determined the Zamorin to invade Travancore in 1756. He informed the Dutch that he would restore to them the countries he had won from them and pay two thousand candies of pepper annually, provided they joined him in an attack on Martānda Varma.[1] Though they hated, they still feared the Travancorean, and conveyed to him the overtures the Zamorin had made to them. Thus warned by the Dutch, Martānda Varma made preparations to defend Arookutty and Poracad which commanded the only passages to Travancore. "The Zamorin's army came by sea in a large fleet of native craft, and as it was being landed Captain D'Lanoy's force accompanied by Rama Iyen Dalawah met the enemy, and after a vigorous encounter compelled the Zamorin's force to retreat with great loss of life and ammunition."[2] Preparations were made for a second and a grander invasion; but before the Zamorin launched his attack, his hands were stayed by the descent of the Mysoreans.

Treaty with Hyder Ali 1757

Unable to hold his own against the encroachments of his neighbours, the Raja of Palghat sought the help of the Raja of Mysore. He offered to recognise him as suzerain and pay an annual tribute of 12000 old Viray fanams in return for protection. Hyder Ali, to whom these offers were made in the first instance, accepted them on behalf of his master and sent his brother-in-law, Mukhdum Sahib, with 2000 cavalry, 5000 infantry and 5 guns. The Zamorin did not withdraw his forces from their advanced positions in the south, for on January 22nd, 1757, a treaty of perpetual friendship had been concluded between Cochin and Travancore. The air was also thick with rumours of a projected Dutch invasion. He did not think the Mysoreans so dangerous as his enemies in the south. He sent them back by agreeing to restore to Palghat his recent acquisitions and pay to Hyder the sum of 12 lakhs of rupees for the expenses he had incurred in sending his force to the west coast.

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1 *The Travancore Manual*, Vol. I. p. 353.

2 Sangunny Menon, *History of Travancore*, p. 162.

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War with Cochin and the Dutch resumed

After pacifying the Mysoreans, the Zamorin employed his forces in making good his hold on the conquered country in the south. He captured Mullurcara and Chennamangalam in 1758 when the anticipated storm from the Dutch at last broke. A large armament was sent from Batavia to recover the territory lost to the Zamorin. Without shame, the Dutch invited the Cochin Raja to help them. Cochin —always ready to srike a blow at his enemy—chose to forget the attitude of the Dutch to his misfortunes and sent the second prince and Paliyat Achchan to their aid. At Tiruvanjikulam they joined their forces with those that had come from Batavia, and the Zamorin was surrounded in his fort at Mathilakam.

The treaty with the Dutch 1758

The Zamorin's ministers knew how to divide their enemies. It was well known that the Dutch could not see beyond their own interests, and in their dealings with the Malabar chiefs they had shown themselves incapable of rising to any higher considerations of humanity or friendship. A secret treaty was concluded with them. The Zamorin agreed to pay Rs. 65,000[1] for war expenses, cede the 18 half-villages which he had conquered from Cochin, and restore Chetwai and Pappinivattam. At dead of night without the knowledge of their allies the Dutch withdrew from Cranganore and the Cochin Nayars at once fell back.

On the 27th of Medam 933 M.E. corresponding to 1758 A.D. the Zamorin died at Trichur. Two months afterwards, on the 27th of Mithunam, Martānda Varma also died.

II

"MISFORTUNES NEVER COME SINGLY" 1758-1766

The story of a curse

On the death of his brother at Trichur, the second of the princes adopted from Nileśwaram became Zamorin. It was during his reign that Calicut was occupied by Hyder Ali. A picturesque story is

1 Galletti—*The Dutch in Malabar*, pp. 116 and 129.

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related by old men as to how this Zamorin came to lose his empire. When he was Eralpad or second prince, he went once in the company of his older brother, the Zamorin, to offer worship at the shrine of the Bhagawatī of Śrīvalayanad—the tutelary deity of the house. The worship was conducted according to Śāktaic rites, and the priest gave them the usual *prasādam* consisting of liquor and flowers dipped in liquor. The Zamorin, as becoming a true devotee, caught the holy liquor in his hand and sipped it. The Eralpad, conceiving an aversion for it, made a pretence of sipping, and passing it overhead allowed it to drop behind him on the ground. The Zamorin, who, was watching this, simply said; "Unni, the kingdom will be lost in your time." And the prophecy became too true.

A troublesome legacy

In justice to the new Zamorin it must be said that no one before him succeeded to such a troublesome legacy. There was, in the first place, the war with Cochin which threatened to assume a new aspect less favourable to him in view of the growing amity between Cochin and Travancore. In the second place, there were the heavy financial obligations resulting from the treaties with Hyder and the Dutch.

Scarcity of money a cause of failure

Money is power and the Malabar kings waxed or waned according as their treasury became full or empty. Prior to the advent of the Portuguese, Calicut was the chief emporium of commerce and the Zamorin the richest of the Malabar chiefs. His empire was also the biggest on the west coast. But after their arrival, on account of their hostility to the Moors, who were the merchant princes of Calicut, the trade of Calicut gradually declined, and with it the money income of the Zamorin—mainly drawn from customs imposed on exports and imports—also dwindled. For a time the Zamorin and the Dutch made common cause against the Portuguese and Cochin, but ere long the Dutch who entered the possessions of the Portuguese by force began to follow the policy of their rivals by choice. Thereupon the Zamorin tried to attract their enemies—the English, the French, and the Danes—to his ports by permitting them to erect factories and protecting them against violence and fraud from his subjects. His relations with the English were very close. Not onl

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were they allowed to erect factories at Calicut, Ponnany and Chetwāi, but their advice was accepted in his relations with the Dutch. The accounts of the Zamorin preserved in his office show such large sums of money as six and seven lakhs of fanams borrowed on different occasions from them between 1728 and 1738.

Antiquated military tactics another cause of decline

Besides money the Zamorins also stood in need of up-to-date weapons especially fire-arms. The Zamorin's Nayars had no equals in the use of shield and sword, and were superior to the Nayars of other chiefs in bravery and heroism. But they fought on old-fashioned methods with equally old-fashioned weapons. Their battles degenerated very often into individual hand to hand combats. Of organisation there was little, of discipline much less. Had the Zamorins been able to secure the services of a D'Lanoy to discipline and orgainse their army, the history of the west coast might have been changed. The Nayars disdained to wield any but sword and shield, and left the firearms to be handled by the Mapillas. The Zamorins tried their best to get an adequate supply of arms and ammunition from the English, the French and the Danes. In the contract concluded with the Danes on the 29th March 1752, beside the usual stipulation for the payment of the "ancient custom" on all exports and imports it is stated:—"When any enemies come against the States of the Samorin by sea or land, and be they of whatever strange nation, the Company is bound to favour me with all aid as well of people as of defensive weapons. In case there is a necessity for artillery, men, cannon balls, powder and muskets, the Company is bound to give them that may be required."[1] These allies, as will be seen from the sequel, proved a broken reed at the critical moment. The Zamorin never succeeded in overcoming his financial difficulties, and in 1762, on the eve of the war with Travancore, he had to cede the Mutucunnu Islands[2] as security for the balance due to the Dutch under the treaty of 1758.

The alliance between Travancore and Cochin 1761

The accession of a new Zamorin did not in any way improve the position of Cochin. Fights took place between the Zamorin's Nayars

1 Logan—*Treaties etc.*, p. 105.

2 Galletti—*The Dutch in Malabar*, p. 116.

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and the Cochinites near Trichur and other places, but the Cochinites were not able to dislodge the Nayars from the positions they had occupied. The Cochin Rājā thereupon concluded an offensive and defensive alliance on 23rd December 1762 with Rāma Varma who now ruled Travancore. By this treaty Rāma Varma agreed to assist Cochin to expel the 'Samoory's troops from that part which extends north as far as Poocoidah river, and east as far as Chittoor river, as also the districts you formerly possessed at Vellappanad Karee."[1] In return, Cochin promised to renounce all his claims over Alangad and Paroor in the occupation of the Zamorin since 1755, and not to interfere with any conquests Travancore might make in Palghatcherry, where the Zamorin held the Natuvattam. Assuring himself of the good faith of his Cochin ally by causing him to swear perpetual friendship before the God at Suchindram,[2] the Travancore Rājā ordered his troops to take the field against the Zamorin.

The war with Travancore and loss of Alangad, Paroor and Trichur 1762-1773

The first act of the Travancoreans was to construct a sort of "Chinese wall" from opposite Cranganore right up to the Ghats. Consisting of an earthen rampart, protected by a ditch and flanking towers at intervals, it formed an effective barrier against any attempts the Zamorin might make to invade Travancore. The Travancoreans then entered the Zamorin's territory into two divisions. The first division, led by Diwan Martanda Pillai, cleared Alangad, Paroor, and Mapranam, and reinforced by the Kavalappara and Perattuvithi Nayars drove the Calicut Nayars out of Trichur. In the meanwhile, the second division, under D'Lanoy, occupied Cranganore. Returning to Trichur by way of Chetwai, the intrepid Fleming defeated the Zamorin at Chelakkara, pursued him as far as Kakkad and occupied Kunnamkulam. These defeats, coming one upon another, disheartened the Zamorin. Treason also raised its head in his camp. Two of his commanders, the Talachennors of Aliparamba and Mapranam, joined the Kavalappara Nayar, and when the Zamorin was proceeding to Cherupallacheri, waylaid him and made an attempt on his life at Kandam Kazhai. Not knowing to what extent disaffec-

1 Logan—*Treaties etc.*, p. 111.

2 *The Travancore Manual*, p. 371.

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tion had spread among his followers, he opened negotiations with Rāma Varma. He himself went to Padmmanabhapuram, and articles of a treaty of alliance were settled in person by the two sovereigns. By the treaty formally signed by their respective ministers on the 26th Edavam 938 M.E., corresponding to 1763 A.C., the Zamorin gave up all his rights over Trichur, Alangad, and Paroor, agreed to pay Travancore a hundred and fifty thousand rupees as war expenses, and refer his disputes with Cochin to the friendly mediation of Rāma Varma.

Hyder resolves to invade Malabar

Hardly had the Zamorin returned from Trivandrum when he was confronted with a more formidable menace at his own door. Envoys from Hyder presented themselves before him demanding the indemnity promised by the treaty of 1757. But he sent them away with scorn. He did not know the real strength of Hyder. Exaggerating the weakness of Hyder's position and the strength of his own, he adopted exactly that course which was calculated to bring down the resentment of Hyder full upon him. "Possibly" says Commander Moens in his memorandum,[1] "it would not have come to this, if they had dealt with the affair better at the court. For when the Nabob sent envoys to the Zamorin to demand tribute he sent them away with the uttermost contempt, though, knowing that everyone at that time had to submit to the Nabob he should have replied to the ambassador submissively and proceeded to negotiate about the tribute and knock off as much as possible". Hyder aimed at nothing less than the subjugation of the west coast including Travancore. The wealth of these districts attracted him. Further he had special grievances against Travancore and Cochin. In a weak moment, confronted with the rebellion of his vassals in 1754, Martanda Varma had requested his help. But when Hyder was about to send his troops, the Maharaja changed his mind and rejected the proferred assistance.[2] The Zamorin had injured him by appealing behind his back to his Hindu suzerain against the treaty made by his brother-in-law, Mukhdum Sahib. Hyder would have been contented with submission and tribute. Had the Zamorin bent before

1 Galletti—*The Dutch in Malabar*, p. 132.

2 *The Travancore Manual*, p. 352.

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the storm, it would have safely blown over, leaving him in the enjoyment of a limited independence.

The invasion of Hyder 1766

The rebuffs which his envoys met at the hands of the Zamorin determined him to invade Malabar. Ali Rājā of Cannanore had already joined him in 1763 with his well-equipped fleet. In 1764 Hyder sent messengers to the English at Tellicherry to secure their neutrality. The English tried to dissuade him from the enterprise; for, if Hyder became master of Malabar, it was certain that he would give valuable concessions to the French. But when they found he had fully made up his mind, worldly prudence dictated to them to make the best terms they could with him, leaving their Malabar allies to their fate.

The army of invasion consisted of 12000 picked Mysoreans, including 4000 horse and 12 pieces of cannon. The 8000 Mapillas of Ali Rājā made excellent scouts. The operations of the army were to be supported by the fleet which sailed along the coast. Issuing a general order to grant no quarter, he crossed the frontier in the beginning of 1766.

The battle of Perinkulam 28th March

As soon as news reached Calicut that Hyder had crossed the frontier, the Zamorin proceeded north at the head of a large force. Joining his forces with those of the "further princes of Collastery"[1] (the Kadathanad Rājas) he pitched his camp on the south bank of the Kotta river at the Perinkulam ferry.

Hyder swept through the country without meeting any serious resistance. On the 12th of February he was at Nileśwaram; Madayi was given up to him on the 21st; 6th of March saw him at Chirakkal; and on the 28th he appeared on the northern bank of the river which the Zamorin and the Kadathanad Rājas had resolved to defend against him.

Hyder saw that it was difficult to cross the river in the face of the enemy. His Mapilla scouts however informed him, that some mile further down, the river was a league in breadth and fordable at ebb tide. This had been overlooked by the Hindu leaders, who thought

1 Galletti—*The Dutch in Malabar*, p. 153.

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that Hyder would cross only at the ford and left it unprotected. Hyder resolved to effect his crossing at this point. To conceal his object he drew up his infantry with his 12 guns right opposite the Hindu host and brought the fleet up the river to this place as though he intended to deliver his main attack here. At day break the Mysoreans began to be active and opened fire on the Hindus. They replied with their mortars and guns which produced much noise and more smoke. When the two armies were thus employed, the tide began to ebb. Hyder thereupon moved down the right bank of the river at the head of his cavalry, and under cover of his fleet entered the river at full gallop. Swimming and wading, his horsemen crossed the river and appeared behind the Hindus. Taken unawares the Hindus were a little disconcerted. But they rallied and a desperate fight ensued. Fortunately night descended upon the fighting hosts, and in the darkness the Nayars made terrible havoc on the enemy. But when day dawned they retreated, the Kadathanad Rājā to the hills, the Zamorin to Calicut. Though Hyder's losses were terrible, he was thus left master of the field.

He did not pursue the retreating forces of the Zamorin very far, for the battle overnight had thinned the ranks of his cavalry, and the infantry and the guns were still on the other bank of the river. For over a week Hyder remained on the spot making good the passage of the river. On the 6th of April a force of 6000 men was despatched against Calicut. Here and there behind their wooden stockades the Nayars defended themselves with their accustomed valour. But these isolated acts of heroism did not serve to stop the progresss of the enemy. On the 11th of April Ali Rājā reached Calicut and surrounded the fort.

Hyder occupies Calicut

On the 20th of April Hyder joined him and the fleet sailed into the Kallai river. The siege became severe. Provisions became scanty and the cry of famine made itself heard in the palace. Hyder wished to have an interview with the Zamorin, but he would not trust himself in the hands of the Nabob. Hyder demanded as the price of peace a crore of gold mohurs. The Zamorin offered all that he had—but Hyder remained obdurate.

The Zamorin saw that no human device could save him from the predicament. He invoked his guardian deity, and for

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three days and nights the Zamorin and his priests fasted and prayed. A strange gloom and silence settled upon the palace. "Hyder sent some Mysore chiefs to this prince to visit him. They returned to inform him that they suspected some extraordinary happening. They had noticed on the face of the king a sombre and sinister air. He had already been fasting for three days and was preparing for a religious ceremony. They learned, ere long, that the unlucky prince had collected together all his family, and after having recited prayers in the presence of the principal Brahmans had set fire to his own palace and had thrown himself in the fire."[1] In fact the Zamorin had formed the desperate resolution of blowing himself up with the fort from which his ancestors in the past had gone forth to conquer. Entrusting the sacred bracelet to a faithful Brahmin to be placed in the shrine of the family deity, he entered the powder magazine with a lighted torch in his hand. In the explosion that followed, the fort and part of the palace were destroyed.[2] Thus after seven centuries and a quarter of unbroken possession (from 1042 to 1766) Calicut passed out of the hands of the Zamorins.

III

A DREAM OF INDEPENDENCE 1766-1774

The tragedy at Calicut raised the last of the princes adopted from Nileśwaram to the dignity of the Zamorin. But on account of the troubles, no formal ceremony of enthronement took place. From his refuge at Paroor, whither he had retired with the princesses of the family after the fall of Calicut, he directed his Nayars to harass Hyder's movements from all sides. Hyder found that though he was master of Calicut, he was not yet master of Malabar. To accomplish his purpose he began to take the Mappillas—his coreligionists—into his favour. Rewards were conferred upon them, and especially, the *Tangals* or priests, whose word is still law unto the Mappilla, became recipients of extensive lands. The Ponnani Tangal was given an inam worth Rs. 400 a year. As the monsoon

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1 Michaud—*History of Mysore*, pp. 23-24. This is more in consonance with the traditions handed down in the family than the account of Logan in the *Malabar Manual*.

2 14th Medam 941 M.E., *chitra* asterism.

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was about to break, Hyder retired to Coimbatore, leaving a moveable column of 3000 men under Madanna.

Hyder's departure was the signal for a general revolt and his garrisons at Ponnani and Calicut were at once surrounded. Rājā Ali, his governor at Madukkarai, came to Malabar to quell the outbreak. But he was caught in a trap at the junction of the Tutakkal and Ponnani rivers, whence he could neither advance on account of the swollen streams nor retreat on account of the enemy. As soon as news reached Hyder of the impossible position in which his lieutenant found himself, he left Coimbatore at the head of 3000 horse and 10000 sepoys with twelve light pieces of cannon carried on the back of elephants. Burning and pillaging and leaving a trail of ruins behind them, the Mysoreans came. The Nayars, thereupon, abandoned their position at the Tutakkal river, and entrenched themselves at Putiyangady. Failing in his first attack, Hyder sent a mixed force of Frenchmen and the *Bara-admees* or picked nobility. "They jumped into the ditch and hastily ascending the retrenchments tore up the palisades and were in the face of the enemy in an instant. They gave no quarter; and the enemy astonished to the last degree at their impetuosity and ravage suffered themselves to be butchered even without resistance."[1]

Hyder resolved to stamp out further resistance by a policy of severe repression. He called on the Pariahs and other low castes to rise against the Nayars, and set them in the place hitherto occupied by the Nayars in the social scale. "By a solemn edict he declared the Nayars deprived of all their privileges; and ordained that their caste, which was the first after the Brahmans, should thereafter be the lowest of all the castes, subjecting them to salute the Pariahs and others of the lowest castes by ranging themselves before them as the other Malabars had been obliged to do before the Nayars; permitting all the other castes to bear arms and forbidding them to the Nayars, who till then had enjoyed the sole right of carrying them; at the same time allowing and commanding all persons to kill such Nayars as were found bearing arms."[2] A promise was also held out of restoration to lands and houses if the "Nayars took the turban." But many preferred to die of starvation in the forests or in battle against the Muslim soldiers. When Hyder found that these

1 Logan—*Malabar Manual*, vol. I, p. 415.
2 Wilks quoted by Logan—*Malabar Manual*, vol. I, p. 416.

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measures did not produce the desired result he resorted to other means of repression. He established his headquarters at Manjeri, and from there as a centre his soldiers spread out like a net scouring every wood and hill, killing every man they met and reducing women and children to slavery. Many were hanged and many others were transported to Mysore, where they perished of hunger and misery.

Hyder could not stay to complete the work of subjugation. His enemies, the Mahrattas and even Nizam Ali of Hyderabad, threatened to invade Mysore, while the descendant of the Hindu dynasty whom Hyder had practically ousted showed signs of joining his enemies. He left Malabar leaving a large force in the country to hold the stockades he had constructed.

His departure was once more followed by a general outbreak and his garrisons, scattered throughout the country, were surrounded everywhere. But the skill of Madanna extricated the Mysoreans from a dangerous situation. The Malabar chiefs were hoodwinked by his diplomacy. He opened negotiations with the various chiefs. He hinted that his master had found the conquest of Malabar an acquisition hitherto more expensive than advantageous; and that if the chiefs should consent to reimburse the heavy charges which he had incurred he would be ready to restore their possessions."[1] The chieftains assented gladly, and thus "Hyder's provincial troops whose escape would otherwise have been impracticable, not only retreated in safety but loaded with treasure—the willing contribution of the chiefs of Malabar—the purchase of a dream of independence."[2]

The Zamorin returned to Calicut agreeing to pay an annual tribute. For nearly six years from 1768 to 1774 the country enjoyed a respite. The Calicut fort was repaired or re-erected but nothing more was done. The Zamorin thought that the Nabob's dance with the Mahrattas would continue for ever and he had seen the last of Hyder. The promised tribute was not paid. And once more he plunged into the age-long hostility with Cochin. He raked up his claims for the management of the Tripurayar temple, where the King of Cochin had appointed a priest without consulting him.

But towards the end of 1773 Hyder despatched two forces, one under Said Sahib and Srinivas Rao through Wynad, the other through Palghat to chastise the Malabar chieftains. It was only then that

1 *Malabar Gazetteer*—p. 67.

2 Wilks quoted by Logan—*Malabar Manual*, p. 420.

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the Zamorin opened his eyes to the danger that threatened to overwhelm him. As the French were in high favour with Hyder, he resolved to commend himself to their protection. By a treaty concluded with the French Governor Duprat of Mahe he "submitted himself, his country, and his subjects to the King of France." Immediately the fort was occupied and the French flag hoisted over it. Srinivas Rao was asked to stop his advance against Calicut, as the Zamorin was now a vassal of the King of France. But the Mysorean troubled himself very little about this. And when even a personal appeal failed, the irate French Governor mounted the guns on the walls as though he intended to defend the fort. But, when on the 19th January, Srinivas Rao appeard before the fort and demanded its surrender, Duprat quietly retired to Mahe with him.

Deserted by the French, the Zamorin also left Calicut. The Dutch refused to allow him a passage through their territory. But he succeeded in reaching Travancore. "When the Zamorin fled," writes the Dutch Commandeur Moens, in 1781, with evident exultation, "he wanted to take shelter in our country, but I diverted him from it. So he retired with his family to the south in a native vessel to the kingdom of Travancore, where, with the connivance of that ruler, he still resides."[1]

K. V. KRISHNA AYYAR

1 Galletti—*The Dutch in Malabar*, p. 156.

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MISCELLANY

Pre-Dravidian or Proto-Dravidian

An article entitled "Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India" by Prof. Sylvain Lévi appeared in 1923 in the *Journal Asiatique*, where studying the nature of the population of India in the Pre-historic period he says, following the pre-Dravidian hypothesis: "Mr. James Hornell, in a brilliant essay on the origin and the ethnological signification of the Indian boats (*Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. VII, no 3, 1920) has been led by his researches of a technical character to conclusions which he had to accept, he says, though he was not prepared for them, and these conclusions are not without analogy with ours. He admits a strong Polynesian influence on the Pre-Dravidian population of the Southern coast of India; a wave of Malayan immigration must have arrived later, after the entrance of the Dravidians on the scene, and it was they who brought from the Malaya Archipelago the cultivation of the cocoa-tree."

According to this theory, one should distinguish the following stages in the inhabitation of India: Pre-Dravidian; Polynesian Influence; Dravidian Invasion; Malayan Immigration; Indo-Aryan Invasion.

What is the exact signification of the terms "Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian"? If I have properly understood Prof. Sylvain Lévi's article, Pre-Aryan, according to him, denotes the Mundas and the Dravidians, and the Pre-Dravidians are the Mundas. Ignoring the Malayo-Polynesian influence, we come to the scheme simplified as follows: Munda; Dravidian; Indo-Aryan.

In a Memoir that appeared in the *Journal Asiatique*,[1] I attempted to prove that the Mundas had superimposed themselves in India upon a black population, wherefrom the present Dravidians originated. In a paper published in the following year,[2] I tried to determine the religion of these ethnic elements. I think the *pūjā* should be at the base of the cult of the black aborigines, while the animal sacrifices might have been introduced by the overrunning Mundas.

If my point of view be correct, the present Dravidians, although they may be of mixed blood, had for their distant ancestors the

1 *Un ancien peuple du Panjab, les Udumbara*, *JA.*, Jany-Mars, 1926.

2 *Totémisme et Végétalisme dans l'Inde* in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, Nov.-Dec. 1927.

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black people of the Deccan. Also, as far as one can trace their history, these were already established in India ; one cannot therefore speak of a Dravidian invasion and the term Pre-Dravidian has no meaning in the present state of our knowledge. If one wishes to name the aborigines, who, before any contact with the Mundas, spoke the Dravidian dialects, I propose to call them Proto-Dravidians. The term does not prejudge the question whether the population there designated was ethnically homogenous or heterogenous—purely Australoid, or composed of many elements. Therefore we can arrive at the following scheme: Proto-Dravidian ; Munda ; Indo-Aryan.

A few years ago Dr. P. C. Bagchi asked my permission to translate and publish my first articles upon the "Non-Aryan Loans in Indo-Aryan," and I gladly gave him my consent. These articles were published in 1921 and later in the *Bulletin* and in the *Memoirs of the Society of Linguistics*. Dr. Bagchi translated also Prof. Sylvain Lévi's article published in 1923 in the *Journal Asiatique*. Some years passed before the translations of Dr. Bagchi could be published. He has done this work with an admirable zeal. He has, moreover, completed his first instalment of translation with extracts from more recent articles of mine, notably from a memoir upon the *Udumbara*. This work is about to appear as a publication of the University of Calcutta under the title 'Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India'—a work in three parts, with a useful Introduction by Dr. Bagchi and a learned dissertation by Dr. S. K. Chatterjee : Part I, Non-Aryan Loans in Indo-Aryan by Jean Przyluski ; Part II, Sanskrit and Dravidian by Jules Bloch ; Part III, Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India by Sylvain Lévi.

While expressing my sincere gratitude to my Calcutta friends, I cannot, for the aforesaid reasons, accept without reserve the title, under which they have published my writings. I consider that the Pre-Dravidian theory is out of date, that the Kols or Mundas are posterior to the Proto-Dravidians, and that the term 'Pre-Dravidian' is not scientifically based upon a real fact.

It would be tiresome to reproduce here in support of this thesis the arguments that I have already adduced elsewhere. I shall confine myself only to the examination of some new facts. In his article mentioned above, Prof. Sylvain Lévi has cited the under-mentioned passage from the *Bṛhatkathā-śloka-saṅgraha* in regard to the Pulindas.

The passage as translated by Lacôte (p. 55) runs thus : A group of young men leaves for the chase ; one of them tells the party,

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I see before us a large army of these Pulindas who haunt the caverns of the forest, appearing like a forest of trunks blackened by fire. From their ranks comes a fat little man small as a dwarf, and with copper-coloured eyes ; he was their chief Siṃhaśatru (enemy of the lions). He saluted the commander-in-chief who asked him, "How is the wife of my brother ? And your two sons, Śāmbara (deer) and Śāraṅga (antelope), are they in good health ? Rumanvat ordered to hand over to Siṃhaśatru a bale of stuffs dyed with indigo, kuṃkuma, and saffron, besides a thousand jars of sesamum oil.....Then appeared before us deers whose limbs flashed fire like diamond bubbles ; in bands, they passed and repassed, as swift as the wind. One asks the chief of the Pulindas, "None of us have ever seen such beasts. If you know about them, explain them to us." "No one knows about them," said the Pulinda, "but my father did. On a certain occasion, he taught me something which I will tell you.....He whose arrow, once let fly, makes a *pradakṣiṇa* around these beasts to return forthwith to the quiver, knows that he is a *cakravartin*."

These are the comments of Prof. Sylvain Lévi : "All the traits here appear life-like. The Pulindas are compared to burnt trunks ; the Nāṭyaśāstra, XXI, 89, in fact, states that the Pulinda should be represented with a black complexion. The chief is of the size of a dwarf (*nikharva*). The Pre-Dravidians.....differentiate themselves from the Dravidians by their short stature (Thurston, *The Madras Presidency*, p. 124). The sons of the chief have the names of animals ; totemism is still spread amongst the savage tribes of the plateaus. The history of the arrows which return to the quiver and the resplendent deer appear to come directly from the folklore of the Mundas or the Santals."[1]

I do not believe that the history of the arrows that return to the quiver is a purely legendary *motif*. I believe it is rather an allusion to the 'boomerang', which after having been hurled, returns towards the hunter. It is known that the practice of the 'boomerang' has survived, not only in Australia but also over a very extensive area, comprising Guzerat and the South-Eastern India, the Celebes, the New Hebrides, and New Zealand.[2] The use of this weapon, which was not familiar to the Indo-Aryans, has, in the folklore of the invaders,

1 *Pre-Aryan*.....p. 90.

2 Cf. Rivet, *Le Monde océanien*, in *Bul. Soc. de Linguistique*, 1927, p. 153.

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given rise to the fable of the arrow, which after advancing towards the game, re-enters the quiver of the hunter.

In the fragment cited above from the *Bṛhatkathā-śloka-saṅgraha*, this legendary *motif* is combined with another, viz., that of chasing the resplendent deer. The Śarabha of the accounts is an animal with hair of gold, which is represented sometimes as a luminous apparition, the capture of which enables one to acquire a supreme power.[1] It is certainly to this extraordinary chase that the chief of the Pulindas refers.

I have suggested[2] that some non-Aryan chiefs, after having immolated the Śarabha, transformed themselves into deer, or at least put on the skin of the victim, and being thus metamorphosed, procreated an heir, who was of the race of deer. In the account, translated by Lacôte, the two sons of Siṃhaśatru are called Śāmbara (deer) and Śāraṅga (antelope). The Pulinda chief is called Siṃhaśatru (enemy of the lions). According to the legend the Śarabha triumphs over the lion.[3]

Lastly, the ethnical Pulinda, which is an alternative form of Kulinda, is a word of Austro-Asiatic origin, as also the words Śāraṅga and Śāmbara. The agreement of the indications furnished by the onomastic evidences and the beliefs, consequently, goes to prove that the Pulinda chiefs were Kols or Mundas. They were not necessarily of the same stock as their subjects ; in Non-Aryan India the Kols with bright and probably yellowish skin were in direct contrast to the Proto-Dravidians, whose deep-coloured skin verged upon black. Now, the men belonging to the army of Siṃhaśatru are compared to tree-trunks blackened by fire. One should therefore regard them as Proto-Dravidians.

Let me now revert to my initial hypothesis : To the aborigines with dark skin, the primitive ancestors of the Dravidians, were superposed the conquering Kols or Mundas, having a brighter colour. The Mundas are not the Pre-Dravidians, they subdued the Proto-Dravidians.

From what has been said above another important fact becomes clear. It is not necessary to consider the Kols and Proto-Dravidians

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1 *Un ancien peuple du Panjab, les Salva, JA.*, 1929, I, p. 323.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 325-328.

3 *Mahābhār*, 3 134, 15 ; 7, 1, 28, aṣṭapādaḥ śarabhaḥ siṃhaghātī. Cf. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology* §. 11.

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as rival races always occupying distinct territories. In some cases, perhaps in the majority of cases, these two ethnic elements lived together in the same territory; an aristocracy with a bright complexion and a body of plebeians with a dark complexion. This organization is of great importance to the historians as also to the linguists; it is specially helpful in the explanation of the presence of numerous Munda loan-words in the vocabulary of the Dravidian language.*

JEAN PRZYLUSKI

A Note on the chronological Relation of Kaniṣka and Rudradāman I

In IHQ, v, No. 1, March, 1929, pp. 49-80 and JBORS, xv, parts i & ii, March-June, 1929, pp. 47-63, Mr. Hari Charan Ghosh and Professor Jaychandra Vidyalankar contributed two very interesting notes on the date of Kaniṣka. The latter upholds the theory of Dr. Sten Konow, fortified by the calculations of Dr. Van Wijk, that the great Kuṣān Emperor began his rule in A. C. 128-9, and criticises my view put forward in the *Political History of Ancient India* that Kaniṣka I's rule in the "Lower Indus Valley" (this, and not "Sind," is the expression actually used) could not have synchronised with that of Rudradāman I, who "did not owe his position as Mahākṣatrapa to any body else." The conclusions of Professor Konow and Dr. Van Wijk are admittedly hypothetical, and little more need be said about them after the illuminating observations of Professor Rapson in JRAS, 1930, January, pp. 186-202. In the present note we shall confine ourselves to an examination of the criticism of Professor Jayachandra Vidyalankara and Mr. Haricharan Ghosh of the views expressed in the *Political History of Ancient India.*

The Professor has not a word to say about the contention that "Kaniṣka's dates 3-23, Vāsiṣka's dates 24-28, Huviṣka's dates 31-60, and Vāsudeva's dates 74-98 suggest a continuous reckoning. In other words, Kaniṣka was the originator of an era. But we know of no era current in North-West India which commenced in the Second Century A. D." He only takes considerable pain to prove that Rudradāman's sway over Sindhu-Sauvīra (which he identifies with modern Sind)

* Translated from French by Dr. N. Dutt.

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between 130 and 150 A. C. does not imply control over Suē Vihār and Multān, and consequently Kaniṣka's sovereignty over Suē Vihār in the year 11 of an era starting from 128-9 A.C., i.e., in or about 140 A. C. is not irreconcilable with the rule of the Great Satrap in Sindhu-Sauvīra at about the same time. He is not oblivious of the difficulty of harmonising this limitation of Rudradāman's power with the known fact of the Great Satrap's campaign against the Yaudheyas in the course of which he claims to have uprooted that powerful tribe "in their country proper which was to the north of Suē Vihār" and, according to the theory advocated by the Professor, "formed part of Kaniṣka's dominions" at that time. He meets the difficulty by saying that "the pressure of the Kauṣāna armies from the north had driven the Yaudheyas to the desert of Marwar." Such surmises to explain away inconvenient facts, are, to say the least, not convincing, especially in view of the fact that Maru finds separate mention in the inscription of Rudradāman, as a territory under the rule of the mighty Satrap.

But is the contention of the Professor that Sindhu-Sauvīra did not include the country up to Multān correct? Alberuni, who based his assertions on the geographical data of the Purāṇas and the Bṛhatsaṃhitā, made the clear statement that Sauvīra was equivalent to Multān and Jahrāvār (I. 302). Against this Professor Vidyalankar quotes the evidence of Yuan Chwang who says that in his days "Mou-lo-san-pu-lu" i.e. Mūla-sthāna-pura or Multān was a dependency of the "Che-ka" or Ṭakka country in the C. Pañjāb. It should be noted, however, that the Chinese pilgrim is referring to political dependence, and not geographical inclusion. India is a dependency of Great Britain. But geographically it is not a part of the British Isles. On the other hand, Alberuni does not give the slightest hint that what he actually means by the equation "Sauvīra i.e. Multān and Jahrāvār" is political subjection of Multān to Sind. His account here is purely geographical, and he is merely giving the names of the countries, as taken from the Saṃhitā of Varāhamihira with his own comments. Far from making Multān a political dependency of Sind, he carefully distinguishes "Sauvīra i.e. Multān and Jahrāvār" from "Sindhu" which is mentioned separately.

The view that ancient Sauvīra was confined to Southern Sind and that Sindhu and Sauvīra together correspond to modern Sind, and nothing but Sind, is unsupported by any early evidence. Yuan Chwang went east from Sin-tu above 900 li and, crossing to the east bank of the Indus, came to the Mou-lo-san-pu-lu country (Watters, II. 254).

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This proves that Sin-tu lay to the *west* of Mou-lo-san-pu-lu (Multān), and was situated on the *west* side of the Indus. The commentator of the Kāmasūtras of Vātsyāyana makes the clear statement (Benares edition, p. 295) सैन्धवानामिति। सिन्धुनामा नदस्तस्य पश्चिमेन सिन्धुदेशस्तव भवानाम्। The major part of modern Sind was clearly outside the geographical (as opposed to political) limits of ancient "Sin-tu" or Sindhu and was, in the days of Yuan Chwang, included in the countries of A-tien-p'o-chih-lo, Pi-to-shih-lo, and A-fan-tu: Part of the modern territory of Sind may have been included in Sauvīra whose southern limits undoubtedly reached the sea, because the *Milinda-Pañha* mentions it in a list of countries where "ships do congregate." We are informed by the author of the *Periplus* that "ships lie at anchor at Barbaricum" (at the mouth of the Indus). But the evidence of Alberuni leaves no room for doubt that the northern limits of Sauvīra reached Multān. A scholar like Alberuni, thoroughly conversant with Purāṇic lore, is not likely to make an unwarranted statement. In fact the inclusion of Multān within Sauvīra receives striking confirmation from some of the Purāṇas. The *Skaṇdapurāṇa*, for instance (*Prabhāsakṣetra-māhātmya*, Ch. 278) referring to the famous temple of the Sun at Mūla-sthāna or Multān, says that it stood on the banks of the river Devikā (Devikātaṭa) :—

ततो गच्छेन्महादेवि मूलस्थानमिति श्रुतम्। देविकायास्तटे रम्ये भास्करं वारितस्करम्॥

In the *Agnipurāṇa* (Ch. 200) the Devikā is brought into special relations with the realm of Sauvīra :—

सौवीरराजस्य पुरा मैत्रेयोभूऽ पुरोहितः। तेन चायतनं विष्णोः कारितं देविकातटे॥

According to Yuan Chwang Sin-tu and Multān were neighbouring countries lying on opposite sides of the Indus. This is quite in accordance with the close association of Sindhu and Sauvīra in early literature.

पतिः सौवीरसिन्धूनां दुष्टभावो जयद्रथः (Mbh. III. Ch. 266)
कच्चिदेकः शिबीनाञ्चान् सौवीरान् सह सिन्धुभिः (Mbh. III. Ch. 266)
शिबिसौवीरसिन्धूनां विषादश्चाप्यजायत (Mbh. III. Ch. 270)

Rudradāman's mastery over Sindhu and Sauvīra (in the sense in which these terms were understood by the Purāṇas, the commentator on the Kāmasūtras of Vātsyāyana, Yuan Chwang and Alberuni) is clearly irreconcilable with the simultaneous sovereignty of Kaniṣka over Suē Vihār.

Apart from the identification of Sauvīra with Multān and Jahrāvār, is it unreasonable to hold that a power which exercised sway

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over ancient Sindhu and Maru, and fought with the Yaudheyas of Johiyawār, had the Suē Vihār region under its control ?

In IHQ, 1929, p. 79, Mr. H. C. Ghosh asserts that it cannot be proved that Rudradāman held Sindhu and Sauvīra sometime from 136 A.C. at least. He also thinks that the argument that Kaniṣka started an era "involves a petitio principii." Now, we know that by 150 A.C. Rudradāman was "the lord of the whole of eastern and western Ākarāvanti, Anupanīvṛd, Ānartta, Surāṣṭra, Svabhra, Maru, Kaccha, Sindhu, Sauvīra, Kukura, Aparānta, Niṣāda, and other territories gained by his own valour." The conquest of so many countries must have taken a long time, and the Andhau inscriptions show that one of the countries, at any rate, namely Kaccha, had come under the sway of the Great Satrap as early as 130 A.C. On p. 277 of the *Political History of Ancient India* (second edition) it has been point-out that "the name of the capital of Scythia (i.e. the Lower Indus Valley) in the time of the Periplus was Minnagara, and this was evidently derived from the city of Min in Śakasthāna mentioned by Isidore. Rapson points out that one of the most characteristic features in the names of the western Kṣatrapas of Caṣṭana's line, viz., "Dāman" (-dama) is found also in the name of a prince of the Drangianian house of Vonones. Lastly, the Kārddamaka family, from which the daughter of the Mahākṣatrapa Rudra claimed descent, apparently derived its name from the Kārddama river in Persia."

The facts noted above indicate that the Śaka sept to which Caṣṭana and Rudradāman belonged came from Śakasthāna in Irān through the Lower Indus valley to Cutch and other places in Western India. In view of this and the contiguity of Cutch to the Lower Indus valley it is permissible to think that the date of the conquest of Sindhu and Sauvīra could not have been far removed from, and may have even preceded, that of Cutch (Kaccha). As the Great Satrap retained his hold on these provinces till 150 A.C. it stands to reason that he was their ruler from c. 136 A.C.

As to the second contention of Mr. Ghosh it may be pointed out that Kaniṣka's dates 3-23, Vaṣiska's dates 24-28, Huviṣka's dates 31-60, and Vāsudeva's dates 74-98, do suggest a continuous reckoning. To deny that Kaniṣka started an era is tantamount to saying that the dates of his successors Vāṣiska, Huviṣka, and Vāsudeva are regnal years. But no serious student will contend that Vāsudeva's dates 74-98 are to be taken as regnal years.

H. C. RAYCHAUDHURI

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Pāla Chronology—A Reply to Prof. Banerji

Prof. R.D. Banerji has reconsidered the problem of Pāla chronology in the JBORS for Dec. 1928 (pp. 489-538), in which he attacked in his characteristic way two of his critics including the present writer.

(1) In his account of the Ms. of the *Maitreya Vyākaraṇa* dated in the 57th year of Gopāla II, R.D.B. (so we shall with due apologies refer to him henceforth for saving space) has omitted to mention the fact that the colophon was read and published more than a decade ago in 1917, though it came to his knowledge only in 1928. The *facsimile* shows and R.D.B. admits that the numerals are indistinct: Dr. Bhandarkar reads it as. 11, R.D.B. as 17 and *Dr. Sastri still as* 57 (p. 491). In the field of Ms. paleography Dr. Sastri's opinion counts above others even in R.D.B.'s own admission below (p. 525). But the views of Dr. Sastri in this particular case happen to render quite untenable the entire scheme of chronology put forth by R.D.B. R.D.B. had at first characterised the reading of Dr. Sastri as "extremely doubtful" (p. 491) but later on he easily regards it as "faulty" (p. 521) and dogmatises that it "cannot be" (p. 495) and "is not 57" (p. 521). The facsimile of the last page of the Ms. will show that the careful scribe had done his work much too well—the space between letters is reduced to a minimum without at the same time causing any huddle among them. If the numerals represent 17, the figure for 7 on the one hand is seen to rub shoulder clumsily for want of space with the figure for 1, and on the other, a much larger gap is left after the previous letter (*t*) than is found anywhere in the last page. It is much more probable, as Dr. Sastri must have thought, that what is taken to be a figure for 1 is the well known lateral left hand stroke of the figure 5, almost exactly like that in the Ms. of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā° dated in the 5th year of Mahīpāla (where also the fig. 5 is indistinct; Pālas of Bengal, Plate xxxvii)—the main figure itself now almost effaced from the large gap to the left. Dr. Bhandarkar's reading of the second figure as 1 instead of 7 may just be possible for the above reasons, but his reading of the first figure as 1 cannot be correct at the same time as the two figures are distinctly not the same. The good length of Gopāla II's reign does not, however, depend on this Ms. colophon alone. In all the official records of the Pāla kings mentioning Gopāla II (*e.g.* Bāngaḍ, Āmgāchi and Manahalī grants) that monarch is

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invariably credited with "a very long" reign—*Ciratarам* = avanerekapatnyā ivaiko bhartābhūt—but R.D.B. has given him the shortest reign among the early Pāla kings (barring Śūrapāla I). Considering that in a group of exceptionally long-reigned kings a clear epithet like *ciratarам* happens to be attached only to the reign of Gopāla II, we see no reasons to change our former views in assigning the longest reign to Gopāla II, in spite of R.D.B.'s doubts on the reading of the Ms. colophon. A very long reign (of more than 50 years) has got, therefore, to be provided for Gopāla II and properly adjusted in any scheme for the early Pāla chronology.

(2) In reconstructing the chronology of the earlier Pāla kings, R.D.B. has at last abandoned, as he should have done long ago, one of his theories, *viz.*, the accession of Dharmapāla to the throne in 790-95 A.D. He is now "prepared to admit that Dharmapāla's accession took place about 769 A.D." (p. 506), a view put forth by us about a decade ago (Ind. Ant., 1920, p. 193). He has tried to correct the dates on the basis of "recent discoveries" (Sanjan plate, etc.) to which he has devoted 10 pages (497-506). The net result is as follows :—

Dharmapāla	...	40	Rājyapāla	24
Devapāla	...	40	Gopāla II	17
Śūrapāla	...	3	Vigrahapāla II	26
Nārāyaṇapāla	...	55	Mahīpāla I	52
			Total	257 years

Unsuspecting readers have to be told that the actual difference of this new table from R.D.B.'s position in the second edition of his History of Bengal is only a matter of 7 years (Dharmapāla then had 35 years and Gopāla II 15 years, the rest being assigned exactly the same lengths of reign as here). But he pushes back the date of Dharmapāla's accession more than 20 years.

(3) We had in our previous paper calculated a fixed point for this period from Śūrapāla's inscriptions (I.H.Q., III, p. 587). It is amusing to notice that while assailing the other fixed points noted in my paper, R.D.B. did not refer to this date of Śūrapāla at all and silently adopted one of my calculated dates—852 A.D.—without any acknowledgment, putting in a *circa* before it. He has not stated the reasons why he chooses 852 A. D. instead of the earlier date selected by me, *viz.* 841 A.D., though he has left sufficient indications (p. 507). Mahendrapāla of Kanauj was in possession of

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Bengal and Magadha between 894-99 A.D., so that the 54th year of Nārāyaṇapāla, when he was in possession of Bihar, falls some time after 899 A.D. To provide a "very long" reign as we must to Gopāla II (57 years), it is necessary that Nārāyaṇapāla should be pushed back as far as possible. Mahendrapāla was evidently receding from Bengal and Bihar about 898 A.D. The last three records of his reign found in Magadha are all of *Southern* Magadha, while Nārāyaṇapāla may very well have recovered *Northern* Magadha in the 54th or the last year of his reign in 899 A.D. The earlier date is, therefore, much more convenient to adopt under the present circumstances. As according to R.D.B. the Pañcarakṣā Ms. "must be assigned to Vigrahapāla II" (p. 510), the longest reign his scheme could allow to Gopāla II (even with 841 A.D. for Śūrapāla's date) is only 25 years, which being surpassed by 6 out of the 8 early Pāla kings can never earn an epithet like *ciratarām*. It can be easily seen that Gopāla II's 57 years' reign combined with Rājyapāla's 24 years creates two serious difficulties, *viz.* (1) the Kamboja usurpation of 966 A.D. cannot be referred to the reign of Vigrahapāla II ; and (2) Vigrahapāla II cannot have reigned for a length of 26 years. We had given in our last paper two alternative schemes, one surrendering these two points and the other not taking into account the Bargaon Inscription. R.D.B. has made much capital out of my suggestion that the Bargaon inscription may refer to the Gurjara-Pratihāra king (p. 490). We are still of opinion that it is no more improbable than ascribing a 17 years' reign to a long-reigned king and that inscriptions found in a cosmopolitan institution like the Nalanda University need not always be strictly interpreted as proof of actual occupation by any king.

(4) R.D.B. wishes to teach his critics the value of Paleography by an elementary lecture thereon (pp. 509, 10) in regard to the Ms. of the Pañcarakṣā, dated the 26th year of Vigrahapāla. The difference in age between Vigrahapāla II and Vigrahapāla III is *less than a century* (89 years) and he seems to be quite sure that paleography determines the age of a record with such accuracy as to preclude the possibility of stretching it even within the bounds of a century. Paleography led him to regard the Faridpur plates as forged which they are not and led him again to place the Khadga dynasty first in the 10th century (History of Bengal, vol. I; 1st ed., p. 207 ; Pālas of Bengal, p. 67) and next time in the 9th century (History of Bengal, 2nd ed. p. 233) and let us hope he will care to place it in the 8th century next time. Ms. Paleography, as is well known,

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is much more delicate to handle and we would like to throw out a challenge to R.D.B. to prove to us by means of Paleography that the Ms., dated 1289 A.D., of the reign of Madhusena (Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā, vol. 27, Plate 18) is about *two centuries later* than the Ms. of Harivarmā's reign (Ib., Plates 3-5) and about a century later than the Mss. dated in Govindapāla's 37th to 39th years (Ib., Plate 11 and Pālas of Bengal, Plate xxxviii). It is wrong for any critical scholar to assert that paleography is "the *only* means of determination of dates in such cases" (p. 510) and R.D.B. must be a very bold man to state that the Ms. under question cannot be referred to Vigrahapāla III for paleographical reasons. We have seen above that if the Ms. be referred to Vigrahapāla II, Gopāla II gets in his scheme only a reign of 25 years at the most. Even if R.D.B. concedes to accept the latest date (988 A.D.) for Mahīpāla I's coronation Gopāla does not get more than a 39 years' reign. Moreover, between Vigrahapāla II and Vigrahapāla III the epigraphic records are decidedly in favour of a longer reign to Vigrahapāla III. For, on the one hand, Vigrahapāla II of whose reign there is not a single record yet discovered and whose successor clearly states to have succeeded only to a "lost" kingdom (Bangad plate of Mahīpāla I, verse 12), can hardly reign for a length of 26 years on the score of a single Ms. colophon. On the other hand, Vigrahapāla III, who was a powerful monarch, is clearly stated in the Manahali grant to have reigned *for a long time* (Śāsaty eva *ciraṃ* jananti janake, v. 15). In the whole dynasty of the Pāla kings there are only two monarchs whose length of reign specially earns a clear epithet in the epigraphic records and it is a matter of extreme surprise that precisely these two kings are assigned two of the shortest reigns in R.D.B.'s scheme of chronology.

(5) The important reign of Mahīpāla I had been fixed by us from a consideration of the following data :—(*a*) The Sārnāth image inscription of 1026 A.D. (*b*) The verification of the 6th year of Mahīpāla's reign—when Kārtika vadi 13 combined with a Tuesday and (*c*) The date of Nayapāla given in Tibetan sources.

(*a*) R.D.B. reiterates his old views regarding the interpretation of the Sārnāth image which according to him was inscribed "at a time when Mahīpāla was either dead or had lost all hold upon Benares" (p. 492). His dogmatism compels us to examine his views in detail. A Ms. of the Rāmāyaṇa, dated Saṃvat 1076 (= 1019-20 A.D.) is referred to a king then reigning in Tirhut named Gāṅgeyadeva, who is identified

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with the Cedi king of that name (Pālas of Bengal, p. 74). The Imadpur images of the 48th year of Mahīpāla I prove that he was then in possession of Tirhut. Mahīpāla's 48th year falls, therefore, before 1019-20 A.D. (Ib., p. 76) and his death in or before 1026 A.D. at the latest. This inference is wrong as we had pointed out a decade ago (Ind. Ant., 1920, p. 189). Apart from the fact that the Ms. of Gāṅgeyadeva with the *virudas* Puṇyāvaloka and Gauḍadhvaja has yet to be proved to refer to the Cedi king, who is not credited with any such conquest in their own records—the 48th year of Mahīpāla I, who ascended the throne *circa* 974 A.D., *does never fall before* 1019 A.D., and the only inference that can be drawn is that Mahīpāla I, if at all, recovered Tirhut from the Cedi king. He need not therefore be killed or divested of Benares in 1026 A.D. on the strength of this Ms. colophon. The wording of the Sārnāth inscription without any elocutionary epithet to the king and with the use of the past tense in *akārayat* was taken, originally with some caution (History of Bengal, 1st ed., p. 230), as indicating that Mahīpāla was dead at that time. He was himself aware that this inference is not strong enough—for in a metrical inscription, a 'Śrīmān' is sufficiently expressive of the king's life and honour, as it was of the brothers Sthirapāla and Vasantapāla. Similarly, in the Bodh-Gayā inscription of the 26th year of Dharmapāla, which is also in verse, the king who was alive is denied even a 'Śrī' or 'Śrīmān'. There are thus no reasons whatever for putting aside the natural interpretation that Mahīpāla was alive on the date of the Sārnāth inscription.

(*b*) R.D.B. is quite undecided whether to take 1025 or 1026 A.D. as the date of Mahīpāla's death. All such rough work should yield to the verification of the date of the Ms. written in the 6th year of Mahīpāla I. He states that this date "cannot help us materially" (p. 531). Here he passes over our calculations which are greatly inconvenient to him by raising entirely false issues—for, the only reason he could give is that "my ideas are based on the faulty reading of the date" of the Ms. (Maitreya Vyākaraṇa), whatever remotest bearing the reading of the Ms. colophon may have with our calculation for a date of Mahīpāla's 6th year extending over a period of a quarter of a century (starting from the date of the Kamboja usurpation—966 A.D.). In his whole paper we fail to find any indication that he tries to understand a single word of these astronomical calculations and it is strange that he subjects them to his criticism.

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In giving three sets of date "trotted out" by me (p. 520) his 'critical' eyes failed even to notice that the last two sets are exactly identical. It is neither an error nor an idea based on a faulty reading of the Ms. colophon (cf. p. 521) but a stern truth that Mahīpāla I's accession cannot be placed before 981 A.D. (up to the upper limit of 966 A.D.) according to Amānta calculations. Without troubling himself in the least about my finding, based both on epigraphic and literary evidence, that the Amānta and not the Purṇimānta scheme was prevalent at that time, he seems to adopt one of the Purṇimānta dates calculated by me (putting of course a *circa* before it), *viz.* 974 A.D. Even then the death of Mahīpāla falls in 1025 A.D.—and not 1026 A.D.—after full 52 years' reign and Nayapāla accordingly ought to die in 1040 A.D.

(*c*) He has been careful now to omit altogether the Tibetan evidence. The evidence bearing on the question of Mahīpāla and his son Nayapāla's reign may be conveniently divided into three parts, *viz.*,

(1) Nayapāla's coronation took place shortly before Atīśa left for Tibet ;

(2) A peace between Nayapāla and Karṇa Cedi negotiated by Atīśa before he left for Tibet ;

(3) Atīśa wrote a letter to Nayapāla from Nepal on his way to Tibet.

R.D.B. in 1915 utilised the second part of the above evidence and quoted a long extract from S. C. Das's Life of Atīśa in his Pālas of Bengal (p. 77) and in both the editions of his History of Bengal he has taken this piece of Tibetan evidence as a fact "without any doubt". The fact of this conflict "of the Magadha king Nayapāla with *Karṇa, king of the Western countries*" (not the king of the Karṇyas) has been very briefly but correctly recorded by Sumpo in his Pag Sam Jon Zang (p. 116 ; cf. Index, p. x). This event was referred by the late Mr. Chakravarti to a date *circa* 1035 A.D. It was not then known that Karṇadeva ascended the throne only in January, 1041 A.D. This date of Karṇa does not conflict with the dates of events in the life of Atīśa which are authentically preserved in the Tibetan. Atīśa left for Tibet exactly at the end of the year Vikrama of the Southern Bṛhaspati Cycle (= 1040-41 A.D.). There need not be any confusion about these dates of Tibetan chronology: the Bṛhaspati cycle introduced about the year 1026 A.D. and still current in Tibet is distinctly

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known to be the *Southern* system (S. C. Das, Grammar of the Tibetan Language, p. xv, & Bk. I, p. 48) and not the Northern system of Varāha. This is definitely confirmed by the following passage at the end of a Ms. of the Kālacakrāvatāra of Abhayākaragupta (Sastri, Buddhist Mss., p. 162):—"1047 śakābde rudraṃ miśrayitvā ṣaṣṭi-bhāgena śeṣah prabhavādi jñātavyo vahnyṛtvabdhau prakṣepāya—yathaiṣama samvatsare prabhavādi varṣāni 38". In other words śakābda 1047 current (=1124 A.D.) corresponds correctly to No. 38 (Krodhin) of the Prabhavādi-varṣa; while the year Krodhin, which is No. 11 of the Northern cycle, falls under that system in 1021 A.D. In a number of recent works giving the life of Atīśa the Northern system it seems was wrongly consulted to arrive at equivalent English dates. The exact time of Atīśa's journey to Tibet is stated in the Pag Sam as "at the end of the year *Lcags-hbrug* (Iron-dragon)" (p. 185) the Tibetan name for the year Vikrama (S. C. Das, Grammar-App. V. p. 9). It is also stated there that Atīśa was then 59 years old. His date of birth falls therefore in 982-3 A.D. in the year *Tsu-rta* (Water-horse) as stated definitely in the Pag Sam (p. 183, line 18) —the date 980 A.D. given in recent works is thus wrong. Atīśa therefore left for Tibet in March, 1041 A.D. and it is not unlikely that before that he saw the termination of the fight between Nayapāla and Karṇa, which apparently took place on Gāṅgeya's death in the previous January. Atīśa wrote a letter (named Vimalaratnalekha) to king Nayapāla from Nepal on his way to Tibet (Journ. Bud. T. Soc. I. i. p. 26). The date of this letter would fall some time towards the end of 1041 A.D.; for it is stated in the Pag Sam (p. 185, line 4) that he started for Tibet from Nepal in the year *Tsu-rta* (Water-horse) corresponding to the year Citra (=1042-3 A.D.).

The most important piece of evidence, however, for the purposes of chronology is the definite statement made both by Tāranātha and Sumpo that Nayapāla came to the throne at the time when Atīśa left for Tibet. R.D.B. is silent on this fact which was emphasised by us in our last paper. In Schiefner's Tāranātha the passage runs as follows:—"In allen quellen der Biographien wird erklart, dass er in die Herrschaft eingesetzt worden sei zur Zeit da Dscho-wo-rdsche nach Tibet kam, etc." (p. 244). Jo-vo-rje is Atīśa's Tibetan title of respect (cf. Pag Sam, Index p. xxxvi). Sumpo repeats the same thing very briefly as follows (Pag Sam, p. 119, line 24):—"Thereafter Bheyapāla's son Nayapāla became king just at the time when Jo-vo set out for Bod (*i.e.* Tibet)" (phral la Jo vo Bod du

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byon la). It should be noted in this connection that all the facts given above are derived from a single Tibetan source, *viz.* the life of Atīśa, which has been very authentically handed down in Tibet unlike the fanciful accounts of the Tibetan historians (Jour. Bud. Text Soc., vol. I, pt. 1, p. 7 f.n.). A most curious instance of an attempt to reconcile the fanciful and the authentic is to be found in the Pag Sam, where the fight between Nayapāla and Karṇa finds place among the events of the reign of Mahīpāla's successor Mahāpāla (p. 116, lines 1-2)!

R.D.B.'s scheme of chronology, therefore, goes directly opposite to the Tibetan evidence, for Atīśa's journey to Tibet, far from synchronising with Nayapāla's coronation coincides exactly with his death, and Karṇa, then in full vigour, being just on the throne comes into conflict with a king who is fast dying if not already dead. The date of Mahīpāla I proposed by R.D.B. (974-1026 A.D.) is thus contradicted by a number of facts from Tibetan sources besides the verification of Mahīpāla's 6th year.

(6) As regards the Sekasubhodayā verse recording the demise of Rāmapāla, we were prepared to reject its verification if necessity arose (I.H.Q., III, p. 585). R.D.B.'s paper furnishes nothing new (excepting, of course, Palapāla) to create any such necessity yet. Without having a word to say on the question of the genuineness, interpretation and verification of this verse, R.D.B. makes an unwarranted remark (pp. 522-25) on the nature and contents of the Ms. of the entire work. He does not certainly require to be told in so many words that when a particular verse in a work is held to be genuine for various reasons it implies that the work itself "in bad prose and worse Sanskrit" is manifestly not so. In the second half of the verse in question Rāmapāla is stated to have starved himself to death in the Ganges: this is remarkably corroborated by the Rāmacarita. But R.D.B. is silent on this point and attaches no value to this corroboration. In the first half of the verse, which is commonly assumed also to record a genuine tradition, there are certain data apart from a defective mention of the year. These data are verifiable. They were worked out by us and yielded certain possible dates between 1100 and 1135 A.D. In accordance with the most probable of these dates we proposed to supply the *lacuna* in the reading of the line 1. My views on this point have again been misunderstood by R.D.B. and I have to repeat for the third time that a date is deduced from verifiable data before and never on the basis of an emendation as

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he had stated (pp. 524-5). If the data yield no dates acceptable to him, let him find fault with his own theories and not with us or with the late Mr. Batavyal and the strictures passed on the hoary memory of the latter (p. 525) are in bad taste. Verification of data in a single verse has nothing to do with Ms. Paleography.

(7) For the sake of convenience, we are citing R.D.B.'s criticism of my views about Devarakṣita and his times in some details:—

(*a*) Against my contention that Kumāradevī becomes too old for Govindacandra with *cir.* 1110 A.D. as the date of Rāmapāla's death, R.D.B. states "Among Rajputs the marriageable age of girls varies and it is not unusual to see a bride of 30 married to a young man of 20 or 15." Does he actually mean it?

(*b*) "We do not know who Bhīmayaśas was. He may have been a Chikkora (whatever bearing the fact may have with the point at issue here) but it is also possible that he was an agent employed by Mathana or any of the predecessors of Rāmapāla (that would be before 1057 A.D. under his scheme) to protect the line of the Sone against Gāhaḍavāla aggression (though Candradeva conquered Kanauj long after Karṇa about 1085 A.D. at the earliest). Possibly Devarakṣita was ousted from Magadha and Pithi on account of pro-Gāhaḍavāla propensities." This is a series of blunders. It appears to be a hopeless muddle as to who was the king of Kanauj defeated by Bhīmayaśas. In the Pālas of Bengal (p. 89) he thought it "quite possible that Bhīmayaśas assisted Candradeva ..... to overthrow the last Gurjara-Pratihāra king"; though in his History of Bengal (I, p. 248) he states on the one hand that after the Gurjara-Pratihāras, Kanauj was probably conquered by Karṇa and on the other, it was Yaśaḥkarṇa who was probably defeated by Bhīmayaśas (p. 256). Against this we had suggested that it was Candradeva or his son who was defeated by him (I.H.Q. III. p. 582). Though R.D.B. is out to prove my assumptions faulty, in the two sentences above he assumes exactly my own position that Bhīmayaśas fought against the Gāhaḍavālas and he does not yet know that the logical conclusion of his statements is that Rāmapāla's campaign took place in the last decade of the 11th century after the rise of the Gāhaḍavālas—a conclusion he would give his all to rebut.

"In any case we have no reasons to suppose that Bhīmayaśas was any relation of, or amicable in feeling towards, Devarakṣita." In the Pālas of Bengal (p. 87) R.D.B. had reasons to surmise that "it

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may be that Devarakṣita had placed his son Bhīmayaśas on the throne after his defeat by Mathana."

(*c*) "We have no reason to suppose that Devarakṣita was dead at the time of the campaign. The commentary on the Rāmacarita is explicit on this point. There is no mention anywhere of the death of Devarakṣita at the hands of Mathana or Bhīmayaśas. Devarakṣita may have been kept in prison by Mathana, and Kumāradevī may have been born long after the accession of Rāmapāla." If the Rāmacarita is explicit on any thing, it is on the fact that Devarakṣita was neither ousted nor imprisoned; he was only defeated (in the languge of the Sārnāth inscription of Kumāradevī); his pride was humbled and he had to part with a number of elephants, cavalry and wealth as the price of his defeat (gālita-garvvatvād-gṛhīta-bahu-tara-kari-turaga-draviṇa-paṇatvāc-ca: Rāmacarita II. 8). There is absolutely no evidence to show that Devarakṣita was alive after Bhīmayaśas' occupation of Magadha and R.D.B.'s surmise about Kumāradevī's birth long afterwards is unsound and baseless. The only logical inference is that Devarakṣita died a natural death some time after but before the time of the campaign. It is nobody's contention that Devarakṣita died "at the hands of Mathana or Bhimayaśas." The last sentence which is itself a remarkable utterance is added perhaps as R.D.B. is himself doubtful about the application of the supposed Rajput marriage customs in the present case.

(*d*) "There is no reason to suppose that the campaign ··· took place in the middle of his reign ··· We do not know how and when Śūrapāla II died and when Rāmapāla's reign began. In any case it would be wrong to suppose that Rāmapāla did not invade Varendra till the second decade of his reign.···there are sufficient indications in the Rāmacarita to prove that the campaign···took place within five or six years of his accession." It is impossible even to surmise what R.D.B. is here rambling about for. The mention of Śūrapāla II is not necessary in the matter of the date of the campaign, which according to our contention took place *not later than* the second decade of his reign. Out to rebut my views R.D.B. does not even suspect that here again he comes only to support me positively. In his eagerness to place the campaign in the first decade of Rāmapāla's reign *i.e.* in 1067 A.D. at the latest, he entirely forgets what he had stated above, in the same breath about Devarakṣita's pro-Gāhaḍavāla propensities and forgets also that the king of Kanauj defeated by Bhīmayaśas would then be the great Cedi Emperor

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Karṇadeva himself—a fact quite beyond the pale of possibility; for, the Rāmacarita does not certainly mean the *Dāhalādhipati Karṇa* mentioned in I.9 by the epithet *Kānyakubja-rāja* mentioned long afterwards in II.5.

(*e*) "It is not necessary to suppose that the marriage of Govindacandra took place before the war." It was not the marriage of Govinda, but the birth of Kumāradevī that was stated by us to have taken place before the war, because that was the only logical conclusion one can get from the Rāmacarita.

(*f*) "As we do not know whether Bhīmayaśas belonged to the Chikkora family or not, it is unnecessary to predicate that 'the successor of Devarakṣita cannot be reasonably supposed to have been active before the time of the grandfather of Devarakṣita's son-in-law." R. D. B. cannot dispute either that Bhīmayaśas was the successor of Devarakṣita or that Govindacandra was Devarakṣita's son-in-law. Bhīmayaśas was certainly of the same age as Candradeva and Devarakṣita; but who was the king of Kanauj defeated by him?

The happy synchronism of Mathana, Rāmapāla, Bhīmayaśas and Candradeva leads clearly to one conclusion only, *viz.*, Rāmapāla cannot be placed earlier than the last quarter of the 11th century A.D. For, the date of Vigrahapāla III under R.D.B.'s scheme—1141-54 A.D. is open to the following contradictions: (i) Vigrahapāla III is credited with a "long" (*ciram*) reign in the Manahali grant; a 13 years' reign is certainly one of the shortest in the dynasty. (ii) In the Rāmacarita it is stated that Vigrahapāla defeated Karṇa and wedded his daughter at the time (cf. the word *saha* used in the com. here) he ascended the throne. This is certainly a fight different from the one between Nayapāla and Karṇa as R.D.B. admitted in the Pālas of Bengal (pp. 79-80). For, the Rāmacarita nowhere mentions Nayapāla in this connection and the Tibetan authorities are positive that the fight took place very early in the reign of Nayapāla. Under the present scheme of R.D.B. Vigrahapāla III becomes possibly older than Karṇadeva himself not to speak of the daughter. For, in 1067 A.D. at the latest, when Karṇa was still in full glory with a decade of his reign yet to run, Rāmapāla launched his campaign with more than one of his sons' leading the armies [*Rājyapālādibhiḥ* (*nandanaiḥ*) II. 7].

(8) Regarding the verification of the Kamauli grant, we had given 7 dates as *roughly* combining Viṣuvat with the Harivāsara. Accord-

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ing to R.D.B., though "any of these dates may be taken, ..." (p. 531) as a matter of fact he adopts none of these dates. R.D.B. could easily learn from the orthodox ladies of his own house that Ekādaśī combined with Daśamī or Dvādaśī with Trayodaśī does not constitute a Harivāsara. Five of the seven dates are thus definitely rejected: there are only two dates remaining 1119 and 1138 A.D. Either of these dates is fatal to his scheme of chronology; for, the death of Rāmapāla occurs in his scheme in 1102 or 1105 A.D. at the latest.

(9) We now come to the last and by far the most important point in his whole paper. R.D.B. reminds us as many as four times (pp. 493, 526, 532) of our ignorance of the "original materials" of Pāla chronology. The original material which the learned professor vaunts is the inscription of Palapāla(?) which came to his hands through Dr. Chatterji in 1924. The whole of R.D.B.'s paper is practically marshalled by this new pet of his, looming large before it. A beautiful specimen of his critical method is furnished by R.D.B. when he "*felt sure* that there was a long gap between Madanapāla and Govindapāla" (p. 533) to be filled up after 17 years! With the help of this original material R.D.B. proves among others, (*i*) first, his favourite point that Mahīpāla's death cannot be dated later than 1026 A.D. (p. 521-2); (*ii*) secondly, that all the previous schemes of Pāla chronology, including, let us add, R.D.B.'s own one, are untenable (p. 493-4); and (*iii*) necessarily, the chronology of the early Pāla kings also becomes untenable (pp. 494-5). Finally, (*iv*) "it would be absurd to maintain *now* that Govindapāla came to the throne before 1161" (p. 496).

If he had not too readily clutched at this "original material" as a last weapon to hurl at his critics, he would have seen through the following points concerning it.

(*a*) The entire inscription is full of so many slips and mistakes that on the face of it it is of a doubtful import: the first line which alone has been deciphered by R.D.B. runs: "Om Sri-G (? it is neither Gai nor Gau)-ḍeśva-palapāla-pādānām sam 35:" Pala, as the name of a king, conveys no sense and from Gopāla I to Govindapāla there is not a single name that does not convey a good meaning. It is probable that the extremely careless scribe in inscribing the name of the king omitted the main part altogether and wrongly repeated the title pāla alone.

(*b*) It is also possible that the inscription does not at all refer to any

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king in particular but to the (lost) kingdom of the Pālas of Gauḍa, much like the Belkhara inscription (J.A.S.B., VII, p. 757), the year counting from the date of its destruction (in 1161 A.D.).

(*c*) Assuming that it refers to a king of Gauḍa, R.D.B. has given no reason for placing him in the Pāla dynasty. In his eagerness to pass this Palapāla as a prince of the Pāla dynasty he almost throws out Govindapāla when he says "his claim to be considered a member of the Pāla royal family is much stronger than that of Govindapāla." Poor Govindapāla! With two stone inscriptions and as many as seven Mss. to his credit—one distinctly honouring him with full imperial titles (Pālas of Bengal p. 112) he has lesser claim in R.D.B.'s eyes to belong to the Pāla dynasty! If the term Gauḍeśvara and the affix '—pāla' are sure proof of one's belonging to the Imperial Pāla dynasty, then Gauḍeśvara-Mahārājādhirāja Madhusena has much better claim to be regarded as an independent king of the Sena dynasty of Bengal and Magadha, which he was not.

(*d*) Let us even assume that Palapāla belongs to the Pāla dynasty. R.D.B. now probably keeps in reserve his favourite weapon, paleography, and seeks to prove Palapāla's priority to Govindapāla only by what constitutes an excellent example of a simple logical fallacy. On p. 496 he wrote to the effect that Govindapāla cannot be dated before 1161 A.D. because Palapāla "has to be placed between him and Madanapāla". And on p. 533 he writes "because it is not possible to antedate the accession of Govindapāla beyond 1161 therefore it is not possible to place Palapāla after Govindapāla." The wonder is that R.D.B. puts all this into print and that in a learned Journal without the least hesitation. It is much more probable, if not certain, that Palapāla, if he be king at all, came after Govindapāla: for his place between Madanapāla and Govindapāla conflicts with a host of historical facts which may be conveniently summarised here :—

(i) Gopāla II cannot get a very long reign as he is credited with.

(ii) Nayapāla cannot succeed at the time when Atīśa left for Tibet, as the Tibetan historians unanimously record.

(iii) Karṇa's fight with Nayapāla so elaborately recorded in the Tibetan accounts becomes an impossibility.

(iv) Vigrahapāla III cannot get a "long" reign as he is credited with.

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(v) Vigrahapāla III's date 1041-54 A.D. falls too early for him to be consistently a son-in-law of Karṇadeva (1041 to circa 1080 A.D.).

(vi) Rāmapāla's campaign for the recovery of Varendra falls far too early about 1067 A.D. when he becomes a contemporary of the great Karṇa.

(vii) Govindacandra's queen Kumāradevī's birth takes place long before Govindacandra himself.

(viii) Bhīmayaśas becomes absurdly a contemporary of Karṇadeva instead of Candradeva.

(ix) An absurdly long gap of about half a century intervenes between Devarakṣita (before 1067 A.D.) and his son-in-law Govinda (1104-54 A.D.).

(x) The verification of Mahīpāla's date from the Ms. colophon of his 6th regnal year goes against Palapāla's priority.

(xi) Both the dates of Vaidyadeva verified from his Kamauli grant go against the scheme.

(xii) The date of Rāmapāla's death calculated from the Sekasubhodayā also goes against the scheme.

While any one of these dozen contradictions is sufficient to discard Palapāla from his elevated position between Madanapāla and Govindapāla, the cumulative effect of them all can never be doubted.

With regard to the epithet *gatarājya* of Govindapāla, R.D.B. has filled several pages (pp. 534-37) with his old views without minding a word of our arguments (Ind. Ant., 1922, pp. 155-6). According to him now, the wording of the Ms. colophon of the 39th year of Govindapāla—a curt formula alone unattended by any word *atīta* or *vinaṣṭa*—though used also in a previous Ms. of the 24th year of Govindapāla (p. 535), conveys an additional sense of "sheer hopelessness" (p. 537) on the part of the scribe! We briefly give below the arguments against R.D.B.'s interpretation of the epithet *gatarājya*:

In the epithet *gatarājya* the word *gata* is an adjective qualifying *rājya*, and no stretch of grammatical or exegetical apparatus can bring out a meaning that the kingdom was lost only in (the house or the village) or the district where the book was written, but the king was still alive and the kingdom was surviving elsewhere.

In all Ms. colophons citing regnal years the living monarch is invariably honoured with full imperial titles and the Ms. of Govinda-

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pāla's 4th year conforms to this practice. The only exceptions to the rule, besides the remarkable set of six Mss. and one stone inscription of the reign of Govindapāla, are, it appears, the Ms. of the Maitreya Vyākaraṇa, which is dated simply "Srimad = Gopāladeva-rājye etc." and the Ms. of the 39th year of Harivarmmadeva whose wording runs; "Mahārājādhirāja—Śrīmad Harivarmmadeva-pādiya etc." Both of them were written thus evidently for the sake of brevity. The set of seven records of Govindapāla may be conveniently divided into three groups. The Gayā inscription (year 15), the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Ms. (year 18), the Guhyāvalivivṛti Ms. (year 38) and the other Aṣṭasāhasrikā Ms. of the year 38 (No. 7 in the Pālas of Bengal, p. 111) form one group and the clear epithets *gata*, *atīta* and *vinaṣṭa* used respectively in them normally mean, as R.D.B. admits, that the rule of Govindapāla was a thing of the past (p. 534-5). In the second group of two Mss. of years 24 and 39, the peculiar curt formula "Parameśvaretyādi-rājāvali pūrvvavat" at the beginning also means, as R.D.B. admits, that the "reign was over" (p. 535). The remaining Ms. is worded simply "Govindapāladevānāṃ Saṃ 37." According to R.D.B. the absence here of all epithets, including, let us add, even a Śrī or Śrīmān proves the living presence of the king on the one hand and forces an impossible interpretation on the previously used epithets *gata* etc. on the other. The facsimile of the last page of the Ms. (Plate xxxviii: Pālas of Bengal) shows that the Buddhist scribe was not at all in want of space and he could have easily hououred the last Buddhist king, if he were alive, with full titles. He has, nevertheless, denied to put in even the most ordinary sign of life in a human name, *viz.*, a Śrī or Śrīmān and the only inference that can be reasonably drawn is that in all the three Mss. from his hand, the scribe referred to a dead monarch in the recognised manner—once by a negation of all epithets, once by the epithet *vinaṣṭa* and once again by the curt formula.

We refrain from arguing further on the question of the starting of the *gata-rājya* era, as the only thing R.D.B. could offer against our expressed views (Ind. Ant., 1922, pp. 155-7) is his new pet Palapāla which, as we have seen, has no basis. In conclusion, we reproduce our own scheme of chronology, as all attempts of R.D.B. to assail it in his lengthy paper are baseless.

Gopāla I	*circa.* 700-744 A.D.		Mahīpāla I	988-1036 A.D.
Dharmapāla	744-800		Nayapāla	1036-1050
Devapāla	800-839		Vigrahapāla III	1050-1076

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Śūrapāla I	839-845	Mahīpāla II & Śūrapāla II	1076-1078
Nārāyaṇapāla	845-899	Rāmapāla	1078-1120
Rājyapāla	899-923	Kumārapāla	1120-1132
Gopāla II	923-980	Gopāla III	1132-1134
Vigrahapāla II	980-988	Madanapāla	*circa* 1134-1153

Govindapāla *circa* 1153-1161 A.D.

The beginning of Gopāla II's reign cannot be earlier than 923 A.D. for reasons given above; similarly, Mahīpāla I cannot also be antedated beyond 988 A.D., for Nayapāla's synchronism with Atīśa. The only change that may, therefore, be found necessary to adopt in the above chronology would be in the year of Vigrahapāla II's accession to the throne, in case scholars entertain doubts on the reading of the regnal year in the Ms. Maitreya Vyākaraṇa. But as Gopāla II's reign is already 'very long' *i.e.* not less than 50 years in our opinion, this change of about 7 years would not be of much consequence.

DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

Dharmapada and Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā

The following two ślokas are found in the *Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā*, xv. 71-72 (Adyar Library, 1916, vol. I, p. 140):

ātmajyotir ātmaratiḥ prasīdann ātmani svayam/
prajñāprāsādam ārūḍho vimuktaḥ sarvato janaiḥ//
bhūmiṣṭhān iva śailasthaḥ paśyan sarvān avasthitān/
kaiścij jūka iti proktaḥ kaiścid dhīra itīpsitaḥ//

The second half of the first and the first half of the last śiokas are in fact the same as the last two lines of the following gāthā of the *Dharmapada*, Apramāda-varga, 4 (*Journal Asiatique*, 1912, p. 238):

pramādam apramādena yadā nudati paṇḍitaḥ/
prajñāprāsādam āruhya aśokaḥ śokiniṃ prajām//
parvatastha iva bhūmiṣṭhān dhīro bālān avekṣate/

VIDHUSEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

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The Date of Śaṅkarācārya

As regards the date of the great Śaṅkarācārya, the commentator of the *Brahmasūtras*, there are still different opinions. But the following fact will make it perfectly clear that the upper limit of his date cannot be earlier than the fifth century A.C., or in other words, he can in no way be earlier than the great Buddhist teacher Diṅnāga.

Kamalaśīla in his commentary on the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (GOS), p. 582, quotes the following kārikā :

yad antarjñeyarūpaṃ tad bahirvad avabhāsate/
so'rtho (vi)jñāna[1]rūpatvāt tatpratyayatayāpi ca//

Kamalaśīla introduces it in his commentary saying : Ā c ā r y a D ī g n ā g a pādair ālambanapratyayavyavasthārtham uktaṃ. From this the editor suggests (Anukramaṇikā, p. 90) that the kārikā may be in the *Ālambanaparīkṣā*. In fact, it is so ; it is the sixth kārikā of the treatise, as pointed out to me by my pupil, Mr. Durga Charan Chatterjee, who has reconstructed in Sanskrit the book which is a very small one consisting of only eight kārikās, from its Tibetan version and hopes to publish it as early as possible. He has further attracted my attention to the fact that the first half of the above kārikā is actually quoted by Śaṅkara in his commentary on the *Brahmasūtra* II, 2. 28.

It is, therefore, quite certain that Śaṅkara can in no way be assigned a date before Diṅnāga.

VIDHUSEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

Is it Caryācaryaviniścaya or Āścaryacaryācaya ?

One of the four books edited by Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Sastri in his *Bauddha Gāna o Dohā*, (Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat, 1328 B.S.) is called *Caryācaryaviniścaya*. There is, however, nothing his introduction to show as to how he has ascertained the title

1 That the word is actually *vijñāna* is evident, and is also support- the Tibetan version reading *rnam ses*. [*Ālambanaparīkṣā*, Mdo, Ce, 180*a*, wrongly reads *rnams* for *rnam*. The *vṛtti* 81*b*), however, gives the right reading.]

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of the work. Where has he got it ? He may have found it somewhere in the MS. from which he has prepared the edition. But is there any justification for its being so called ? In the work itself, either in the text or in the commentary printed along with it in the same volume, there is nothing to support it. Literally the title, *Caryācaryaviniścaya*, means 'the decision about what is to be practised and what is not to be practised.' But does the work deal with it ? Certainly not. Therefore, so far as the contents are concerned, the above title can in no way be justified.

That the actual name of the work is *Āścaryacaryācaya* is perfectly clear from the commentary itself from which the last two lines of the very first śloka are quoted below :

śrīlūyīcaraṇādisiddharacite'py *āścaryacaryācaye*/
sadvartmāvagamāya nirmalagirāṃ ṭīkāṃ vidhāsye sphuṭam//

Here *Āścaryacaryācaya* is clearly stated. The word *caryā* primarily means a religious observance, and secondarily a treatise dealing with it. Compare the following names of the books : *Caryādohākośagītikā* (Cordier : *Catalogue du fonds tibetain*, vol. II, p. 231), *Caryāgīti* (Op. cit., p. 47), *Dohācaryāgītikādṛṣṭi* (Op. cit., p. 234), etc. These works and the *Āścaryacaryācaya* belong to the same class. This fact, too, confirms the reading *caryā* and not *carya* (or *acarya*) in the title of the book. The word *Caryāgītikā* quoted above means 'a song of religious observance'. Similarly by *Caryādohā* also referred to above one understands a *dohā* or *dohās* (a verse composed in the metre called *dohā*[1]) of a *caryā* or *caryās*. The other titles of the works quoted above in this connection may be explained in this way. Now, the last part of *Āścaryacaryācaya*, i.e., *caryācaya* means 'a collection of *caryās*. And the word *āścarya* 'curious' or 'wonderful' prefixed to it as an adjective is quite appropriate on account of the wonderful way in which the subject is dealt with, or of the *sandhā*[2]*-bhāṣā* 'intentional speech' in which the work is composed, or owing to both of them.

It seems that there was a work called *Caryācaryaviniścaya* and it was known to the scribe of the MS. from which Pandit Haraprasad Sastri prepared the edition of the present book, but through m

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1 *Prākṛtapiṅgala*, Bib. Ind., p. 138. *Dohā*<*dvipathā* (or *do*
as proposes Dr. Shahidullah in his *Chants Mystiques*, 1928, p. 62.

2 Not *Sandhyā-*, See *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. IV
pp. 287-296.

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take the former wrote the above name somewhere in the ms. which was in fact not of the *Caryācaryaviniścaya* but of the *Āścaryacaryācaya*, as we have seen. The *Caryācaryaviniścaya* has not yet been discovered.

VIDHUSEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

Śaṅkara's Reference to a Buddhist Passage

According to the Vaibhāṣikas *ākāśa* is a reality (*vastu-sat*), and in support of it they quote (*Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, I. 5, p. 16) the following passage which reminds one of the Upaniṣadic style.[1] It is introduced there with the words : uktaṃ hi bhagavatā :

pṛthivī bho gautama kutra pratiṣṭhitā/ pṛthivī brāhmaṇa abmaṇḍale pratiṣṭhitā/ abmaṇḍalaṃ bho gautama kva pratiṣṭhitaṃ/ vāyupratiṣṭhitaṃ/ vāyur bho gautama kva pratiṣṭhitaḥ/ ākāśe pratiṣṭhitaḥ/ ākāśaṃ bho gautama kutra pratiṣṭhitam/ atisarasi mahābrāhmaṇa, atisarasi mahābrāhmaṇa, ākāśaṃ mahābrāhmaṇa apratiṣṭhitam, anālambananam iti vistaraḥ/

In order to maintain the existence of *ākāśa* Śaṅkara in his commentary on the *Brahmasūtra* II. 2-24, refers to the same passage in the following words :

saugate hi samaye p ṛ t h i v ī b h a g a v a ḥ k i ṃ s a n n i ś r a y ā ity asmin praśnaprativacanapravāhe pṛthivyādīnām ante v ā y u ḥ k i ṃ s a n n i ś r a y a ity asya praśnasya prativacanaṃ bhavati v ā y u r ā k ā ś a s a n n i ś r a y a iti.

It seems that these lines in Śaṅkara's commenrary are an abridgement of the Buddhist passage quoted above, and not a direct quotation. Therefore, the difference between the two texts is of no importance.

What is the book in which the passage is originally contained ?

VIDHUSEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

1 See *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, III. 9. 20-24.

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The Twin-gods Aśvins of the Ṛg-Veda

The identification of Aśvins presented difficulties to the oldest authorities on the Vedas mentioned by Yāska and to Yāska himself and is still a matter of controversy. We find a lengthy discussion in Yāska's *Nirukta*. We have *Aśvinau kālasandhau*, that is, the point of contact between two periods of time. Then we have two derivations of the word *Aśvinau*: first, they are so called 'because they pervade everything, one with moisture and the other with light'; secondly, according to Aurṇavābha, because of their Aśvas (horses or light rays ?). Again they have been said to represent heaven and earth, or day and night according to some, or the sun and the moon according to others. According to historians they are two pious kings. Lastly, according to Yāska himself, they represent twin-lights or twilights before dawn, half-dark and half-light. But none of these views receive support from the various hymns dedicated to the Aśvins.

Several other views have been propounded by the modern oriental scholars. Thus, according to Oldenberg, Macdonell (doubtfully) and Bloomfield the Aśvins are the morning and evening stars. According to Weber (in Indische Studien) they represent the twin stars in the constellation Gemini. Max Müller regards them as personifying the morning and evening. Bergaigne considers them as the fire of the heaven and the fire of the altar. Vodekov takes them to be rain-giving and dew-giving deities. Lastly, Brunnhofer makes them represent the morning and evening wind. The validity or otherwise of these views will be brought home if we discuss the various epithets and attributes ascribed to the Aśvins in the different hymns.

The hymns may be conveniently classified for discussing the present question.

First, we consider the derivations of their names, *Aśvins*, *Nāsatyas*, and *Dasras*. As already noted by Yāska, the first word may mean that 'they pervade in everything, one with moisture and the other with light.' The term may also be derived in another way, from *aśva*, horse or rays of light, that is, having horse or rays of light. The word *Nāsatya*, used about 55 times in Ṛg-veda has been shown to mean "not true." It is also made to mean 'saver' (Cf. *Naenaester*, *Naenitaiti* in Young Avesta, meaning 'endeavouring about' —Bartholomae in Altianischcs Worterbuch). The word *Nāsatya* has

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been found in the Boghaz-koi tablets (1400 B.C.) (Greswold); there it means 'more than one.' The word *Dasra* means 'wonder-worker.' There is a corresponding deity in Greek Mythology, named Dioscuri (consisting of Castor and Pollux) which agree with the Aśvins in many respects, perhaps identical.

None of these, however, gives any clue to their proper identification.

Secondly, let us discuss the various attributes bestowed upon them.

The Aśvins have been called twins (*mithuna*), as if inseparable, in two hymns (III. 39, 3; X. 17, 2). They have many times been compared to paired objects (II. 39; V. 78, 1-3; VIII. 35, 7-9; X. 106, 2-10). In a single hymn (V. 73, 4) they have been called born in different ways (*nānā*) or separately (according to Macdonell). Such close association of the Aśvins as depicted in the above hymns is far from compatible with the above-mentioned views on the physical basis of the Aśvins except that which represents them as day and night and the twin stars of the constellation Gemini.

They have been called youthful (VII. 67, 10) and this is quite consistent with their connection with dawn depicted in so many hymns.

The hues and colours ascribed to the Aśvins are of some importance for the present discussion. Thus they have been described as white (*śubhra*, VII. 68, 1), as golden in colour (*hiraṇyapeśas*, VIII. 8, 2), as honey-coloured (*madhu-varṇa*, VIII. 26. 6) and as red (*rudra*, I. 163, 1; V. 73, 8; V. 75, 3; VIII, 22. 14; VIII. 26, 5, etc.). These colour-attributes can only be applied to bright objects. The views that they are the twin stars of Gemini and that they represent the fire of heaven and that of the altar are quite consistent with these views. Their close association in pair and their white, red or reddish-yellow colour are only feasible if they represent the twin stars. The different colours assigned to them are quite compatible with the fact that stars have a variety of colours and some of them exhibit quite peculiar colours.

Thus we can identify the Aśvins with the twin-stars of Gemini. But we shall have to proceed further.

Thirdly, we come to the peculiar characters ascribed to Aśvins' chariot. These are very important for our purpose. The chariot has been described as golden (*hiraṇyayā*, IV. 44, 5), as golden in its fellies (tires) (*hiraṇyaya-pavayaḥ*, I, 180, 1), as having golden bends (*hiraṇya-vandhurāḥ*, VIII. 5, 23), as having the supporting shaft, axle

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and wheels all golden (VIII. 5, 29). Again the chariot has been described as thousand-rayed (*sahasraketu*, I, 119, 1). The most peculiar attributes given to Aśvins' car are that it is triangular in shape (I, 118. 2); VIII, 74. 8), that it has three bends (that is, three-sided) (I. 34, 9; I. 47, 2; I. 118, 1, 2; I. 157, 3; I, 183, 1; VII, 69. 1; VII, 71, 2; VIII, 22, 5; VIII, 74, 8), that it has three pillars (*stambhas*, I, 34, 2; I, 118, 1), that it has three wheels (I, 34, 2; I. 818, 2; I, 157, 3; I, 183, 1), and that it has three tires to the three wheels (*pavi*, I, 34, 2). In one hymn only, the car has been described as having two golden wheels (VIII. 5, 29). These peculiar attributes of the Aśvins' car, namely, the golden colour of the three bends, wheels, and supporting shafts, and the triangular shape of the car have not been seriously taken into account by the oriental scholars. Now what is the physical basis of this speciality of the Aśvins' chariot? We shall not have to search much for it. The chariot represents the triangular figure formed by the three stars of the constellation Bharaṇī lying just behind the twin-stars of the constellation Aśvinī, which evidently correspond to our Aśvins. The three bends and wheels of the car no doubt represent the three stars of Bharaṇī. It might be argued that such a triangle formed by three stars is easily conceivable in front of the twin-stars of Gemini. There are two evidences against such a contention: First, the constellation Bharaṇī with three stars forming a triangle has been recognized for a long time and is recognized even today. Secondly, the concern of a bull (vṛṣa) with the Aśvins is another important confirmatory evidence. Thus, we have *nyaghnasya mūrdhani cakram rathasya yemathu* (I. 30, 19), (ye keep the wheel of chariot on the head (top) of the bull). Again we have *vṛṣabhau na nisasat*, (forth comes your bull). This bull is nothing but the sign *vṛṣa*. Further the three stars of Bharaṇī are much closer to the constellation Aśvinī than to the constellation Gemini.

We now recapitulate the attributes of the Aśvins which lead us to the conclusion that they represent the twin-stars of the constellation Aśvinī (Alpha and Beta Arietis). (1) They are inseparably united in pair. (2) They are bright with distinct colours. (3) They have a triangular car with three wheels and props of gold. (4) They have a bull with them.

We have got a confirmatory evidence in the Vṛhat Vaśiṣṭhasiddhānta, where we get the name Dasra in place of the Aśvinī in the list of the asterisms given in Ch. VIII, sl. 18-21.

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In this connection it may be mentioned that the twin-stars of Gemini have been named Castor and Pollux which are the names of the twin sons of Zeus, called together Dioscuri (Cf. Dasra). It is highly probable that the ancient Greek legend writers meant the twin-stars of Aśvinī, but the later writers, by mistake, identified the twin-stars of Gemini with the Dioscuri. It seems to be beyond any question that the Ṛg-vedic sages meant the twin-stars of Aśvinī by by their twin gods Aśvins.

EKENDRA NATH GHOSH

Bharatavākya

I have read with interest Mr. Chakravarty's note on Bharatavākyas. I wish to put forward a doubt in accepting Mr. Chakravarty's suggestion. The conclusion at which he seems to arrive is that the Bharatavākyas found at the end of the dramas do not come from the pen of the dramatists, but are only later additions by the actors (Bharatas). He says, "It seems that originally the Bharatavākya did not form part of the drama proper."

Bharatavākya, or something like it, is known to have existed from the earliest times. The earliest works on dramaturgy seem to make a reference to it. The ancient writers never missed to note the necessity of something in the form of a prayer at the end of a work. Like Nāndī in the beginning, the Bharatavākya at the end was only desirable and necessary. The arguments of the learned writer in attributing the BVs. to the actors would more apply to the case of Nāndīs.

Bharata has said: "नृपदेवप्रशस्तिश्च प्रशस्तिरभिधीयते" and the dramatists fully and rightly made use of this dictum. There are some who explain BV. as something "chanted by the actor, divested of his dramatic character." It may have been also so called after Bharata, "the father of the Indian drama, to perpetuate his memory."

The BV., otherwise known as Praśasti, has been defined as—

"देवद्विजनृपादीनां प्रशस्तिः स्यात्प्रशंसनम्।"

Comparing this with the definition of Nāndī—

"देवद्विजनृपादीनामाशीर्वादपरायणा। नन्दन्ति देवता यस्मात्तस्मान्नान्दी प्रकीर्त्तिता।"

we see that the function of both is almost the same i.e. benediction.

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Pṛthvīdhara in his commentary on the Mṛcchakaṭika has explained BV. as—

नाटकाभिनयसमाप्तौ गृहीतां भूमिकां विहाय भरततां प्रतिपन्नेन नटेन या आशीर्दीयते सा भरतवाक्यमित्युच्यते। यदाह भरतः—अन्ते काव्यस्य नित्यत्वात्कुर्यादाशिषमुत्तमाम्।

He means to say that the verses in question are pronounced by the actors, "divested of their dramatic character". It is this phrase that raises a doubt, and is objectionable, and Mr. Chakravarty seems to have been led away by Pṛthvīdhara. In fact the śloka of BV. is never uttered by the actors "divested of their dramatic character". It is always one of the main "*dramatic*" characters who utters this verse e.g., in the Karpūramañjarī of Rājaśekhara it is not an actor "divested of his dramatic character" but the king himself in the rôle of a *king*, who says,—

"अणदिअहं विफुरन्तो मणीसिजणसअलगुणविणासअरो।
रित्तत्तणदावग्गी विरमउकमलाकडक्खवरिसेण॥"

and the same is the case with almost all the dramas.

The dramatists at the time of writing their works were fully aware of the various dramaturgical rules and they always tried their best to adhere to them. Thus there does not seem to be any reason why they should have overlooked such an important factor as the Praśasti, one of the *aṅgas* of the Nirvahaṇa *sandhi*. (Of course there is no questioning the identity of the BV. and the Praśasti).

It is nowhere even suggested that the verse in question is a later addition of the actors at the time of their staging the dramas. It may, however, be admitted that the BVs. perform a different function from the drama proper; but it cannot be denied that formally they have a connection with it.

Formally the Nāndī ślokas may be said to be a separate piece altogether. If they were taken away from the drama, their being taken away would not come in our way of understanding the regular drama. They may be said to be the works of later actors, though the very idea that the dramatists should have begun a work without Nāndī seems to be not too far from ridiculous.

Now taking up the case of the BVs. we find that formally and materially too, they have a regular connection with the main drama. It is in the form of a regular conversation that towards the end something in the form of a question comes in e.g. किमस्मात्परं समीहितं सम्पादयामि? followed with a reply..... ...न खलु तः परमभ्यर्थयितुं क्षमः..... .....तथापि प्रीतिरस्त्वेङ्गवांसदिदमस्तु.....and then comes in its own most

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natural way the BV. Thus there is a visible link between the drama and the BV. Where is the break? Where is the loophole for severing the two? If the BV. be a later addition of actors, where does the end come? Before the actual BV., *vākyas* are all *sākāṅkṣa*, and the *ākāṅkṣā* is satisfied only after the BVs are uttered.

Besides all this, it will be seen that there are different forms of BVs. too. Generally they contain an expression of good wishes for all, and do not refer to the main theme at all. But on the other hand, there are such cases too where the BVs. show definite signs of connection with the main theme, e.g., the BV. of Mudrārākṣasa—

तथापीदमस्तु भरतवाक्यम्—वाराहीमात्मयोनेस्तनुमवनविधावास्थितस्यानुरूपाम् यस्य प्राग्दन्तकोटिं प्रलयपरिगता शिश्रिये भूतधात्री ।

म्लेच्छैरुद्विज्यमाना भुजयुगमधुना संश्रिता राजमूर्तेः स श्रीमद्भृत्यश्चिरमवतु महीं पार्थिवश्चन्द्रगुप्तः ॥

Does not this verse show signs of having a context in the main drama?

One more point against attributing the BV. to the actors rather than to the author is this. It seems that whenever any company staged a drama, it had its own BV. This would invariably leave for us many different BVs. of the same drama. We would have every time a new BV. with a new set of actors. If it be argued that the BV. used by the first set of actors came to be adopted by the later companies also, it would not be plausible. A company is not obliged to, and need not, follow a rival company in matters where it can have its own say.

When we come to the numerous dramas of Bhāsa, we are almost in every case met with the BV. ending with "राजसिंहः प्रशास्तु नः।" This consistent mention of the same king again and again necessarily leads us to the conclusion that in these lines the *author* is eulogising his patron.

The learned writer later says, "The use of each of the *aṅgas* of the different Sandhis, however, being not compulsory we have no benedictory verse (Praśasti) at the end of some dramas. And the presence of the BV. we cannot expect in all cases." I quite agree so far. But this is no ground for taking away the Praśasti *aṅga* from the credit of the dramatist. There is no basis for supposing that because a particular dramatist has omitted some one *aṅga* of any Sandhi, therefore all the other dramatists also should do likewise.

It is surprising that Mr. Chakravarty should have cited the instance of Satya-Hariścandra of Rāmacandra in favour of his proposition. Here the hero emphatically refuses to utter the BV.

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This writing of the dramatist proves beyond doubt the practice of mentioning the BV. at the end of a play. If the BVs. were the work of the actors then this form of ending would never have been found.

Lastly if we accept Mr. Chakravarty's point, we must, before anything else, take for granted that all the dramas must have had their representation on the stage at one time or the other. I leave it to the readers to judge, how far this supposition can be justified. I never want to dissociate myself from those who hold that in Ancient India dramas were staged. But I want to point out that it is not reasonable to suppose that all the dramas having BVs. must have been staged. In fact, there are many dramas that could never have been staged, as they were not worthy of being staged.

VIBHUCINATHA JHA

Some new Facts about Matsyendranātha

The history of the various sects of the *Nāthas*, who practised mysticism, though spread over different parts of India, is shrouded in a deep veil of mystery. A fairly good amount of their literature has, of course, been published from various places. But the confusing and often contradictory accounts that are met with both in their literature and in floating tradition, some portion of which has been crystalised in literature, are overwhelming.

This note has been compiled with a view to draw the attention of scholars to some facts regarding Matsyendra—one of the most famous and earliest of the *nātha-gurus*—as they are found in a work which is fairly old and thus deserve the critical notice of scholars.

It is primarily concerned with the meaning of the name Matsyendranātha, which is found in various forms (e.g. Macchaghna, Macchanda, Macchandar, Mocandar, etc.).

The name clearly points to some sort of association of Matsyendra with fish. More than one account refer to the story as to how Matsyendra entered into the belly of a fish to overhear the conversation of Śiva and Pārvatī.[1] Very probably, it was from this incident that he derived his name.

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1 *JASB.*, 1838, p. 138 f.n.; Amulya Charan Vidyabhusana, Nātha Pantha, *Prabāsī*, 1328 B. S., pt. II, pp. 729 ff.; *Gorakṣa-vijaya* (edition of Bangiya Sahitya Parisad), p. 13.

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Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Hara Prasad Sastri was fortunate in lighting upon a Tantra Manuscript in the Durbar Library of Nepal—the *Mahā-kaula-jñāna-vinirṇaya* written in characters of about the 9th century. It is stated in the colophon to have been brought down (*avatārita*) by *Macchyaghnapāda* (colophon to Paṭala I) or *Matsyendrapāda* (colophon to Paṭala XXIV).[1] The form *macchaghna* refers to one who was a killer (*ghna*) of fishes (*maccha*—spelt here as *macchya*). Mm. Sastri, therefore, concluded that Matsyendra belonged to the caste of fishermen.[2] The association of the pure Sanskrit form *ghna* with *maccha*, apparently a tadbhava Prakrit form, may be open to question. But at least in one Sanskrit lexicon, the *Śabdaratnāvalī*, as quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma*, the word is found to have been included as being Sanskrit.

Now we have incidentally come across passages which not only suggest a different interpretation of the name, but gives some new information about Matsyendra that are difficult to be reconciled with accounts of him found elsewhere.

Jayaratha, in his commentary on the celebrated *Tantrāloka* of Abhinavagupta, refers to the story of the origin of Kaulaism. He quotes a verse, presumably from an original Tantra work, which states that originally it was acquired by Bhairavī, the goddess, from Bhairava, the fearful god, and then from her by Mīna—the Macchanda, the great-souled, the Siddha in the Mahāpiṭha of Kāmarūpa.[3]

Another verse is quoted to explain the term, macchaghna. It says: "Fetters, the restless mental dispositions, are called *macchas* and he is called *macchanda* as these have been torn asunder (*ccheditāḥ*) by him."[4] This sense of the word is, of course, nowhere known to have been met with in any dictionary and the analysis is, after all, an apt illustration

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1 *A Catalogue of Palmleaf and Selected Paper Mss. belonging to the Durbar Library of Nepal*, vol. II (Calcutta 1915), p. 33; preface, p. xix.

2 *Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, vol. XXIX, p. 52.

3 भैरव्या भैरवात् प्राप्तं योगं व्याप्य ततः प्रिये ।
तत्सकाशात्तु सिद्धेन मीनाख्येन वरानने ।
कामरूपे महापीठे मच्छन्देन महात्मना ॥
Tantrāloka (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series), pp. 24, 25.

4 मच्छाः पाशाः समाख्याताश्चपलाश्चित्तवृत्तयः ।
छेदितास्तु यदा तेन मच्छन्दस्तेन कीर्त्तितः ॥

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of what is called folk-etymology. But still it claims the attention of scholars on account of its antiquity. This Jayaratha has been assigned by Bühler to the 11th century,[1] and the quotations found in his work must therefore belong to a still older period.

The identification of the Macchanda of the above verses with Matsyendranātha and of Mīna with Mīnanātha seems to be beyond doubt, for the connection of them and the Nāthas in general with Tāntrikism and specially with Kulācāra is found explicitly mentioned in more places than one. We are told in the *Soḍaśa-nityā-tantra*, a manuscript of which is in the Durbar Library of Nepal and was described by Mm. H. P. Sastri, that the Tantras were brought down on the earth by the nine *nāthas*.[2] The work of Matsyendra dealing with Kulācāra of the Tantras, e.g., the *Mahākaula-jñāna-vinirṇaya*, has already been referred to. Various other Tantra works by persons having names ending in *nātha* are known.[3] Some, at least, of them were followers of Nāthaism.

Macchanda is here given as an epithet of Mīna and we know that in some works Matsyendra has been identified with Mīnanātha,[4]

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1 J. C. Chatterji, *Kashmir Saivaism*, pt. I, p 36.

2 H. P. Śastri, *op. cit.*, p. 148 (तत्त्वं मदुक्तं भुवने नवनाथैरकल्पयत्)

3 *Śrīmatottara Tantra* of Śrīkaṇṭhanātha (H. P. Sastri, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 255), *Lalitārcana-candrikā* of Saccidānandanātha (*Ibid.*, p. 248), *Saubhāgya-ratnākara* of Vidyānandanātha, disciple of Saccidānandanātha (*Ibid.*, p. 269), *Jñānadīpa-vimarśinī* of Vidyānandanātha Paramahaṃsa (*Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 15, 16), *Nityotsava* of Umānandanātha, *Tantradīpanī* of Rāmagopala, disciple of Kāśikānandanātha (H. P. Sastri, *Notices of Sans. Mss.*, vol. II, pp. 79). Kaulas also used epithets ending in the word *ānandanātha*. Thus the post-initiation name of the great Tantra commentator Bhāskara Rāya was Bhāsurānandanātha.

4 Thus according to some accounts the guru of Gorakṣanātha was Mīnanātha, while according to others it was Matsyendra. Jñāneśvara, among others, the celebrated Marathi commentator (13th century) of the *Bhagavadgītā* is of the latter opinion. The *Gorakṣavijaya* (p. 13) gives *Mocandar* (apparently a corruption of Matsyendra) as an epithet of Mīna. It is curious that according to the Tibetan tradition Matsyendra was another name of Luipāda, the first of the 84 Mahāsiddhas (Grünwedel, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, p. 228).

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though in some lists of the Nāthas the two names are found to occur separately.[1]

In another passage of the work under notice Matsyendra is stated by Jayaratha to have been the fourth in the list of Nāthas.[2] But none of the lists so far consulted by me are found to give him that position.[3] He is generally given the second position being the son of Ādinātha in the list of the Nāthas.

Still another new fact that we come to know from this little passage is with regard to Matsyendra's place of origin. Candradvīpa in Eastern Bengal was believed to have been the place from which the *Mahā-kaula-jñāna-vinirṇaya* and hence probably its author Matsyendra originated. This appears to be the meaning of *Candra-dvīpa-vinirgata* (issuing from Candradvīpa) of the colophon of the work: But the verse quoted by Jayaratha points to Kāmarūpa as his place of origin. It is to be noted that the Tibetan tradition also points to some connection of Mīnanātha with Kāmarūpa (Grünwedel, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, p. 152).

These verses also help us to fix a limit of the age of Matsyendra. Having been referred to by Jayaratha in a quotation, the date of which we do not know, he must have flourished at a time much earlier than the 11th century (the supposed date of Jayaratha).

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

A Note on The Paura-Jānapada

The Evidence of the Divyāvadāna

In my recent book entitled *Hindu Administrative Institutions* I have briefly noticed the institution of the Paura-Jānapada,[4] as it has been discussed at length by two scholars of standing, Messrs. Jayaswal

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1 Wilson, *Essays and Lectures chiefly on the religion of the Hindus* (edited by R. Rost, London, 1862), vol. I, p. 214; Amulya Charan Vidyabhushana; *op. cit.*

2 तदवतारकं तूर्य्यनाथमेव तावत् कीर्त्तयति।

3 Wilson, *loc. cit.* Vidyabhusana, *op. cit.*

4 pp. 156-158

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and Narendra Nath Law.[1] That the Paura-Jānapada organisations were corporate assemblies is evident from the inscriptions of Asoka[2] and numerous literary references extending continuously from the *Mantra* period of Indian history down to quite recent times. These have been sufficiently and critically examined and discussed. Among the host of evidences I wish to examine the interesting episode in the Divyāvadāna where there is a clear reference to the Paura-Jānapada, meaning from the contents, a representative institution and not the whole body of the citizens at large.

In the Kuṇālāvadāna of the Divyāvadāna[3] we are told that Tiṣyarakṣitā, the chief queen (अग्रमहिषी) of Asoka, the great Maurya emperor, made overtures to Kuṇāla, son of Asoka, through another wife Padmāvatī. The pure and righteous Kuṇāla treated the offer with horror which it well deserved.[4] Tiṣyarakṣitā became enraged and took a vow that day to bring him to ruin in the near future. She was only waiting for an opportunity, and an opportunity soon presented itself.

Meanwhile news reached the headquarters of the empire that the people of Takṣaśilā had a tussle with the local ministry and there was a deadlock in the government of that province. Asoka at once sent his able son Kuṇāla to deal with the situation. Kuṇāla brought peace by his presence in Takṣaśilā. The citizens of the provincial capital began to love the prince for his kindly and sympathetic acts and deeds. In the meantime Asoka fell ill, and the illness was persistent. Tiṣyarakṣitā consulted the physicians who said that taking of *palāṇḍu* or onions would effect a speedy cure. The chief queen cleverly managed to make the king yield to her request, and the *palāṇḍu* hastened his recovery. The emperor was pleased and said that he was prepared to grant her what she wanted. She expressed the desire to be at the helm of administration for a week. This was agreed to. The revengeful queen placed an order as if from the king, sealed it with the *dantamudrā* and sent it to the Paura-Jāna-

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1 Hindu Polity, pt. II, ch. XXVII ; I. H. Q., Vol. II, nos. 2 & 3.

2 Rock Edict VIII.

3 XXVII, edited by Cowell and Neil (1886).

4 अथ तच्छीला पौरजानपदाः लेम्बदर्शनात् कुनालस्य गुणविस्मरतुष्टाः नीलहन्ते तदऽप्रियं निवेदितुम्
Divyā., p. 411.

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pada of Takṣaśilā for disposal.[1] It must be noted in this connection that there was the council of ministers in Taxila but the order was not addressed to them. The address of the letter containing the order was to the Paura-Jānapada.

The representatives of the Paura and the Jānapada assemblies met and discussed the contents of the letter. The purport of the order was to deprive Kuṇāla of his eyes. They were naturally perturbed at the royal orders. They did not like to communicate the bad news to the prince.[2] Still they could not but do so. They finally resolved to place the matter before him, and the prince was not unwilling to obey the royal orders. Kuṇāla was blinded, and when the emperor heard this unbearable and grievous news, he orderded Tiṣyarakṣitā, the author of the wanton mischief, to be burnt to death..

The story may be legendary and even mythical. The Divyāvadāna may be a late work and could not be cited as the certain evidence of historical events which took place centuries before. But it must be conceded even by the most critical scholar that the administrative details given by the Divyāvadāna must represent the actual practice of the period. That the Paura-Jānapada carried out royal orders was certainly the practice of the time. Here is an incontrovertible instance to show that the Paura-Jānapada was an organised body which attended to the local administration of the province of the city. The imperial representatives, the *Kumāra* and the ministers, generally supervised their work but could not interfere with the details of the administration. The Paura-Jānapada was so important that it was the agent of the king for punishing his own son who was the Kumāra ruling over at Takṣaśilā at the time.

V. R. RAMCHANDRA DIKSHITAR

Reply to Mr. Dikshitar's Note

Mr. Dikshitar's note does not contain any evidence that was not noted by me while writing the article in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. II, pp. 385-407, 638-650. The *Divyāvadāna* (p. 410, line 1) says that the order for extracting Kuṇāla's eyes contained in the royal letter forged by Tiṣyarakṣitā was intended to be executed by the

1 Ibid., p. 407.

2 Ibid., pp. 410, 411.

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pauras of Takṣaśilā (Takṣaśilakānāṃ paurāṇāṃ Kuṇālasya nayanaṃ vināśayitavyam). The word *paura* cannot mean the members of a corporate body. This will be evident from an examination of the contents of the letter as given in the next passage of the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 410, line 3) where the *Takṣaśilā-jana*, i.e. the people of Takṣaśilā have been asked to extract Kuṇāla's eyes. Evidently the expression *Takṣaśilaka paura* (appearing in the genitive plural) in the previous sentence has been referred to here as *Takṣaśilā-jana*. The expression *Takṣaśilā-jana* cannot be taken to mean the members of a corporate *paura* body unless and until there is clear evidence to support such interpretation. Keeping this fact in view we should take the *paura-jānapadas*, hesitating to apprise Kuṇāla of the contents of the said letter (Takṣaśilāḥ paura-jānapadāḥ notsāhante.....tad apriyaṃ nivedayitum) to be the citizens of the town of Takṣaśilā and the country parts of the province of that name.

NARENDRA NATH LAW

Historical Research*

Princes' Duty to promote Scholarship

"In December last the Indian Historical Records Commission held a session at Gwalior to which certain other states sent representatives as co-opted members. The interest thus evinced in India's history by the descendants of those who have in the past played an important part in its making, is of the utmost value. There is still much room for historical research and I believe I am right in saying that the archives of many states contain a wealth of documents of historical interest which still remain to be explored.

No nation can afford to ignore the story of its past. No people can properly develop without a knowledge of the factors which have gone to make them what they are. The great men of India have been primarily soldiers, law-givers, philosophers and men whose saintly lives have won them a place of honour in the regard of their compatriots. Indigenous literature and the arts which have hitherto

* Extract from His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the tenth session of the Chamber of Princes at New Delhi on the 25th February, 1930.

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reached their highest levels under the stimulus of kingly and princely patronage have, in more recent times, received less attention than formerly under the pressure of those influences which are continually operating in the progress of civilisation. This is now being recognised and patrons of the arts are more numerous than before.

There can be few better ways in which Indian Princes and the leaders of Indian society and opinion can contribute to her future than by cultivating and assisting the arts of peace which constitute so formative an influence upon national character."

A few notes on Puṣyamitra and the Śunga Empire

I beg to point out a few mistakes that have crept into the learned article "Puṣyamitra and the Śuṅga Empire" contributed by Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda in the December issue (vol. v, no. 4) of the Indian Historical Quarterly.

On page 591 the learned writer quotes the *Bhagavatī Sūtra* (xx. 8) and interprets the word " Kāliyasuyassa" as the eleventh Aṅga called " Kālika Sūtra." A little further down he quotes the commentator "Kāliyasuyassa ekādaśaṅgirūpasya" and translates it as "the eleventh Aṅga of the Jaina Canon." " Kāliyasuyāssa-ekādaśaṅgirūpasya " does not mean the eleventh Aṅga only but *all the Eleven Aṅgas of the Jaina Canon* and even some other Sūtras such as the *Uttarādhyayana.* Those Sūtras that are allowed to be read during the fixed part of the day only are called the *Kālika Sūtras.*[1] The passage quoted from the *Bhagavatī Sūtra* says that the *Kālika Sūtras* or the eleven Aṅgas were totally lost during the medial seven inter-Jina periods. Had it meant the eleventh Aṅga only the commentator would have used the word "Ekādaśamaṅgirūpasya" instead of "Ekādaśaṅgirūpasya". So Mr. Chanda's rendering of the 16th line of the Hāthigumphā Inscription as given in the second paragraph of page 592 should be altered in view of the above.

Again his reading "satikaṃtariyaṃ" in the 16th line of the Inscription and rendering it as "Seven inter-Jina Periods" seems also to be far-fetched. The Jaina Āgamas were lost during all the medial seven inter-Jina periods but after the sixteenth Tīrthaṃkara

1 कालि प्रथम चरम पौरुषीलक्षणे कालगहण पुर्वकं पठ्यते इति कालिकम् तच्च श्रुतं च उत्तराध्ययनादौ। (विशेषावश्यक वृत्ति)

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"Śāntinātha" these were not lost and during the time of Lord Mahāvīra his fifth Gaṇadhara Sudharma composed the eleven Aṅgas that are at present in vogue among the Śvetāmbara Jainas. The intervening period between Śāntinātha and Mahāvīra is so great—as mentioned in the *Kalpa-sūtra*—that it cannot be expressed in number and the rule is that the Sūtras prevailing in the time of a particular Tīrthaṃkara remains in vogue only till the time of the next Tīrthaṃkara when fresh Āgamas are composed. Therefore there seems to be no reason why mention should be made of the loss of the Aṅgas during the medial seven inter-Jina periods in connection with the recension of Āgamas in the post-Mahāvīra period.

The Aṅgas that were restored by Khāravela must have been no other than those composed by Sudharma—the fifth Gaṇadhara of Mahāvīra. There have been three other recensions of Jaina Agamas in Northern India—in Pāṭaliputra, Mathura and the last in Valabhi—but nowhere in Jaina Āgamas such an expression is found that the Aṅgas or the whole Āgama Śāstras that had been lost in the medial seven inter-Jina periods were restored. Whenever a recension has been made after Lord Mahāvīra the Aṅgas of his time only composed by Sudharma have been restored.

Now the question arises, if the meaning of "satikaṃtariyaṃ" as maintained by the Rai Bahadur is not tenable, what can be the most probable reading of this portion of the 16th line of the Inscription? As for myself, I feel inclined to accept Mr. Jayaswal's reading "Aṅgasatikaṃ-turiyaṃ" as the best and most probable of all the other readings quoted by the writer, although his interpretation does not appear plausible to me as it strikes me strange why to denote eleven the words "Satikam" and "Turiyam" are used which mean seven and four and not "Egarasa or Egadasa" which means eleven. I do not indeed remember to have come across such a peculiar manner of expressing eleven in the Jaina Āgamas. I venture, however, to make a suggestion which, I hope, learned antiquarians will think over to see if it can be accepted. It would not be wrong to surmise that Khāravela summoned the congregation to his own country, but many of the older Jaina monks could not attend it, as in consequence of the decline of Maurya power and the defeat of the Śuṅgas at the hands of Khāravela himself, there was a general political disturbance which rendered long journey unsafe for the monks who had already removed the pontifical seat from Pāṭaliputra to Ujjain after the time of Sthūlabhadra or Arya Mahāgiri and migrated far into the western

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parts of the country. Those monks who attended the congregation could collect only the *seven* Aṅgas out of the eleven and *four* Mūlasūtras, i.e. *Āvaśyaka*, *Daśa-vaikālika*, *Piṇḍa* and *Ogha Niryuktis* and the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtras*. This explains why the words "Aṅga Satikam Turiyam" have been used to mean seven Aṅgas and four Mūlasūtras. It is further to be noted that Dṛṣṭivāda had also not been totally lost at that time, but knowledge of some portions of it was possessed by only a very few of the pontiffs who could not evidently manage to attend the congregation. So there is no mention of the recension of Dṛṣṭivāda in the inscription. The absence of any mention in the Jaina Sūtras of this congregation can also be explained by the fact that it was only a partial and not a complete recension and no importance was given to it.

Again with regard to the Mr. Chanda's suggestion that the recension of the eleventh Aṅga as mentioned in the inscription was probably the extensive Digambara recension of the same Aṅga, I beg to point out that this is an error in view of the fact that (1) the Digambaras do not believe in any recension of the Aṅgas or Āgama Śāstras and that (2) the separation of the two sections did not take place even according to Mr. Chanda himself till the end of the first century A. C. whereas in fact, the recension in Khāravela's time was made by the middle of the second century B. C. according to Mr. Jayaswal, or by the middle of the first century B. C. as held by Mr. Chanda.

I should like to add that there is no serious difference of opinion in regard to the size and names of the Aṅgas between the two sections of the Jainas. The Śvetāmbaras also hold (vide *Nandi Sūtra* Aṅga-adhikar, paras 46 to 56) that the eleventh Aṅga, *Vipāka-sūtra* had originally 18432000 words, the major portion of which has been lost in course of time and that the present is but an attenuated form of the ancient volume.

PURAN CHAND SAMSOOKHA

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REVIEWS

A CONSTRUCTIVE SURVEY OF UPANISHADIC PHILOSOPHY by R. D. Ranade (Vol. 2 of An Encyclopædic History of Indian Philosophy), 438 pp., Oriental Book Agency, Poona, 1926.

THE CREATIVE PERIOD by Prof. S. K. Belvalkar and Prof. R. D. Ranade (Vol. 2 of the History of Indian Philosophy), pp. xxix 512, Bilvakuñja Publishing House, Poona, 1927.

About a decade ago an ambitious programme of co-operative work on Indian Philosophy in sixteen volumes, to be written mostly by Indian scholars, was announced and the most outstanding names in the field of Indian Philosophy were included in the list of prospective writers. Of that promised undertaking the present volume (viz. *A Constructive Survey*) of Prof. R. D. Ranade, who was the leading spirit in that undertaking, has come out.

Profs. Belvalkar and Ranade have entered into a new arrangement by which another serial work on Indian Philosophy, to be completed in eight volumes, is to be written by them jointly. *The Creative Period* is the second volume of that series.

These two books which have been published within a year of each other are in a sense complementary to each other. Prof. Ranade's earlier book is a synthetic work, based on the lines of Deussen's classical work on *The Upaniṣads*, and traverses almost the same ground as Keith's recent treatment of the subject in his *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads* with which it was almost simultaneously published. The joint work is an analytical study of the Upaniṣads (with an excellent synthetic chapter on An Evaluation of Upanishadic Philosophy) and supplements the former work. It provides at the same time an excellent handbook for the study of the principal Upaniṣads almost chapter by chapter and also the historical setting and the inter-relations of these unique writings of the past.

The reviewer makes no apology for taking the two volumes together as he believes that in spite of the lapse of three or four years sufficient notice has not been taken of these two works in India, especially of

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the joint work. Sharing between themselves a knowledge of Sanskrit, English, Greek, French and German, the two authors have been able to bring together a mass of information nowhere accessible in such convenient form to their countrymen. They have also attempted to give a picture of the Indian outlook which is so lacking in the writings of Westerners.

As contrasted with the Indian attitude towards the Upaniṣads which, as the writers justly point out, is mystical in character and also devotional, the foreign attitude has been on the whole critical. The most appreciative views are those of Deussen and Hopkins. Gough, Keith and Urquhart (whose book on *Pantheism and Value of Life* has been wrongly ascribed to Farquhar on p. 483 of *The Creative Period*) have sought to show up the philosophic, religious and ethical insufficiency of the Upaniṣadic view-point as compared with the writings of Plato and Aristotle or the Old and the New Testament. Failing to get any satisfactory religion or ethics according to the Semitic or Greek idea or standard, they have expressed a surprise that cultured India should still turn to these ancient writings for inspiration or morality; and Viceroys and missionaries have alike taken pains to proclaim the ethical insufficiency of the Upaniṣads. The writers of these two volumes have rightly urged that morality pervades these writings as an intangible perfume even though it is not laid down in the form of a set of rigid prescriptions; and Hopkins in his two latest contributions on the subject has rightly protested against a want of appreciation of the Indian view-point. That almost immediately at the close of the period in question the Jaina and Buddhist scriptures should give a fairly elaborate scheme of morality goes to show that much of systematic ethics was being presupposed in older writings even though the Gītā was not yet and the war with formalistic rituals was not yet over. In their treatment of the mystical and ethical elements in the Upaniṣads the writers have brought a fresh outlook which cannot fail to interest the reader.

The joint work undertakes the ambitious task of splitting the Upaniṣads up into smaller units and to show the historical stratification of these units. This part requires close and careful consideration, especially as almost all canons of interpretation break down in the case of the Upaniṣads where Vedic quotations, repetitions, references to earlier writers, secular discourses and sudden transitions in thought jostle with one another. The test of style gives an uncertain light, for although the most ancient compositions are generally in prose

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the quotations from pre-Upaniṣadic writers are mostly in verse. Identity of names is not always a sure index of identity of personality; there is just the possibility that some famous names, like those of Āruṇi and Yājñavalkya, were utilised to tag on new compositions, just as in later times omnibus writings of a miscellaneous sort were ascribed to Kālidāsa and Śaṅkara. Hence Barua's scheme in his *Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy* is not workable in its entirety, as also his forced use of the Hegelian scheme regarding the history of Greek Philosophy in his treatment of these ancient writers of India. In the absence of stronger evidence, Belvalkar's predilection for the four Upaniṣads, edited with the help of Adyar manuscripts by Schroeder, must also be put down to personal affection : even Ranade partially disowns their antiquity (*Con. Sur.*, p. 12). But there is much to be said in favour of the inclusion of some Āraṇyaka texts to elucidate Upaniṣadic view-points, as has been done.

The obscure relationship of Buddhism with the Upaniṣads remains pretty much where it was. In this matter a certain amount of communal zeal, as it were, is evident in most writings just as in the treatment of the relationship between Greek and Indian speculation: while Belvalkar is for putting the obligation on the Buddhistic shoulders, Hume in his *Thirteen Principal Upaniṣads* guardedly alludes to Buddhistic influences in the Upaniṣads Jainism still remains equally mysterious, especially with its armoury of peculiar terminology so foreign to other systems of thought, in respect of its relationship to these early Brahmanic writings.

There is no doubt, however, that in the joint work Prof. Belvalkar's historical contribution and final evaluation are the most important parts. Not being written by the same person or the same school or at about the same time, the Upaniṣads can with difficulty be treated as a single body of doctrines ; only certain broad tendencies can be indicated, which the authors have successfully done. It is doubtful, however, whether the authors' contention that the wandering sects were evolved by the Brahmins by contact with peoples of a different culture (*Cr. Per.*, p. 81) is tenable, for Brahmanic migration from place to place was not unknown and it is not definitely known also whether these other peoples had any institution of asceticism which could be borrowed by the Brahmins. This, like the problem of transmigration, must remain for the present an unsolved problem, and a wholesale infection with these two doctrines, namely asceticism and belief in transmigration, almost at the same time in Brahmanism,

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Buddhism and Jainism must remain one of the marvels of culture whose causality is not yet definitely established. Ranade's long discussion about the latter in the *Con. Sur.* (p. 145 ff.) is not supported by the joint work to any extent (p. 81).

Ranade, by subscribing to what has been written in the joint work, may be said to have outgrown some of the renderings and mistakes of his individual work. Reference may, for instance, be made to Kaṭha I. 2. 20 which is interpreted after Śaṅkara in *Con. Sur.* (p. 341) and differently in *Cr. Per.* (p. 392), the reading 'Dhātuḥ prasāda' being more in consonance with Śvet. Up. III. 20 and Mahānārāyaṇa VIII. 3. Similarly, Śvet. Up. VI. 20 is differently translated in *Con. Sur.* (p. 316) and *Cr. Per.* (p. 311), and so also Śvet. Up. II. 10 which is correctly and in keeping with later traditions translated in *Cr. Per.* (p. 305) and wrongly rendered in *Con. Sur.* (p. 338).

There is no doubt that Ranade's own book has been rather hastily written and carelessly revised. Contradictions disfigure its pages in a glaring manner. Reference may be made, for instance, to p. 262 and p. 271 where faith is given contradictory values; also to p. 3 and 299 regarding the presence of the Vedic spirit of prayer to the gods in the Upaniṣads. The greatest blemish is, however, the absolutely unreliable character of the Sanskrit quotations. There are over fifty mistakes in printing, twenty-five mistakes in reference, and defective quotations numbering over a dozen.[1] Sufficient care has also not been taken to give the earliest reference in all cases—a matter which could have been easily done with the help of Jacob's *Concordance to the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavadgītā*. Thus Maitrī II. 2 is Chān. 8. 3. 4., Maitrī II. 8 is Bṛ. Ār. V. 9. Īsā 9. is Bṛ. Ār. IV. 4. 10, Śvet. IV. 22 is Ṛ. V. I. 114. 8, Tait. II. 8. is Bṛ. Ār. IV. 3. 33, and Maitrī VI. 30 is Bṛ. Ār. I. 5. 3. Liberty has also been taken in many cases in translating passages. As specimens might be quoted Śvet. IV. 22, Chān. VIII. 7. 1., Muṇḍ. III. 1. 10, Chān. III. 11. 2-3 (as emended by Böhtlingk), Śvet. I. 15, Kau. IV. 20, Bṛ. Ār. III. 5. 1 (which stops halfway), Śvet. VI. 8, Bṛ. Ār. III. 9. 10, Bṛ. Ār. IV. 4. 5 (adding interpretation to translation), in addition to a number of minor slips. These might have been easily avoided by referring to the commentaries or earlier translations. Although Prof. Ranade

1 The reviewer will be glad to supply the corrections to Prof. Ranade direct if he would care to have them.

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avoids many of the textual mistakes committed by the Nirṇayasāgara edition he falls into some of his own (e.g. Śvet. IV. 16, Kena I. 8). The reviewer is not sure also whether the term Nominalism has been correctly used to indicate the unreality of the world, as in Western philosophy Nominalism stands for the unreality of the Universal and not for the Nāmarūpa character of particulars.

The good point of the individual work is its faithful rendering of the native tradition in an enthusiastic style, specially its emphasis upon the mystical aspect of Upaniṣadic religion. But the style is not free from its attendant evils, as a certain amount of avoidable length and looseness of structure has been introduced, which, the reviewer hopes, will be avoided in the next edition. Instead of getting into immoderate raptures Prof. Ranade might also think of introducing a certain amount of philosophic restraint in his treatment of the subject, as has been done in the joint work which in technique is far superior to the earlier work of Ranade. A few mistakes in idiom have inadvertently crept into both works.

The joint work raises so many controversial issues in its stratificatory scheme that the present reviewer must take a little more time to consider them. He has no doubt, however, that of all the recent publications on the Upaniṣads the joint work is one of the most valuable.

H. D. BHATTACHARYYA

The KĪCAKA-VADHA of Nitivarman with the commentary of Janārdanasena (Dacca University Oriental Series, No. 1). Edited from original manuscripts with an Introduction, Notes and Extracts from the commentary of Sarvānanda-nāga by Sushil Kumar De, M.A., D. Litt, Reader and Head of the Department of Sanskrit and Bengali and Dean of the Faculty of Arts in the University of Dacca, 1929.

The University of Dacca within the space of a comparatively short period of its foundation has done some real good work in the field of Sanskrit studies as in other branches. The very commendable work of the collection of Sanskrit Mss. that was begun only a few years back has made rapid progress and the Dacca University can now boast of a big and valuable Sanskrit Manuscripts Library. The several Bulletins that have been published from

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time to time contain much that is valuable. And the latest enterprise on which the Sanskrit Department is found to have devoted its energy is the publication of an Oriental Series. We have every hope that this enterprise will be crowned with all success and we extend our hearty welcome to the first number of the Dacca University Oriental Series—the Kīcakavadha of Nītivarman. It is a *Yamaka-Kāvya* illustrating various kinds of *Yamaka*. It appears to have been well-known in earlier days as is evidenced by quotations from it found in different works on rhetorics etc. and by the number of commentaries that came to be written on it. The editor has utilised two commentaries but the existence of some more may be inferred from the anonymous references to and criticisms of predecessors by Janārdana (II, 25 ; IV. 19). There is also a Mss. of a commentary of the work in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The editor has taken pains to locate the quotations in the commentary made from lexicons, grammatical works etc. This has led to the detection of some errors of the author which were responsible for wrong attribution. Meanings of verbal roots as given by the commentator have been referred to the Dhātupāṭha of the Pāṇini School but it would have been more consistent if the references were made to the *Kātantragaṇapāṭha* as the commentator was a follower of the Kātantra system.

On the whole the edition has been an ideal one. The printing and get-up leave nothing to be desired. In the long introduction the editor has put together much useful and valuable information regarding the work, its author and other cognate matters. A short note on the propriety of the references to this Kāvya of five cantos in some of the colophons as a mahākāvya would have been very welcome. The Notes in English that follow the text will be of great help in following the text even without referring to the Sanskrit commentary.

The text of the commentary as found in the Ms. appears to have been highly corrupt and the editor has in most cases supplied correct emendations. We would take this opportunity of suggesting some more for the consideration of the editor.

(1) In p. 15 (II. 1) यद् याट्शं for यदीट्शं seems to be better.

(2) कविकाव्यम् (I. 7) might be emended to कवेः काव्यम्।

(3) एतदप्रादात्तम् (I. 9.) presupposes the occurrence of some similar expression in the commentary of the previous verse which might be supplied.

(4) कैः (I. 10) supplied from the margin seems to be unnecessary.

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(5) ताद्दशायाः [emendation of ताद्दशायाम् (II. 8)] is a grammatical oversight. It should be ताद्दश्याः ।

The attention of the editor may in this connection be drawn to the marginal notes found in the Ms. of the commentary. Such notes are found in many Mss. and they are not infrequently the notes made by the readers. It would, therefore, have been better if they were placed within brackets without incorporating them in the body of the text and thus given the benefit of doubt.

As regards the text portion the use of some not unusual mechanical printing devices would have been of great benefit to many. Thus the use of hyphens (in cases like पूत-नाभि and प्र-भया in I. 5; अ-विधवाय्यते and अवि-धवाय्यते in I. 13) and the insertion of *avagrahas* (in cases like शुचाऽनुद्धरतः—I. 21a and क्लतखस्तिनाऽस्ति—I. 18b) would have gone a great way in solving the difficulty met with in breaking up words in a compound—specially in cases of pun.

In I. 10 the omission of a *visarga* sign after अप required by rules of Sandhi, is probably due to printer's devil.

In conclusion it must be admitted that Dr. De will earn the gratitude of all students of Sanskrit literature by bringing out this critical and beautiful edition of a *yamakakāvya* that was going to be forgotten and lost.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

THE EMPIRE OF THE GREAT MOGOL, by J. S. Hoyland and S. N. Banerjee, D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Bombay, 1928.

Professors Hoyland and S. N. Banerjee have already laid students of the mediæval period of Indian history under a heavy obligation by their scholarly version of the Commentary of Father Monserrate, written in Latin by a Jesuit missionary at Akbar's Court, which ranks among the first rate authorities for the reign of the great Emperor. In the present work they have made a further contribution to the history of this period by bringing out in an English garb the Latin book of the Dutchman, De Laet, which was originally published in 1631. The book consists of two parts. The first called *Geography and Administration of the Mogol Empire* gives a valuable account of the provinces of the Empire, the Imperial Court, the government, the currency, the inventory of the Emperor's treasures (which is of unique interest), the military forces, the customs of the people and so forth. The second part

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called *A fragment of the history of India* is mainly a chronicle of the events of Akbar's and Jehangir's reign. It was based, as the authors show in their introduction, upon the materials collected in India by the Dutchman Francesco Pelsaert who became the head of a factory established at Agra in 1621. It is therefore entitled to be regarded as a contemporary authority for the period which it treats.

The translation from the original Latin is easy and natural, while the notes which have been collected with industrious care from many different sources are always concise and accurate and to the point.

U. N. G.

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,

vol. X, pts. iii and iv.

T. K. LADDU.—*Introduction to Trivikrama's Prakrit Grammar.* Dr. Laddu's introduction to his edition of the *Prakṛtaśabdānuśāsana* has been translated here from German by P. V. Ramanujaswami.

SUKUMAR SEN.—*Use of Cases in Vedic Prose.* (Continued).

UMESHA MISHRA.—*Ekādaśādyādhikaraṇa of Murārimiśra.* This is a short Mīmāṃsā treatise edited for the first time.

D. R. BHANDARKAR.—*Sahasram-Rupnath-Brahmagiri-Maski Edict of Aśoka reconsidered.*

S. N. TADAPATRIKAR.—*The Kṛṣṇa Problem.* The writer traces here the spread of the Bhāgavata religion and deals with the episodes from the life of Kṛṣṇa as described in the different Purāṇic works.

Ibid., vol. XI, pt. i

M. C. MODI.—*Bhāvanāsandhi-prakaraṇa of Jayadevamuni.* (An Apabhraṃśa Poem).

B. M. BARUA.—*The Sohgaura Copper-plate Inscription.*

K. K. LELE.—A fragmentary Inscription of Maṇḍu. This much can be gathered from the fragment that the inscription is a hymn to Viṣṇu composed by the great poet Bilhaṇa who was patronised by Vindhyavarmadeva and Subhaṭavarmadeva of Dhāra (12th century A.C.).

GIUSSEPE TUCCI—*The Jātinirākṛti of Jitāri.* This is a short polemical treatise in refutation of the *Jāti* theory of the Naiyāyikas, Jainas and Mīmāṃsakas.

K. B. PATHAK.—*The Age of Pāṇini and Sanskrit as a Spoken Language.* It is argued here that Sanskrit was a spoken language at the time of Pāṇini who has been assigned to the seventh century B.C.

——. *Were the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa unknown to Pāṇini.* In disagreement with the opinion of Goldstücker the writer concludes that "the Śukla Yajurveda and its Brāhmaṇa were considered Vedic works in the days of Pāṇini."

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Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology, 1928

The third volume of this important publication of the Kern Institute contains, like its two previous issues, a carefully arranged list of books and articles on India published during the year 1928, and its Introduction deals with some important topics under the following headings: Sir John Marshall's Excavations at Taxila; Sir Aurel Stein's Expeditions in Baluchistan, 1927-28; the Wooden Walls of Pāṭaliputra; Excavations at Nālandā; the Brick Temple of Pāhāḍpur; Buddhist Antiquities discovered in Burma, Indonesia and Iran.

Calcutta Review, March, 1930

P. K. ACHARYA.—*Indo-Persian Architecture.*

RAKESRANJAN SARMA.—*The Idealism of the School of Dignāga.*

Indian Antiquary, January, 1930

KESAVA PRASADA MISRA.—*Dr. Keith on Apabhraṃśa.* Disagreeing with Sir G. Grierson, Dr. Keith has concluded in his *History of Sanskrit Literature* that the Apabhraṃśa language has no relation with the modern vernaculars of India. In his opinion Apabhraṃśa was never a vernacular and is only a collective term to denote a literary language distinct from Sanskrit and Prakrit. In opposition to this view the writer of this article adduces linguistic evidences to prove that there is an etymological relation between Eastern Hindi (a modern language) and Ardhamāgadhī Apabhraṃśa and also cites textual evidences to show that Apabhraṃśa was a vernacular and was not regarded so different from Prakrit as Dr. Keith supposes it to be.

BISHESHWAR NATH REU.—*False Statements about King Jayacandra and Rāo Sīhā.* The writer does not believe in the tradition that Jayacandra of Kanauj caused the downfall of Pṛthvīrāja, and that Rāo Sīhā, grandson of the former, usurped Pali by treacherously murdering the Palivāl Brahmans of the place. The story in this respect as found recorded in the *Pṛthvīrāj Rāso* and Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* is, according to him, absurd and cannot be relied on as historical truth.

K. de B. CODRINGTON.—*Ancient Sites near Ellora, Deccan.*

S. K. DE.—*On the Text of the Mahāvīracarita.*

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Ibid., February, 1930

R. R. HALDER.—*Nāsūm Inscription of Īśānabhaṭa of Vikrama Saṃvat 886.* This fragmentary inscription records the installation of an image of Śiva by one Gāmuṇḍasvāmin, the preceptor of a chieftain named Īśānabhaṭa, son of Dhanika. The historical interest of this dated inscription lies in the fact that the date of this Dhanika agrees with that of the Guhila chief of that name ruling at Dhavagartā (Dhoḍ) in the Udaypur state mentioned in the Dabok inscription of Harṣa Saṃvat 207 = A. C. 813.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI.—*Bengal's Contribution to Philosophical Literature in Sanskrit.* This instalment of the article deals with the Bengali authors of Vaiṣṇava and Buddhist philosophical works.

F. J. RICHARDS.—*Periods in Indian History.* The dynastic terms such as Śuṅga or Andhra, religious terms such as Buddhist or Muhammadan and tribal terms such as Rajput or Maratha as applied to the different periods of Indian history are unsuitable as they are indefinite and in many cases applicable only to limited areas. With a view to remove this difficulty a scheme dividing the historical period of India into three major divisions and each of them again into three minor periods has been drawn up and submitted for discussion in the Indian Section of the Royal Anthropological Institute. The scheme is being explained in this continued article containing suggestion of some elastic terms applicable in connection with all the areas.

Ibid., March, 1930

A. H. FRANKE.—*Notes on Khotan and Ladakh.* This portion of these continued Notes treats of "the end of Buddhism in Turkestan."

S. CHARLES HILL.—*Origin of the Caste System in India.* The article is not yet concluded.

Journal of Indian History, December, 1929

H. N. SINHA.—*The Rise of the Peshwas.*

S. S. SURYANARAYAṆA SASTRI.—*The Maṇimekalai Account of the Sāṃkhya.* As the account of the Sāṃkhya system of philosophy given in the Tamil classic *Maṇimekalai* differs on many points from the classical Sāṃkhya as expounded by Īśvarakṛṣṇa, the

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Tamil work has been assigned a date earlier than that of Īśvarakṛṣṇa.

DASARATHA SHARMA.—*Gleanings from Sanskrit Mahākāvyas.* The view about state-craft, the description of the military equipment, and military custom and some facts about the religious and social life of the people as described in the *Śiśupālavadha* of Māgha have been set forth here to be an accurate reflection of the surroundings of the poet in the 8th century A. C.

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. IV, pt. i

O. K. ANANTALAKSHMI AMMAL.—*Studies in the Upaniṣads.* This section of the article deals with "transmigration and karma" as discussed in the various Upaniṣads.

P. T. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.—*Śaka-Pallavas in Indian History.*

D. T. TATACHARYA.—*Definition of Poetry or Kāvya.*

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR.—*Dravidic Etymologies.*

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, January, 1930

P. C. BARAT.—*The Chronology of the Sena kings of Bengal.*

JWALA PRASAD.—*Discussion of the Buddhist Doctrines of Momentariness and Subjective Idealism in the Nyāyasūtras.* The writer is of opinion that some of the Nyāya Sūtras supposed by Vātsyāyana and many other commentators to contain refutations of the Buddhist doctrines of *Kṣaṇikavāda* and *Vijñānavāda* do not refer to those Buddhist doctrines at all.

JEAN PRZYLUSKI.—*Le nom de l'ecriture Kharoṣṭhī.* The writer is not in favour of the view that the word is derived from Khara and Oṣṭra. He suggests on the basis of the Chinese translation of the word that it is derived from Khara-posta, *posta* meaning 'skin' in Iranian.

BISHESHWAR NATH REU.—*The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Gaharvāls.*

Review of Philosophy and Religion March, 1930
vol. I, No. 1

R. NAGARAJA SARMA.—*Reign of Realism in Indian Philosophy.* The importance and character of the philosophy of Madhva have been explained here, and his position among the teachers of different

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schools of philosophy in India as the opponent of Monism and upholder of Pluralism, the antagonist of Absolute Idealism, and the champion of Realism has been pointed out.

D. G. LONDHE.—*The Advaita Philosophy of Śaṅkara and its Later Development.* This is a discussion dealing with the nature and extent of the development of Advaita doctrines in the post-Śaṅkara period.

Shrine of Wisdom, Spring Equinox, 1930

The Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna by Aśvaghoṣa. This is the second instalment of the English renderings of the Chinese version of the *Mahāyānaśraddhotpādasūtra* of Aśvaghoṣa.

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OBITUARY NOTICE

Henry Beveridge

(Born February, 1837, died November, 1929)

India owes a heavy debt of gratitude to Scotland. Some of her most brilliant Historians hail from the stern and wild Caledonia. The two Cunninghams, Malcolm, Erskine, Elphinstone and Grant Duff were all Scotchmen; and Henry Beveridge was in no way unworthy of this intellectual brotherhood. He was like many of them an Indian Civil Servant but he entered the service by passing the newly instituted competitive examination in the year of the mutiny. His promotion in the service was unusually slow; it is said that the nominated civilians, who formed the majority in those days, had a strong prejudice against 'competition wallas' as they had been nicknamed; it is also likely that the catholicity of outlook, which characterised Beveridge throughout his official career, proved a great handicap to him. Few historians can rise above the unconscious prejudice and bias of race while writing about a subject people, but Beveridge belonged to this microscopic minority. It has been recently laid down by a London University Professor that a young historian need not make any attempt, conscious or unconscious, to get rid of party feeling. He triumphantly points out that the greatest historians of all ages, Grote and Gibbon, Macaulay and Mommen, Thiers and Trietsche, were all avowed partisans. Beveridge evidently held other views about the duty of a historian. He was essentially a seeker after truth and he fearlessly proclaimed what he believed to be true. This is amply proved by his first two works, "History of the District of Bakargaunj" and "The Trial of Nanda Kumar: A Narrative of a Judicial Murder." Recent researches have thrown fresh light on the early history of Chandradwip, but Beveridge's book still remains unsuperceded, so thorough was his work and so profound his erudition. He boldly exposed the atrocities of the Salt Officers in the early days of the Company and expressed in no uncertain terms his strong disapproval of the Salt policy of the Government he served. "It appears strange", he observed, "that a country naturally so rich in salt as Bakargaunj should have to depend on Europe for the supply of this necessary; and it is to be hoped that some day it will be found possi-

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ble to manufacture it locally, or at least nearer home." In the pages of the same work he uttered an emphatic protest against Macaulay's sweeping condemnation of the Bengali. "I have said", he wrote, "that Macaulay's estimate of the Bengali character is not a correct or complete one. I may here briefly state how it errs, in my opinion. It does not do justice to some virtues possessed by the Bengalis namely, temperance, frugality and patience. Neither is it quite just in the matter of courage, for though the Bengali is cowardly in some respects, he is not altogether timid. For example, he is probably more courageous with regard to wild beasts than most Europeans. The inhabitants of Bakargaunj are hardy boatmen, and often cross rivers in rough and dangerous weather. The most serious charge of all brought against Bengalis is that they are liars.....I think that the extent of their lying propensities has been exaggerated, and that a great deal of what we are apt to consider deliberate falsehood on their part proceeds from nervousness, from want of precision of thought and expression, and from our ignorance and impatience..... The general character of the Bengali is amiable. He has no large sympathies and little vigour of mind, but he is gentle and affectionate, and very charitable to the poor." The broad minded sympathy which underlies this estimate of the Bengali's character won him the golden opinion of the people of Bakargaunj, of which District he was the Collector. I once came across some old villagers who knew him then and spoke of "Beveridge Saheb" with affection and respect. "The Trial of Nanda Kumar" offered fresh proof of his sincerity and courage. It was a reply to Sir James Stephen's vindication of Hastings and Impey. That his book is not so frequently read as that of Sir James is hardly a discredit to Henry Beveridge. He had foreseen that his account of that famous or infamous trial was not likely to be very popular, for he had gone much deeper into the details of evidence than Sir James, whose ignorance of Persian prevented him from making a first hand use of some of the most important documents bearing on the subject. It is said that this new publication did not meet with the approval of Beveridge's official superiors, but he most certainly did not care. I have so long dwelt upon these early works of Henry Beveridge as they are comparatively less known to-day. To the average student of Indian History he is known as a great Persian scholar and the erudite translator of Abul Fazal's Akbar Nāmā. He and his second wife Mrs. A. S. Beveridge had selected the early part of the Mughal period for their research and special study. While

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the husband translated "Akbar Nāmā" and Jahangir's, "Tuzak," the wife translated "Babar's Memoirs," Gulbadan's "Humāyun Nāmā" and Count Noer's "Kaiser Akbar." It is needless to dilate upon the superior merits of these works, but I shall fail in my duty if I close this obituary notice without a reference to the courtesy and kindness with which this great scholar of fourscore years and more used to treat every neophyte who might solicit his help. Nearly ten years ago, the present writer sent his first publication to Henry Beveridge with a certain amount of timidity, but the octogenerian not only reviewed the book in the J. R. A. S. but began an intimate correspondence which was absolutely unexpected. He also sent a few notes for publication in the Calcutta Review of which he was one of the most distinguished contributors in its early days. Beveridge had probably inherited his taste for Indian History from his father Henry, whose "History of India" in three volumes is still widely used as a book of reference. His son Sir William is a distinguished Economist. Mrs. Beveridge predeceased her husband a few months ago. The void left by the death of this erudite couple will be difficult to fill and Indian historical scholarship has suffered a loss which will not be easy to repair.

SURENDRA NATH SEN

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Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools

By Dr. NALINAKSHA DUTT, M.A., B.L., P.R.S., PH.D., D.LIT.

Lecturer, Calcutta University.

With a Foreword by Dr. Narendra Nath Law, M.A., B.L., P.R.S., PH.D

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Prof. M. Winternitz says : "An excellent book on the 'Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools.' Though there is no lack of books on the life and teaching of the Buddha

CORRECTION SLIP

I.H.Q., DECEMBER, 1929

For the last two lines of p. 826 and the first two lines of p. 827, read

J. J. MEYER—*Einen Scheidenden bis ans Wasser begleiten* [i.e. Accompanying the departing (visitor) up to the (first) line of water]. The writer deals here with the ancient Indian customs of accompanying visitors up to certain limits.

the book and looks at these references will find his knowledge considerably increased. I am very glad to see that Indian scholars are taking so much interest in the history of Buddhism."

Prof. Sten Konow writes : "I have found Dutt's Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools very useful indeed. It is gratifying to see how the interest taken in Buddhism by scholars is steadily increasing in India. Here as everywhere Indian co-operation is necessary for the proper understanding of the development."

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Prof. Louis de La Vallée Poussin says—"The book commends itself by many qualities. The idea of studying the external and internal factors which procured to Buddhism this stupendous popularity is a good one. This problem had not been hitherto duly recognised. And the initiative of the author deserves praise. The details concerning the Buddhist provinces, Kośala etc. are well-arranged and this survey is clear and exhaustive....."

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NARENDRA NATH LAW

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The Trustworthiness of the Mahāvaṃsa

The "Great Chronicle" of Ceylon, the *Mahāvaṃsa*, is generally divided into two main parts, the Mahāvaṃsa in the narrower sense of the word and the so-called Cūlavaṃsa, the "Little Chronicle". The end of the first part is easily recognised at ch. XXXVII, v. 50 where the history of king Mahāsena's reign terminates (362 A.C.). Here in all our manuscripts we read the words *Mahāvaṃso niṭṭhito* and in most of them also *Namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa* clearly indicating the end of a work and commencement of a new one. The Dīpavaṃsa, which appears to be a groundwork of the Mahāvaṃsa, similarly ends with the death of Mahāsena; the Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā also does not extend beyond ch. XXXVII, v. 50.

Nevertheless the end of the Mahāvaṃsa must have been mutilated. Each chapter of the chronicle has a final stanza composed in an artificial metre, and we expect such a stanza also at the end of the whole poem. But its last half śloka simply runs as

evaṃ puññam apuññaṃ ca subahuṃ so upācini,

and the Cūlavaṃsa begins with the verse

asādhusaṃgamen' evaṃ yāvajīvaṃ subhāsubhaṃ
katvā gato yathākammaṃ so Mahāsenabhūpati.

It is clear that the compiler of the Cūlavaṃsa has intention-

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ally veiled the break, and it is difficult to find it out without the help of the Dīpavaṃsa, the Ṭīkā, and the manuscripts.

The *Cūlavaṃsa*, as far as I now can see, consists of three different portions.[1] According to the opinion which hitherto was generally accepted, the first part of the Cūlavaṃsa ends with the reign of Parakkamabāhu II (end of ch. *85*). Tradition calls its compiler *Dhammakitti*. This name occurs more than once. Wickremasinghe[2] identified our Dhammakitti with the Thera bearing that name who is mentioned in *84*, 11. He was a famous monk, living in Tambaraṭṭha. King Parakkamabāhu II invited him to Ceylon to help him, no doubt, in purifying the church. Malalasekera following Wickremasinghe says[3] : "The history of the island from the reign of Mahāsen A.C. 302 [sic] to the time of Paṇḍit Parakkamabāhu of Dambadaniya [= P. II] was compiled by Dhammakitti II under royal patronage".

But I succeeded in finding out unquestionable traces of a break in our chronicle after *79*, 84. In four of the manuscripts the words *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa* are inserted and a fifth manuscript has three division marks after v. 84, as is generally done at the end of a pariccheda. Now just at *79*, 84 the history of the reign of Parakkamabāhu I comes to an end, and the preceding verses contain a summary of the meritorious works performed by the king, probably an extract from his *Puññapotthaka*. It is, therefore, clear that Parakkamabāhu I was the favourite hero of the compiler of the first portion of the Cūlavaṃsa, that this portion ends with his death A.C. 1186, and that the chapters *80* following constitute a second

1 I do not take into consideration the final chapter *101* which has been added by Sumaṅgala and Batuwantudawa, the authors of the *editio princeps*.

2 Catalogue of the Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Museum, p. 31.

3 The Pāli Literature of Ceylon, p. 142.

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part compiled by another chronicler. Further it now becomes probable that the compiler of the first portion of the Cūlavaṃsa (*37*, 51—*79*, 84) was not Dhammakitti II, mentioned in *84*, 11, but an older Thera bearing the same name, perhaps the author of the Dāṭhāvaṃsa, Dhammakitti I, who lived under Parakkamabāhu I about the end of his reign and under his immediate successors. The exact date of the composition of the Dāṭhāvaṃsa, according to the introductory stanzas compared with Cūlavaṃsa *80*, 49f., is the year 1211 A.D.[1]

The second part of the Cūlavaṃsa does not end with Parakkamabāhu II's reign (*89*,71), but it extends to ch. *90*, v. 102 or 104 (Parakkamabāhu IV, 1303-1333). This is clearly shown by the manuscripts. One of them abruptly ends at v. 102. In another manuscript the portion of the leaf after v. 104 is left blank and the sequel begins on a new leaf. Two manuscripts have a double division mark after the same verse. The difference in the manuscript regarding the final verse of the second part seems to prove that the compiler of the following portion again intentionally mutilated the end of the preceding one and composed the two stanzas 103 and 104 in order to make the break unnoticeable.

The third and last part of the Cūlavaṃsa extends from the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu III (Ch. *90*, v. 5) to that of Kittisirirājasīha (1747-81). We learn from the chronicle itself (*99*, 76ff.) that it was composed at Kittisirirājasīha's direction, as the Mahāvaṃsa on examination proved to be deficient. It ended with the kings of Hatthiselapura (new Kurunegala). This perfectly agrees with what I said above about the break in the manuscripts after the history of Parakkamabāhu IV, for, *this king had in fact his residence at Kurunegala.*

The author of the last part of the chronicle probably was

[1] Malalasekera (p. 66) says that the Dāṭhāvaṃsa was written in the twelfth century. This appears to be a slip of the pen.

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the thera *Tibbotuvave Sumaṅgala* who had come from Siam to Ceylon and played an important part in the Buddhist church in the second half of the 18th century.

The whole Ceylon chronicle, therefore, consists of four parts:

I. *Mahāvaṃsa*—chs. *1—37*, 50 ; 544 B.C.—362 A.C.

II. *Cūlavaṃsa* :

1st portion chs. *37*, 51— *79*, 84 ; 362 A.C.—1186 A.C.
2nd ,, ,, *79*, 85— *90*,102 ; 1186 A.C.—1333 ,,
3rd ,, ,, *90*, 105—*100*,292 ; 1333 A.C.—1781 ,,

The author of I is *Mahānāma*, of II. 1, *Dhammakitti*, of II. 3, *Sumaṅgala* ; the author of II. 2 is unknown.

I need not say that, if we try to inquire into the question of the trustworthiness of the chronicle, each part must be treated separately. As to the *first part* (chs. *1—37*,50) I shall confine myself to a few remarks, as the matter has been fully dealt with in the Introduction to my translation of the poem.[1]

1. There is a good number of fables, legends and tales of marvels in the Mahāvaṃsa, and we must in each particular case attempt to find out whether there is in the narrative an historical kernel or not. It is, for instance, evident that the story of the three visits of the Buddha to Laṅkā in ch. *1* is purely legendary, invented at a later time in the island itself in order to legitimate its sanctity. But we stand on a firmer ground in regard to the report of the three Buddhist Councils (chs. *3-5*). It is not necessary to assume that the report is correct in all its details. But the fact itself can hardly be called into question. The Northern Buddhist tradition mentions only two Councils, but the confusion that exists in this tradition regarding the date of the Second Council does not recommend it as more trustworthy than the Southern tradition.[2]

1 The *Mahāvaṃsa* or the Great Chronicle of Ceylon translated, London, Pali Text Society, 1912, pp. xiiff.

2 See Mhvs. trsl., pp. lixff.

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There is also some discrepancy between the Mahāvaṃsa on the one side, and the Jaina books and the Purāṇas on the other concerning the list of Indian kings preceding Asoka. Chiefly the name of Kālāsoka occurring only in the Dīpa-vaṃsa and the Mahāvaṃsa is much disputed. But at least the names and facts mentioned in Mhvs. 5. 15ff., are accepted as true history even by such scholars who otherwise look upon the Ceylon chronicles with the utmost scepticism.[1]

The passage runs thus :

Nava Nandā tato[2] āsuṃ kamen' eva narādhipā
te pi dvāvisa vassāni rajjaṃ samanusāsisuṃ./
Moriyānaṃ khattiyānaṃ vaṃse jātaṃ sirīdharaṃ
Candagutto ti paññātaṃ Cāṇakko brāhmaṇo tato/
navamaṃ Dhananandaṃ taṃ ghātetvā caṇḍakodhavā
sakale Jambudīpasmiṃ rajje samabhisiñci so./
So catuvīsa vassāni rājā rajjaṃ akārayi
tassa putto Bindusāro aṭṭhavīsati kārayi/
Bindusārasutā āsuṃ sataṃ eko ca vissutā
Asoko āsi tesaṃ tu puññatejobaliddhiko/

It is sufficiently proved by this and similar passages that the compilers of the Dīpa- and Mahā-vaṃsa did not arbitrarily invent the narratives, but took their information from a source which not only contained legends and fables but also good historical tradition prevailing in India. We would cast away the good with the bad, if we neglected the Ceylon chronicles in the reconstruction of the Indian history during the period from the Buddha's death to king Asoka.

2. The oldest period of Sinhalese history from Vijaya to Muṭasiva (Mhvs. ch. *6*—ch. *11*,6) is rather obscure. The story of Vijaya's descent from a lion is a typical legend of totemistic character and explains his clan name Sīhala. The colonisation of Ceylon by a group of immigrants from India

1 Smith, Early History of India, pp. 110ff.

2 i. e. after Kālāsoka. I do not lay stress upon the exactness of the numbers.

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may be taken as historical, and perhaps also the name of Vijaya as their leader. But not even the question from which part of India the colonists came can be answered in an unobjectionable manner. The reports in the Dīpa- and Mahāvaṃsa can hardly be harmonised. The chronology is certainly arranged with the purpose of arriving at a chronological coincidence of Vijaya's landing in Ceylon with the year of the Buddha's death. What the chronicle tells us about the deeds of Vijaya and his immediate successors is a mixture of sound tradition and legends, and it is impossible to disentangle all the difficulties.

3. Things change for the better during the reign of Devānampiyatissa. There is a widespread tradition in Ceylon, the fundamental tradition of the whole ecclesiastical history, (1) that king Devānampiyatissa was a contemporary of king Asoka, (2) that Buddhism was first preached in Ceylon under king Devānampiyatissa, and (3) that it was preached by Mahinda, a son of king Asoka. We may, of course, criticise the details of the narrative in Mhvs., chs. *13-20*, but to contest the fact itself, pure and simple, would not be criticism but sterile scepticism. The missionary work of king Asoka, as it is described in Mhvs. *12*, 7-54, has received a striking corroboration in inscriptions of relic-urns discovered in Sāñci where some of the names mentioned in Mhvs. and Dīpa. occur.[1] The name of Mahinda as the missionary sent to Ceylon is confirmed by Hiuen-tsang, who, however, calls him not a son but a brother of king Asoka. The planting of the Bodhi-tree at Anurādhapura can also be taken as an historical fact, since sculptures on the East gate of the Sañci tope seem to be representations of that event.[2] These representations would only be 100 to 150 years later than the event itself. After all, as to chronology, the date of Devā-

1 See Mhvs. trsl., p. xix.

2 Grünwedel, Buddhistische Kunst in Indien, pp. 72-73; Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 302.

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nampiyatissa's coronation, 236 years after the parinirvāṇa, belongs, I think, to those reliable single dates which were handed down by tradition from generation to generation and which, together with the facts that are supported by external testimony, must serve as a skeleton of Sinhalese chronology. We should renounce all attempts of forming an idea of Ceylon history if we reject without hesitation all those dates as worthless invention.

4. We now gradually approach the time which may be called historical in the true sense of the word. The numbers given in the Mahāvaṃsa for the reigns of the successors of Devānampiyatissa—10, 10, 10, 22 (or 12), 10—appear, it is true, somewhat schematic but it would be altogether groundless to doubt the historical character of the traditions about Eḷāra and Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. The former was a Damiḷa. He came to Ceylon from the Coḷa country and seized the kingdom (Mhvs. *21*, 13). It certainly tells in favour of the fairness of the Sinhalese chroniclers that they judge the usurper from a remarkably objective standpoint by emphasizing that he ruled with even justice towards friend and foe. And they also speak with similar impartiality about less dominating personalities like the Damiḷas Sena and Guttika, who had conquered king Sūratissa : *rajjaṃ dhammena kārayuṃ* (Mhvs. *21*, 11).

Duṭṭhagāmaṇi is the national hero of the Sinhalese people. Even today, as I noticed when I was touring in Rohaṇa in January and February 1926, many tales of Duṭugāmuṇu are current in this province about the place from which he started and those which are hallowed either by some important event of his life or by his mere presence.

Such popular traditions are also mixed with the historical account in our chronicle but it is easy to separate the two elements, and we have hardly any reason for calling into question the genuineness of the main facts. These facts are (1) the war of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi with his brother Saddhātissa about the sovereignty of Rohaṇa, and the reconciliation

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of the twin brothers ; (2) the campaign against the Damiḷas who had occupied northern Ceylon and Anurādhapura ; (3) the defeat and death of king Eḷāra in a single combat with Duṭṭhāgāmaṇi and the great chivalry exhibited by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi at the time of his burial ; (4) the restoration of the national Sinhalese kingdom ; (5) the foundation at Anurādhapura of the Marīcavaṭṭicetiya, the Lohapāsāda, and the Mahāthūpa.

All these facts are told in the Mahāvaṃsa in a sober and reliable form. We must not forget, however, that the Mahāvaṃsa is not a dry chronicle in the modern sense of the word, but a poem. In a poem, embellishments and sometimes also exaggerations may occur. But within these limits I have the strong impression—and whoever reads the Mahāvaṃsa without prejudice will have the same—that the author at least *wished to tell the truth.* He is perhaps sometimes misled by his education and by his conviction, on account of his priestly mode of viewing things, but he never tells a falsehood intentionally.

5. The same holds good with the last chapters *33* to *37*. Nay, the historical character of the account stands forth even in a bolder relief in this part of the chronicle. The dissensions and quarrels within the Buddhist community are, of course, described from the standpoint of an orthodox Theravādin, but we get a vivid picture of them and of the ecclesiastical history of that period. Very few passages only can be found out, indeed, which invite our criticism. Even the greatness of the last king of the old dynasty, Mahāsena, who was no doubt a ruler of high qualities, is not entirely obscured in the chronicle, although he was at a certain period of his reign a reckless adversary of the Theravāda.

Things alter and become more complicated when we pass over to the *Cūlavaṃsa.* Mahānāma, the compiler of what we call Mahāvaṃsa in the narrower sense of the word, was a comparatively simple-minded author. He treated exactly with the same material as his predecessor, the author of the Dīpa-

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vaṃsa. This work chiefly seems to be a collection of verses quoted from the various Aṭṭhakathās and other works of the *Porāṇas* which existed in Ceylon and were composed—in the prose parts—in old Sinhalese language. Mahānāma enlarged and adorned the narration by details which he found in those prose parts of the Aṭṭhakathā, or which he knew by oral tradition. He is entitled to the name of a poet but all refinements of a very high order were far from him.

The compilers of the three parts of the Cūlavaṃsa were to a great extent influenced by the Indian kāvya literature and by the rules of the Indian poetics, the *alaṃkāra*. This influence is considerably stronger in the second part than in the first, composed by Dhammakitti, and stronger again in the third portion than in the second. The reliability of the three portions and their value as historical sources is also different; it decreases, generally speaking, from portion to portion, while on the other hand, the language becomes more artificial and sometimes even abstruse.

Nevertheless there are some features which are common to all the three portions, viz.,

(i) The *want of originality* and the monotony of the representation are remarkable. Nearly all the descriptions of a battle or a festival and so forth are purely schematic and composed after a fixed model. In *78*, 56ff. king Parakkamabāhu I is described determining the boundary (*sīmā*) of a monastery. The passage shows a considerable resemblance, even in the wording, to the description in *15*, 188ff. of the same act performed by Devānampiyatissa.[1] In the latest portion of the chronicle the descriptions of processions and feasts performed in honour of the tooth relic (cf. e.g. *99*, 42ff., 53ff.; *100*, 1ff., 24ff.) are as alike as two peas. They are mere repetitions consisting of a number of conventional phrases, and the compiler clearly imitates similar passages found in the preceding portion (*85*. 112ff.; *89*. 19ff.). At

1 See my translation of the Cūlavamsa, II, p. 108, n. 6.

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the same time in one of these descriptions (*100*, 1ff.) he strives to show also his botanical knowledge or rather his knowledge of the *kośas* and of the botanical names contained therein. Such details of the chronicle must therefore be estimated as only poetical embellishment without any historical value.

(ii) The compilers of the three portions of the Cūlavaṃsa have each *his favourite hero* whom he wishes to extol and to glorify. As already Dr. Rhys Davids has rightly observed,[1] each new chronicler hurries over the kings preceding his favourite and then enlarges at length on the events of that monarch's reign. Dhammakitti's hero is Parakkamabāhu I (1153-86), that of the second chronicler is Parakkamabāhu II (1225-69) with his son and co-regent Vijayabāhu IV, and Tibbotuvave Sumaṅgala's favourite is Kittisirirājasīha (1747-80). In the first portion of the history, Parakkamabāhu's reign occupies 18 chapters (*62-79*) and 241 pages of my printed translation, that of his predecessors—nearly eight centuries—fills 24 chapters and 231 pages. In the second part of the chronicle the disproportion is still more remarkable. There the history of Parakkamabāhu II and of his co-regent comprises 8 chapters and 58 pages, that of his predecessors, from 1186 to 1225 A.D. 2 chapters and 18 pages. There is also a short appendix belonging to this part which describes the reign of the immediate successors of Vijayabāhu IV (Bhuvanekabāhu I to Parakkamabāhu IV, 1272-1333 A.D.) in 102 verses on 9 pages. Finally in the most recent part of the chronicle the history of the reign of the favourite king Kittisirirājasīha is dealt with in two long chapters (*99* and *100*) in 45 pages, and that of all his predecessors from 1333 to 1747 A. D. in 8 chapters in 44 pages.

The peculiar character of the chronicle must be kept in mind when we try to criticize its reliability. It is clear that in the passages where the chronicler deals with the deeds of his favourite hero, scepticism is justified, for the

1 See Malalasekera, Pāli Literature of Ceylon, p. 142.

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panegyrist is always prone to make exaggerations, suppress facts or even to invent stories. There can be no doubt, for instance, that in his report of Parakkamabāhu I's campaigns in Southern India, Dhammakitti suppresses the fact of the failure which overtook the expedition after its first success.[1] The narrative in the Cūlavaṃsa ends abruptly. But we learn from South Indian inscriptions that Parakkamabāhu's general was finally defeated and his head with those of his officers was nailed to the gates of Madhurā.

There is also a great difference between what the Mahāvaṃsa tells us about Parakkamabāhu II's reign and what we learn from South Indian inscriptions. According to the chronicle the king's army freed the whole island of Laṅkā from the Pāṇḍyas (*83*.48) and Parakkamabāhu is described as the absolute monarch in Ceylon. But the inscriptions tell us that about the middle of the 13th century, i.e., just at Parakkamabāhu II's time, Ceylon was invaded by the Pāṇḍyas, that several kings were reigning there at that time, that one of them was killed and another was forced to pay tribute. This at least shows that Parakkama could never unite the whole island under his rule.[2]

Finally I need not add much to the history of Kittisirirājasīha, the favourite hero of the last chronicler. Except the very interesting passage *99*, 108-139 where the military events of the year 1765 are dealt with,[3] chapters *99* and *100* have purely a panegyric character. The king is praised therein as the liberal patron of the Buddhist church and as faithful adherent of the holy doctrine. All the failures during his reign are passed over in silence.

However we must not be hasty in our conclusions. Even such passages, where the favourite king is glorified, may contain a kernel of historical truth. This especially holds good for the chapters dealing with the life and the deeds of

1 See my translation of the Cūlavaṃsa, II, p. 100, n. 1.

2 See H. W. Codrington, Short History of Ceylon, pp. 77, 87.

3 See also *99*, 155-166.

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Parakkamabāhu I. He is depicted, no doubt, by Dhammakitti as a model king endowed with all the royal virtues and with a full knowledge of the Nīti literature. Nevertheless I have tried to show[1] by an analysis of the history of the king's youth, how with cautious criticism we can find out the actual course of the events.

Chapters *70* to *79*, as even the most careful critic must admit, are rich in historical information about the reign of Parakkamabāhu the great. First the campaigns of the king, (chs. *70-72*), his struggle against Gajabāhu and Mānābharaṇa for the kingdom, and then (chs. *74*, 22—*75*), his various expeditions against the rebels in Rohaṇa are described by the chronicler in detail. But obviously he derived his knowledge of all these particulars from reliable documents. A good deal of the numerous geographical names occurring in the report has been identified by Mr. H. W. Codrington.[2] If with the help of these identifications we carefully examine the statements of the chronicle, we never meet with serious contradictions or with impossible things, but we are able to understand the strategical plan of each campaign and its tactical performance as well as the course of the single events whether the king's army met with good or temporarily even with ill success. It may be sufficient to refer to the explanatory notes which I appended to such passages in my translation of the Cūlavaṃsa.

Parakkamabāhu's expedition to Rāmaññā, i.e. Burma (*76*.10ff.) is also mentioned in the Devanagala inscription.[3] The name of the port *Kusumi*, occurring in both the Cūlavaṃsa and the inscription, is certainly the same as Kusumanagara, in Burmese corrupted to *Kusmein*, the old denomination of

1 In the Introduction to my translation of the Cūlavaṃsa, vol. I, pp. iv ff.

2 Mediæval Topography, Ceylon Historical Association, 4, 1925; Notes on Ceylon Topography in the twelfth Century, JRAS. Ceylon Branch, xxix, No. 75, pp. 62ff, 1922.

3 H. C. G. Bell, the Kegalla District, pp. 72ff.

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the town Bassein on the western side of the Irāwadī Delta.[1] The name of one of the two leaders of the expedition, Kitti (*76*. 60), also occurs in the inscription. The second one, Āditta, seems to have died in Rāmañña or soon after his return to Ceylon, for he is never mentioned again, neither in the chronicle nor in the inscription. It is hardly doubtful that the report in the Cūlavaṃsa of the Rāmañña campaign is much exaggerated, as the Burmese chronicles have nothing to say about such a catastrophe having overtaken their country.

Regarding the other great military undertaking of Parakkama, his expedition to Southern India under general Laṅkāpura, it has been already said above that its final failure has been suppressed in the Cūlavaṃsa. The fact itself however is confirmed by South Indian inscriptions.[2] The name Kulottuṅga of the Coḷa king in these inscriptions corresponds to the Kulasekhara of the chronicle.

Chapters *73*. 12 ff. and *78*.5ff. contain an account of the church reforms of Parakkama. It is confirmed by an inscription of the king in the Galvehera at Polonnaruva.[3] There is also some similarity between the two accounts externally. Both start with the schism of the Buddhist order under Vaṭṭagāmaṇi. Both speak of the intention that the Order now should be stable for 5000 years. In both Mahākassapa is mentioned as president of the council, and a parallel is drawn between the church reform in Pāṭaliputta under Dhammāsoka and that under Parakkamabāhu.

Finally I have to add a few words about the buildings erected in Pulatthinagara (Polonnaruva) by king Parakkamabāhu. They are enumerated in chs. *73*, 55ff. and *78*, 31ff. The description in our chronicle is reasonable and well intelli-

1 Yule and Burnell, Hobson-Jobson, s. v. Cosmin. ~~See also~~ Major R. C. Temple, Indian Antiquary, xxii, 1893, p. 18.

2 See Smith, Early History of India, p. 340; H. W. Codrington, Short History of Ceylon, pp. 62, 74.

3 Ed. Müller, Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon, p. 54; Wickremasinghe, Epigraphia Zeylonica, II, 256ff.

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gible. Mr. W Codrington has rightly observed[1] that the arrangement is topographical running from south to north. It is indeed possible to identify most of those buildings with ruins, detected and excavated in Polonnaruva. The *citadel* and the *royal palace* therein (*73*, 60) can be traced with certainty. The palace was an imposing building although the thousand chambers attributed to it in the chronicle are a poetical exaggeration. To the *Jetavanārāma* (*78*, 32) correspond the ruins of the so-called Quadrangle, and among them the Vaṭa-dā-gē to the "round temple of the tooth relic." The *Āḷāhana-pariveṇa* (*78*, 48) seems to be identical with the group of ruins, now popularly but wrongly called Jetavanārāma. To it belongs the image-house Laṅkātilaka which even now, as far as I know, bears this name among the inhabitants of the place. The *Uttarārāma* (*78*, 72) with its three grottos (*guhā*) is no doubt the so-called Gal-vehera. Not far from it an immense heap of ruins, overgrown with jungle and looking like a natural hill, represents the site of the *Mahāthūpa* or *Damiḷathūpa* (*78*, 76).

We now come to that portion of the chronicle where in ch. *37*, vv. 51-60 the history of seventy four kings is described beginning with Sirimeghavaṇṇa who ascended the throne about 362 A. D., and ending with Vijayabāhu I, who died 1194 A. D. It therefore covers seven and a half centuries. The chs. *61*, *62*, *63* containing accounts of the reigns of Jayabāhu Vikkamabāhu and Gajabāhu make for the transition to the history of Parakkamabāhu I.

I do not hesitate to call just those chs. *37* to *60* perhaps the best and most reliable parts of the whole Mahāvaṃsa. Its statements are so often confirmed by external testimonies even in details, that, according to my conviction, doubts about its general trustworthiness are not justified. This does not mean, of course, that we must abstain from all historical criticism. But if, for instance, the same events are related

1 Short History of Ceylon, p. 74

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in the chronicle and in a contemporary inscription, we may take this as a sufficient corroboration of the former account.

Thus we learn from the Mahāvaṃsa that king Vijayabāhu I conquered the Coḷas (*58*, 59), fetched bhikkhus from Rāmaññā (*59*, 4), erected a beautiful and costly temple for the tooth relic (*60*, 16), distributed alms three times to the poor of a weight equal to that of his body (*60*, 21), and took care to improve trade-route from the province of Ūva to the sacred Sumanakūṭa, the Adam's peak (*60*, 64ff.). Now we read in the Ambagamuva inscription of king Vijayabāhu that he drove away wholly the darkness of Tamil forces and brought the whole island of Laṅkā under one canopy and the same inscription tells us of numerous works performed by him for the furtherance of the worship of the Adam's peak[1]. The other particulars mentioned above, are confirmed by a Tamil inscription in Polonnaruva.[2] There we are told that Vijayabāhu invited priests from Aramaṇa, that he, through his senāpati Deva, had the temple of the tooth-relic built at Vijayarājapura, and that he bestowed thrice his own weight upon the three Nikāyas. I may add that in the Tamil inscription a reign of fifty-five years is attributed to the king in full accordance with the Mahāvaṃsa (*60*, 71).

In a similar manner the restoration of the Marīcavaṭṭivihāra at Anurādhapura, done by Kassapa V (908-918 A.D.), according to the Mahāv. *52*,45, is confirmed by the slab inscrip-

1 Wickremasinghe, Epigraphia Zeylanica, II, pp. 202ff, 216, 217.

2 The so-called Veḷaikkāra-inscriptions, written about thirty or forty years after the king's death. The Veḷaikkāra, p. Velakkāra were a group of Dravidian soldiers or a military clan and accompanied king Rajendra Coḷa I to Ceylon. Then they served the Sinhalese kings as mercenaries who had especially taken over the guarding of the tooth relic, Wickremasinghe, II, p. 242ff.; Cūlav., I, p. 257, n. 5. The Veḷakkāra are first mentioned in the chronicle just at Vijayabāhu's time (*60*, 36).

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tion of the king found in his capital.[1] There is also in this inscription (lines 3-4) the interesting notice that the king who was the son of Sena II and his queen Saṅghā immediately after his birth received the consecration of *Yuvarāja*,[2] and the prince is called *de-bisevä-jā*, the son of the twice-anointed queen.[3] In the Mahāvaṃsa (*51*, 12) we read that Sena II consecrated his son *uparāja* in the most solemn form already on the day of name-giving,[4] and in *52*, 11 and 37 Kassapa has the surname *dvayābhiseka(saṃ)jāta*.

The tenth century was a stirring time in Ceylon. The chronicler (*52*, 70ff.) speaks of an expedition to Southern India which was undertaken by Kassapa V (908-918) in order to support the Paṇḍu king against his Coḷa rival. But a disease broke out in the army and Kassapa was compelled to bring his troops back. The campaign therefore ended without success. To these events South Indian inscriptions allude as Hultzsch has shown.[5] The Coḷa king Parāntaka I, (907-947) actually boasts in the Udayēndiram plates of having defeated the Pāṇḍya king and of having routed an army of the king of Ceylon.

1 Wickremasinghe, Epigraphia Zeylanica, I, pp. 41ff, 51.

2 Sinh.: *Yuvarāj bisev siri pämänä* — Pāli: *Yuvarājābhisekasiriṃ pāpuṇitvā*.

3 Wickramesinghe, Ep. Zeyl. I, p. 46, 50.

4 There is a slight difference between the two accounts. The inscription speaks of a consecration as *yuvarāja*, the chronicle of that as *uparāja*. In this case, I believe, the latter is even more correct than the former. For the *yuvarāja*, as far as I can see, is never *consecrated*. One becomes *yuvarāja* in virtue of the right of succession or *is appointed* to that position, if the king has no brother or son as legal successor. See Cūlav. transl., I, Intro. pp. xix f. But the *abhiseka* of an *uparāja* is often mentioned in the Mahāvaṃsa. The conferring of this title upon a member of the royal family, often upon the *yuvarāja* himself, was apparently a matter of king's pleasure. At the time of Kassapa's youth the younger brother of Sena II, Mahinda, was *yuvarāja* in accordance with the Sinhalese law (*51*,13).

5 J. R. A. S., 1913, pp. 525 f.

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During the reign of Dappula V (918-930), a Pāṇḍya king came to Ceylon to ask for Dappula's help against the Coḷas. Since the assistance was refused he betook himself to the Keraḷa country, *leaving his diadem in Ceylon* (Mahāv. 53, 5ff). Under king Udaya II (942-950) a Coḷa king sent his army to Ceylon to fetch the Pāṇḍya crown (Mahāv. 53, 40ff.) But although the Coḷas were victorious in battle and conquered the northern provinces, Udaya succeeded in escaping to Rohaṇa with the crown and other treasures. The victorious Coḷa king was no doubt again Parāntaka I (907-947), mentioned above, for he calls himself in his latest inscriptions conqueror of Īḷam i.e. Ceylon[1].

In A.D. 981 the weak king Mahinda V ascended the throne of Ceylon. Since he was unable to pay them, the Keraḷa and other mercenaries rebelled. Mahinda fled to Rohaṇa, but in Northern Ceylon the mercenaries carried on a military dictatorship. The Coḷa king, turning the confusion in Ceylon to his own advantage, sent troops to the island (Mahāv. 55,14 ff.). The Coḷas advanced on Rohaṇa, captured the king and the queen alive and brought them with all their treasures to India. This took place in the 36th year of Mahinda's reign, i.e. A.D. 1017.

The victorious Coḷa king was Rājendra Coḷa I, for he boasts in the Tirumalai Rock inscription[2] of having seized the crown of the king of Īḷam (on) the tempestuous ocean; the exceedingly fine crowns of the queens of that (king); the beautiful crown and the necklace of Indra, *which the king of the South* (i.e. the Pāṇḍya) *had previously deposited with that* (king of Īḷam); the whole Īḷa-maṇḍala (on) the transparent sea." Thus by this inscription even that single statement in the Mahāv. 53,9 *ṭhapetvā makuṭādīni* "leaving behind the crown and so forth" is confirmed.

1 *Epigraphia Indica*, VII, Appendix, p. 115, nos. 691, 692. Hultzsch, l. l.

2 *Epigraphia Indica*, IX, pp. 229, 233. Hultzsch, l. l., pp. 522 f.

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Rājendra Coḷa's predecessor, king Rājarāja I (985-1011) had also made war against the Sinhalese. The conquest of Ceylon is mentioned in an inscription of the twentieth year of his reign, i.e. A. D. 1005. It seems that he, like Parāntaka, tried to capture the Pāṇḍya crown. But we know that the Sinhalese rulers guarded the regalia, the *rājasādhana*, with the utmost care, and they were apparently so carefully hidden in those disturbed times that even the great conqueror could not seize them. There is no account of Rājarāja's campaign in the Mahāvaṃsa, it only relates the later events, the final catastrophe.

Already in the second half of the ninth century king Sena II (846-880), according to Mahāv. *51*.27 ff., undertook a campaign against the Pāṇḍyas which ended with the capture and the plundering of their capital Madhurā, and indeed his son Dappula V speaks of the victory obtained by his father over the Pāṇḍyas.[1] In a similar manner king Udaya II's (880-891) struggles in Rohaṇa and Malaya (Mahāv. *51*,94 ff.) are proved as historical by an inscription of his brother Kassapa IV.

Parakkamabāhu I's immediate predecessor Gajabāhu (Mahāv. *62*, 19ff.) is, strange to say, not mentioned in most of the Sinhalese books on history. But in the Devanagara inscription[3] Parakkama expressly says that he has brought Laṅkā under his dominion after having conquered two rivals, the first of whom is called Gajabāhu ; then follows a *lacuna* of about 7 or 8 akkharas which Bell has no doubt rightly supplied by Mānābharaṇa.

Finally I may refer to a number of names of monasteries and of persons, mentioned in the Mahāvaṃsa—some of them only once—and occurring also in inscriptions. The Kassapa-

1 Āṭavīragollāva pillar inscription, Wickramesinghe, Ep. Zeyl., II, p. 44, 48.

2 Ep. Zeyl., I, pp. 200, 204.

3 H. C. P. Bell, Report on the Kégalla District, p. 75.

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girivihāra (*44*,98 ; *48*,24) and the Macchatittha (*48*,24) are called Kasubgiri and Mastoṭa in the slab inscriptions of Mahinda IV on the Mihintale hill (Ep. Zeyl., I, pp. 216, 221, 227). Maṇḍalagiri (*46*.29 &c.) or Maṇḍalīgiri (*71*.3) may be identified with the Māḍiligiri in an inscription discovered at that place (Ep. Zeyl., II, p. 28) ; Vīraṅkurārāma (*50*,68) with the Vīrāṅkurā in a Vessagiri inscription (Ep. Zeyl., I, p. 23) ; Saṅghasena (*50*.70) with the Saṅgsenārāma in an inscription of Kassapa V (Ep. Zeyl., I, p. 51), and Kūṭatissa (*51*.74) with the Kuḷutisa-rad-mahavehera in a Polonnaruva inscription (Ep. Zeyl., II, p. 50). From Mahāv. *39*.11 we learn that Kassapa I enlarged the Issarasamaṇārāma and that he gave the new vihāra the names of his two daughters Bodhi and Uppalavaṇṇā and of his own. In an inscription of Mahinda IV in Vessagiri we really find the name Isurameṇu-Bo-Upulvan-Kasubgirivihāra (Ep. Zeyl., I, p. 31).

Nālā, the wife of prince Udaya, the brother of Sena I, is mentioned in Mahāv. *50*, 9 and in the Mahakalatteva inscription[1]. There also occurs the name of king Kassapa IV's chief scribe Sena who is mentioned in Mahāv. *52*,33. Kuṭṭhaka, the senāpati of Sena II (*51*.88) is called senavirad Kuṭṭhā in two inscriptions.[2] The name of Vajiragga, general of Udaya II (*51*,105 &c.) also occurs in inscriptions in various forms (Ep. Zeyl., I, p. 193). There is a slight difference between the chronicle (*5*, 49) and the inscriptions (Ep. Zeyl., II, pp. 184ff., 194ff.) concerning the name of king Vikkamabāhu II's queen Sunāri or Sundarī.

I need not say so much about the third part of the chronicle. Chs. *80* and *81*, dealing with the history of Parakkamabāhu II's predecessors, and again Ch. *90* dealing with that of his successors, have the same character as the portion composed by Dhammakitti. They are based on the same or similar documents.

1 Ed. Müller, Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon, no. 110.
2 Wickramesinghe, Ep. Zeyl., I, pp. 164 and 175.

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Of king Sāhasamalla's[1] coronation the exact date is given in an inscription. According to Fleet's calculation it took place on Wednesday, the 23rd August, 1200, and this is the first absolutely certain date in the history of Ceylon.

The two queens Kalyāṇavatī, daughter of Nissaṅkamalla, and Līlāvatī, daughter of Parakkamabāhu I, are mentioned in inscriptions (Ep. Zeyl., II, 94,111, 190 ; I, 176ff., II, 192ff.). The names of the latter and of her general Parakkama (Mahāv. *80*, 50, 52) occur in the introductory stanza of the Dāṭhāvaṃsa[2] which was composed by Dhammakitti at the general's suggestion.

There is some difficulty concerning king Kittinissaṅka or Nissaṅkamalla (1187-1196). No Sinhalese ruler has left so many inscriptions as he, but in the Mahāvaṃsa the account of his reign is finished in 9 verses (*80*, 18-26). There is, however, hardly a fundamental discrepancy between the chronicle and the inscriptions. In the former, several of the meritorious works mentioned in the latter, are enumerated; as for instance, the adornment of the Jambukola-vihāra now Dambul, his liberality towards the Church, and his pilgrimage to the Adam's peak. Others, like his campaigns against the Coḷas and other peoples of Southern India, are passed over in silence. There is no doubt that Nissaṅka was an eminent ruler, but he also was a proud man and the founder of a new Kaliṅga dynasty in Ceylon. The bombastic style of his inscriptions probably had the object of increasing its prestige. The account of the chronicle is in this case, I think, nearer to truth than that of the inscriptions.

Vīrabāhu, Nissaṅka's son, and Vikramabāhu, his younger brother (*80*, 27, 28), are mentioned in inscriptions (Ep. Zeyl., II, 111, 92). The decline caused by the usurper Māgha (*80*, 58ff) also appears to be true history although external testimonies

1 Mahāv., *80*.32. See the note in my transl. Cūlav. II, p. 130, n. 1.

2 Cf. Rhys Davids' edition in the Journ. Pāli Text Soc. 1884, p. 109.

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are lacking. The rule of Vijayabāhu III (*81*, 10ff.) represents the national reaction against the tyranny of the foreigner.

The Pāṇḍu king Kulasekhara mentioned in *90*, 47 as a contemporary of Bhuvanekabāhu I (1272-1283) is no doubt the Pāṇḍya Kulasekharadeva I (1268-1308), *alias* Māravarman, who has left several Tamil inscriptions in Southern India.[1] In one of them the name of his general Āriyacakkavattin (Mahāv. *90*, 44) also occurs.[2]

The remaining chapters (*82-88*) however have a different appearance. They are dedicated to the favourite hero of the compiler of this part of the Cūlavaṃsa, Parakkamabāhu II (1225-1269). They resemble more a panegyric than a chronicle. The author intends to draw the picture of an ideal king. Parakkama is chiefly described as the devoted protector of the Buddhist Order who worships the sacred tooth relic and celebrates great sacrificial festivals in its honour.

The description of the miracle performed by the relic (*82*, 41ff) is clearly the imitation of a similar passage in the old Mahāvaṃsa (*31*, 96ff) and that of all the meritorious works done by himself or suggested by the king reminds us of a similar description in the latest portion of the chronicle.

There may be an historical kernel in some of the narratives even in this part of the Cūlavaṃsa, e. g. in chapter *83* entitled subjugation of the hostile kings. But Parakkamabāhu's victory is no doubt much exaggerated. We have seen above that he certainly never succeeded in governing over the whole island. The invasion of the Jāvakas, related in *83*, 36ff can also be taken as an historical fact, and it is also credible that the king made his son Vijayabāhu co-regent (*88*, 1ff), as coregency repeatedly occurs in the last centuries of the Sinhalese kingdom. Vijayābāhu's name and that of

1 See *Epigraphia Indica*, VII, Appendix, pp. 146 ff., nos. 911, 919, 920, 921.

2 See Codrington, *Short History of Ceylon*, p. 80.

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his brother Bhuvanekabāhu (*87*, 16) occur in a Yāpahu inscription[1].

From the end of ch. *90*, in its fourth and last part (II, 3), the Cūlavaṃsa gradually loses its value as an historical source. The introductory portion (ch. *90*, v. 105ff, and chs. *91-93*) has a rather fragmentary character. It extends over the time from A.D. 1333 to A.D. 1593, comprising the history of the kings from Bhuvanekabāhu III to Rājasīha I. About the most eminent persons like Alagakkonāra (*91*, 3ff), or Māyādhanu, the chronicler has little to say. King Dharmapāla is not even mentioned. From the Cūlavaṃsa alone we hardly get a right idea of the disunion at that time of the Sinhalese kingdom; the chronicler pays regard to the Kandy court only.

A very remarkable episode in the history of Ceylon the knowledge of which we owe to Chinese sources is entirely passed over in the chronicle.[2] King Vijayabāhu VI, a scion of the family of Alagakkonāra, was taken prisoner to China in A.D. 1409, and there was an interregnum of about six years in Ceylon. That we have a gap here in the chronicle clearly appears from the words introducing the history of the next king Parakkamabāhu VI: *tato aparabhāgasmim* then at a later time (*91*, 15). The heroic figure of Rājasīha I does not also stand forth so prominently as it deserves. In this case the reason is that the king renounced the Buddhist faith, went over to Hinduism and even persecuted the bhikkhus.

It is noticeable that just the most important event within the whole period, the arrival on the island of the Portuguese (A.D. 1505 or 1506) is nowhere related. The Paraṅgī are first mentioned a century later under king Senāratana (*95*, 4ff.) who was compelled by them to leave Kandy and to bring the tooth relic to a safe place. The chronicle alludes

1 H. C. P. Bell, Arch. Survey Reports Ceylon, 1911-12, p. 63.

2 See my transl. of Cūlav. II, note to *91*, 14 (p. 214, n. 2); Codrington, l. l, p. 85 f. 89.

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here to de Azavedo's expedition against the Sinhalese capital A. D. 1611.

In chapter 96 we also hear of victories gained over the Portuguese by Rājasīha II and of his negotiations with the Olandas. The most valuable part of the latest Cūlavaṃsa is however the passage *99*, 108-139 dealing with the military events of the year 1765 which were so disastrous for the Dutch troops. But in all these passages we never find any information which is more accurate or more detailed than what we learn from Portuguese or Dutch records. We only see with a mixture of amazement and compassion how Sinhalese eyes looked at those events which initiated the breakdown of their old and glorious kingdom.

We hear of victories only and successful battles whilst in realty the Sinhalese power was rapidly declining. All failures or internal frictions and calamities are suppressed. The standpoint of the chronicle is one-sided to the utmost. It was the fiction in the Dutch period that the Olandas were servants of the Kandy king and entrusted by him with the protection of the coast of Laṅkā (*96*, 32; *100*, 63). In diplomacy the foreigners were no doubt superior to the Sinhalese and perhaps also in recklessness and sometimes even in cruelty.

We fully understand that Tibbotuvave Sumaṅgala paid much more attention to clerical affairs than to foreign politics. Therefore those passages which deal with the *messages sent to Burma and Siam* by the kings Vimaladhammasuriya I and II by Vijayarājasīha and Kittisīrirājasīha to fetch bhikkhus from those countries and thus to renew the ecclesiastical life in Ceylon (*94*, 15ff., *92*, 8ff., *98*, 87ff., *100*, 54ff.) are perhaps of some historical interest. Besides we hear in the last

1 We hear of such clerical relations between Birma and Ceylon already in the Kâlyani inscription of king Rāmadhipati of Pegu (1746 A. D.). Cf. Taw Sein Ko, Indian Antiquary xxii, 1893, p. 11, 29, 85, 150, 206, 236 (Major R.C. Temple, ib. p. 279). The Singhalese king who invited the theras from Birma to Ceylon is called in the inscription Bhuvanekabāhu (vi, 1473-1480 A. D.)

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chapters of the chronicle, chiefly in chs. *99* and *100* which are verbose panegyrics on king Kittisirirājasīha, again and again of splendid feasts and processions ever described with the conventional phrases—of the open-handedness of the kings, of costly presents dedicated to the tooth-relic, of noble monuments and buildings erected here and there—all in sad contrast with the real conditions of the kingdom, so near at that time to its ruin.

To sum up the results of the inquiry: On the whole the Mahāvaṃsa is a trustworthy chronicle and the foremost document of Ceylonese history, though of course a sound and cautious criticism can never be dispensed with. The value of the chronicle is different in its different parts. The first few chapters of its oldest portion (I) contain a mixture of legends and historical truth. It is however not too difficult to separate the two elements from one another; the account of Devānaṃpiyatissa's reign seems to be historical at least in the main features, and with Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's time we reach the firm ground of a trustworthy tradition.

The first part of the Cūlavaṃsa (II, 1) is probably the most reliable portion of the whole chronicle although allowances for some poetical licenses must be made in the description of the character and the deeds of Parakkamabahu I. The second part (II. 2) is hardly inferior to the preceding portion but the exaggerations and embellishments in the account of Parakkamabahu II's reign appear to have increased in comparison with the corresponding passages of II. 1.

The most recent portion of the Cūlavaṃsa (II. 3) is at the same time the most indifferent part. The narrative of the chronicle is incomplete and one-sided. The Portuguese and Dutch reports which now must be considered first, also require criticism, but they are at any rate more ample and exhaustive. Nevertheless even these final chapters of the chronicle are not without interest, as they allow us an insight into the mental condition of the Sinhalese people in that tragic period of decline.

WILH. GEIGER

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Sir Eyre Coote and the Question of Military Command in the Carnatic War (1780-83)

The ninth section of the Regulating Act of 1773 made it illegal for the presidencies of Madras and Bombay to commence hostilities or to conclude treaties, without the sanction of the governor general and council of Bengal, except in cases of imminent necessity, or when there were special orders from the Court of Directors. The Bengal government thus acquired control over the commencement and termination of hostilities. But over the intermediate function of the conduct of wars, they were given no control. The Act, by constituting the Bengal government as a superintending presidency, had by implication thrown heavy responsibilities on their shoulders ; and the Directors had expressly made them responsible for the security of the possessions of the Company.[1] Besides both Madras and Bombay were to a large extent dependent on Bengal for men and money for the conduct of wars. Yet the powers which the Supreme Council possessed were of a strictly limited character. An illogical position had thus been created which in the face of necessity could not endure.[2] This became patent when war with Haidar Ali broke out in the Carnatic in 1780.

In September of that year the Bengal government received from Madras the news of the fatal overthrow of Col. Baillie's detachment, with an earnest prayer for assistance in the crisis. Thereupon the Supreme Council resolved to send 15 lakhs of rupees to Madras[3] and a large detachment by sea.

1 Directors to Bengal—29 March 1774, para I, Bengal Despatches, vol. 7.

2 Vide article on the ninth section of the Act of 1773 in Calcutta Review, May, 1930.

3 Bengal Secret and Military Consultations, 25 Sept., 1780, vol. 56, p. 381.

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Sir Eyre Coote, commander-in-chief of the Company's forces, was requested to proceed with the troops to Madras and "to take the command of the army upon that establishment."[1] The sum of 15 lakhs was consigned to the commander-in-chief to be employed for the payment of the troops under his command. At the same time he was authorized to advance any part of the money, if he thought it expedient, upon request to the Madras government. A paymaster was appointed to be in charge of the money, so that its expenditure might remain subject to the control of the Bengal government.[2] It is interesting to note that the supreme government was following the precedent set by the Madras government in 1756, when Clive was despatched to recover Calcutta, with powers independent of Fort William.

Coote reached Madras in November, 1780. He had brought with him the Bengal order for the suspension of Whitehill, the governor of Madras, who had not carried out the instructions of the Supreme Council to restore the Guntur circar to Basalat Jang, the brother of the Nizam, and had defied the superior authority by suspending John Holland, the Bengal agent at Hyderabad from the Madras service. Charles Smith, the new governor, was neither in a situation, nor had the inclination to set up an independent attitude towards Bengal. Besides the Madras government had been thoroughly discreditd as a result of their proved inability to defend themselves against Haidar Ali, and were now dependent on Bengal for the means of carrying on the war. It was not unnatural, therefore, that the entire direction of the war passed over to Coote, and the Madras government were reduced to the position of a commissariat department. This did not mean that the Bengal government now obtained the direction of the war. To a certain extent, indeed, Coote represented Bengal. He was a member of that govern-

1 Ibid., p. 395.

2 Bengal Public Consultation, 27 Sept., 1780, vol. 39, p. 14.

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ment, and he was sent out by that government to save the Company's position in the Carnatic. On the other hand, on his arrival at Madras he had taken the second place in the Council there,[1] and become as much a member of the Madras government as he was of Bengal. Again, it was true that Coote was at the head of a detachment from Bengal. But it was a small part of the English army engaged in the Carnatic war. Coote commanded the major part of that army not by any authority that he brought from Bengal, but by the power which he derived from the various commissions that he held. As commander-in-chief of the King's forces in India he possessed supreme authority over the King's forces at Madras. As commander-in-chief of the Company's forces in India, he enjoyed superintending powers over the military department at Madras,[2] though as vague and undefined as those possessed by the governor general and council over the foreign relations of that presidency. To add to these the Madras Select Committee gave up their right to direct the war in favour of Coote. They sent instructions to officers in command of the Madras forces to obey all orders which they might receive from Coote, and remained satisfied with requiring them to send regularly information of all the material occurrences.[3] Coote's powers were thus various in their origin. No essential part of them seems to have been derived from the authority of the Bengal government, which indeed lacked any power of the kind that they could delegate to Coote.

The Directors, however, expected the Bengal government to take up the conduct of the war. On hearing of the first reports of Haidar's invasion the Directors wrote to Bengal, "it will require your instant and powerful exertion to recover

1 Directors to Bengal—29 March 1774, para 57, Bengal Despatches, vol. 7.

2 Ibid., paras 50-58.

3 Smith's Minute and Resolution of Select Committee—Madras Select Committee consultations—27 Nov. 1780, vol. 3, p. 2082.

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affairs from disorder in that quarter. We...rely with confidence upon your best endeavours being immediately exerted for that purpose."[1] This might mean nothing more than an order to the governor-general and council to render assistance to the Madras government. But the language in which they wrote to Madras was unambiguous. They said, "as our governor-general and council must take the lead if negotiation be necessary, so must they also direct the plan of joint operations for all our presidencies if war shall be unavoidable; and it is our order that all their requisitions be to the utmost of your ability implicitly obeyed."[2] The Directors clearly realized that for the efficient conduct of the war, a unified control of the operations was absolutely necessary. It was a frank acknowledgment of the fact that the Regulating Act had created a position which was illogical.

The circumstances however were considerably modified when in June 1781 Lord Macartney, a man of ability and reputation, arrived as governor of Madras. There is no doubt that Macartney was actuated by a sincere desire to cultivate the friendship of the governor-general, and to co-operate with the supreme government. But Warren Hastings never understood Macartney, and misconstrued his honest criticism for opposition. This was because the governor-general had unfortunately developed a dislike of Macartney based on an unfounded belief that he was seeking to undermine his position at home. Given the best of relations between the superintending and subordinate presidencies, the Regulating Act could not be worked without difficulty. With Hastings' attitude towards Macartney, its working was impossible. The question of military command in the Carnatic war that appears to have been solved to a certain extent by the self-

1 Directors to Bengal—11 April 1781, para 6, Bengal Despatches, vol. 11.

2 Directors to Madras—11 April 1781, para 3, Madras Despatches, No. 9.

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abnegation of Charles Smith's administration, therefore, cropped up again. The situation was further complicated by the fact that Sir Eyre Coote, who exercised that command, was a man whom it was hard to please.

Macartney was not a person to remain satisfied in the narrow sphere with which Charles Smith had been content. He did not, indeed, revoke the resolution of the former government entrusting Coote with sole powers of directing the war. But he accepted the situation with a note of protest.[1] In no time, differences between him and Coote arose on the subject of attacking the Dutch settlements. As Coote was indifferent to the necessity of attacking them immediately, Macartney took up the task himself. The expedition did not include a single man from the main army. Yet Coote complained that the Madras government interfered with his command. This was only one among the many grounds of Coote's dissatisfaction with the Madras government. He was perpetually complaining about the want of transport and supplies. He carried with him an unwieldy army, in which the camp followers far exceeded the number of soldiers. Nobody could suggest to him the need of economy, for he would burst out into a childish rage, construe any remark as interference with his powers, and threaten to give up his command. His experience and reputation were invaluable, and he was undoubtedly the man best fitted for the undertaking. But old age and bodily infirmity had reduced his mental powers, and his extremely bad temper made him a very difficult man to deal with. The efforts of Lord Macartney to keep him in good humour were of no avail. Differences between Coote and the Madras government reached such an acute stage that, early in February, 1782, both parties appealed to Bengal. Coote sent Graham, his Persian interpreter, to Bengal to place his complaints before the Supreme

1 Minute of Consultation—Madras Select Com. Cons., 6 April 1782, vol. 12, p. 957.

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Council, and threatened to resign the command in case the Bengal government did not interpose their authority.[1] On their part the Madras government complained that Coote did not either disclose to them his plans of military operations, or attend the meetings of the Select Committee.[2] Macartney sent his private secretary, Staunton to explain matters to Hastings.[3]

The governor-general and council were in a difficult situation. But they considered the need of keeping Coote in good humour, of the greatest importance. Accordingly they recommended the Madras government to "allow him an entire and unparticipated command over all the forces acting under your authority in the Carnatic," excepting the garrison of Madras. The Madras government were to exercise their authority in cases in which the safety of the state might make their interference absolutely necessary. But in all other cases, they wished that the whole conduct of the war might be left to Sir Eyre Coote. Besides, "the conciliation of the dependent chiefs of the Carnatic, the acceptance of terms offered by those of the enemy, and in general such other acts as do not fall within the express line of military command, but which may contribute to the success of its operations" should be entrusted to Coote's discretion. The Supreme Council asked to be excused for their intervention on the occasion by referring to the fact that the resources of Bengal were being drained for the defence of the Carnatic, which obliged them to regard the war as their own, and "more interestingly though not so immediately our concern than yours." They reminded Madras that they did not assume the powers vested in them by the Direc-

1 Coote to Bengal—3 Feb. 1782, Beng. Secret Cons., 25 Feb. 1782, vol. 63, p. 399.

2 Madras to Bengal—3 Feb. 1782 (1 Feb. in Madras consultations), Idem. pp. 405-6.

3 Macartney to Hastings—3 Feb. 1782—British Museum Additional Mss. No. 29, 153 fo. 27.

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tors' letter of the 11th April 1781 because its exercise would have been "as ungrateful to you, as it would be painful to ourselves." The Bengal government did not command, but only recommended a certain course of action, "and this degree of interference is assumed by us, more with a view to lessen the weight of your responsibility by taking on ourselves a considerable portion of it,...than for the purpose of influencing your measures or of opposing the judgment on which you had formed them."[1]

Hastings was obviously fretting under the limited nature of the powers given to the Supreme Council. Writing to Coote he said that "though the Court of Directors have empowered us to issue our orders to the other presidencies and have commanded them to obey us, yet as they have given us no power to enforce our orders, the obedience which may be paid to them remains as optional as the compliance which they might have given to our advice, before we were invested with this extraordinary charge."[2] His letter to Macartney necessarily assumed a different tone. The governor-general expressed therein his anxious desire "to co-operate with you firmly and liberally for the support of your authority, and for the honour of your administration,..."[3]

The Madras government were extremely dissatisfied with the Bengal letter, and entered a protest against it in their own records. They doubted whether it was necessary to the success of the Company's affairs that extraordinary powers should be given to Coote when it was certain that the Madras government would exercise their powers for the common welfare. They admitted that a distinction could be profitably made between the powers necessary to be exercised in a "foreign and distant service," and those requisite for

1 Bengal to Madras—11 March 1782, Bengal Secret Cons. 11 March, 1782, vol. 63, pp. 520-31.

2 Hastings to Coote—21 March 1782; Gleig, Memoirs of the Life of Warren Hastings, vol. 3, p. 5.

3 Hastings to Macartney—21 March 1782—*op. cit.* p. 4.

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directing military operations near the seat of government, giving the commander-in-chief extraordinary powers in the former case. The Bengal recommendations, in their opinion, carried "the force of the most positive command," and amounted to an "absolute dereliction" of the authority of the Madras government. Under the circumstances they desired to be freed from all responsibility for the subsequent conduct of the war, while they promised to "redouble our vigilance and zeal for the public service."[1]

The Madras government discreetly refrained from communicating their opinions to the governor-general and council, to whom they replied in a single line that they would pay implicit obedience to all their commands contained in their letter.[2] Writing to Coote they said that they invested him with all the "powers, authorities and responsibilities" which the governor-general and council desired that he should possess, and that they would conform as far as practicable to the recommendations of the Bengal government from a sense of duty to their employers, who had directed them to follow the lead of the Supreme Council at that crisis.[3]

The Bengal government seemed for a time satisfied that the line which they had followed had produced the desired effect, as Madras had informed them of their desire to comply with the recommendations, and Coote had expressed his satisfaction. But soon it was found that the new arrangement was not working smoothly and that the same quarrel between Coote and the Madras government continued. Coote showed no desire to consult them or to inform them of his plans, and the southern presidency lamented that the Bengal government "having vested not only all the military powers,

1 Minute of Consultation—Madras Select Com. Cons., 6 April, 1782, vol. 12, pp. 953-959.

2 Madras to Bengal—11 April 1782, Beng. Secret Cons., 29 April, 1782, vol. 64, p. 386.

3 Madras to Coote—11 April 1782, Idem, 10 May 1782, vol. 65, p. 13.

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but several others in Sir Eyre Coote, the ancient constitutional system of this government subsists no more."[1]

It would be interesting to illustrate the position to which the Madras government were relegated in consequence of the powers vested in Coote by the governor-general and council. In June 1782 the Bengal government informed Madras that a treaty had been concluded with Sindhia. They forwarded a copy of the treaty, and left it to the Madras government to make such discretionary use of the information as they considered necessary.[2] Madras did not then wish to show Haidar too great a desire for peace, and wrote to Coote asking him whether from any recent events he had guessed pacific inclinations in Haidar.[3] It happened that at this time an envoy from Haidar was in Coote's camp.[4] Coote in his reply did not consider it necessary to communicate this fact to the Madras government. He only wrote that he had done everything likely to lead to peace with Haidar, and "whatever occurrences have happened of this nature," he had communicated to the governor-general and council as being the only authority who could decide on matters of that kind. In this, he said, he acted strictly according to the directions he had received from Bengal.[5] The Madras government naturally complained that they could not reconcile the latitude which had been given them to make discretionary use of the information with any power that might have been given to Coote to negotiate.[6]

1 Madras to Bengal—6 June 1782, Id. 4 July, 1782, vol. 65, p. 365.

2 Bengal to Madras—3 June 1782, Id. 3 June, 1782, vol. 65, p. 73.

3 Madras to Coote—27 June 1782, Id. 5 Aug., 1782, vol. 65, pp. 563-4.

4 Coote to Bengal—21 June 1782, Id. 8 July, 1782, vol. 65, p. 462.

5 Coote to Madras—28 June 1782, Id. 5 Aug., 1782, vol. 65, p. 567.

6 Madras to Bengal—30 June 1782, Id. pp. 536-8.

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The Supreme Council's recommendations of the 11th March 1782 had thus taken away large parts of the foreign policy from the hands of the Madras government, and reduced them to a position neither dreamt of by the authors of the Regulating Act, nor perhaps meant by the instructions of the Court of Directors of the 11th April 1781.

The Madras government deprived of their powers were naturally attempting to shift the responsibility on to other shoulders. It was with this object that in their letter to Coote they had added the word "responsibilities" to the words "powers and authorities." The war was not going on well, and the Bengal government too were unwilling to have any responsibility on themselves. They desired that Madras should follow their recommendations as advice, and keep the responsibility on their shoulders. They therefore in their letter of the 4th July 1782[1] withdrew the words which had given the appearance of commands to their recommendations of the 11th March, and asserted that Madras still shared with Coote the responsibility for the conduct of the operations in the same degree as they did before. They left it at the option of Madras to follow their recommendations or not. At the same time they declared that the Madras government could not be absolved from the moral obligation to follow them, because circumstances made it their duty to entrust Coote with the sole conduct of the war. In short they expected them to comply with their recommendations of the 11th March, but of their own volition. That they did not desire to withdraw from Coote the powers, which they had recommended should be given to him, is clear from the fact that a few days later, on the 8th July they gave Coote latitude to negotiate with Haidar.[2]

The governor-general and council looked forward with

1 Bengal to Madras—4 July 1782, Id. 4 July 1782, vol. 65, pp. 416-439.

2 Bengal to Coote—8 July 1782, Id. 8 July 1782, vol. 65, p. 498.

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dread to the time when Coote would come to know that they had left it at the option of the Madras government to obey or disobey the recommendations. They do not seem to have addressed a letter to Coote on this subject. Hastings wrote to Sir John Macpherson, "...Care must be taken of the double-edged weapon that while we withdraw it from his lordship it does not wound the General. That I most fear."[1]

Coote was away from Madras when the Bengal letter of the 4th July was received, and no steps were taken by the Madras government till his return. The Select Committee was then summoned. As Coote did not attend, the Madras government sent a copy of the Bengal letter to him, and informed him that since the governor-general and council had censured them for inaction, they were compelled to take up again the consideration of measures necessary for the public safety and welfare, and that they should be happy if Coote, by his presence at the committee, assisted them in their deliberations.[2] The Madras government unable to get rid of their responsibilities, had decided to resume the normal exercise of their powers, though they were not against allowing Coote some latitude in the exercise of his military command.[3] Coote however was dissatisfied at the alteration of his position and refused to attend the meetings of the Select Committee. On the 28th September, 1782 the old General returned to Bengal in disgust.

Coote's departure left the Madras government to act as they liked, unfettered by any other authority. The relations between the two presidencies, however, did not improve on that account, for the subordinate government having un-

1 Hastings to Macpherson—July 1782; H. Dodwell, "Warren Hastings' letters to Sir John Macpherson", p. 155.

2 Madrass to Coote—22 Aug. 1782; Madras Sel. Com. Cons., 22 Aug. 1782, vol. 14, pp. 2533-37.

3 Madras to Bengal—30 Aug. 1782, Id. 30 Aug. 1782, vol. 15, p. 2676.

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burdened their mind in a letter to Bengal on the injustice lately done to them,[1] an acrimonious correspondence followed. Besides General Stuart who succeeded Coote in the chief command, caused more embarrasment to the Madras government than Sir Eyre had done. The powers exercised by Coote independently of the civil authorities had corrupted the views of the military officers. Stuart's claim as commander-in-chief of the king's forces to be independent of the Company's civil servants was a mere pretext to enjoy the extraordinary powers which his predecessor had possessed.

At the end of 1782 the death of Haidar Ali provided the Company with the right moment to strike hard at their enemy. The Madras government clearly realised the necessity for vigorous action. But Stuart engaged in his quarrel with the civil authorities could not be induced to advance.[2] In a series of letters to Coote he poured forth his complaints against the measures of the Madras government. These letters presented before the Bengal board still further fanned the hostility of the governor general and council against the subordinate presidency. The Supreme Council fell into the assumption that the Madras government were incompetent to deal with the situation. Since it was not possible for the controlling presidency to supervise effectively the conduct of the military operations, they desired Sir Eyre Coote to return to the Carnatic. Coote was willing to take up his duties again, but on the condition of being freed from all authority except that of the Supreme Council.[3] The board regarded the request of the commander-in-chief as very reasonable, in view of the fact that he was the only person who could utilise the then favourable turn in the affairs of the Company, and bring the war to an end. They therefore resolved that their recommendations of the 11th March, 1782 be now repeated in the

1 Id.

2 Barrow, Life of Lord Macartney, vol. I, p. 172.

3 Minute of Consultation—Bengal Sec. Cons., 6 Jan. 1783, vol. 69, pp. 10-16.

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form of commands. In this, they declared, they were authorized by the Directors' letter of the 11th April, 1781. They assured Coote that he would have "the entire and effectual support of this government as far as we can constitutionally give it."[1] Over and above extraordinary powers for the conduct of the war, Coote was given a discretionary power to negotiate and conclude a treaty with Tipu. He was also empowered to conclude any engagement he might think proper, with any of the chiefs in Tipu's service, in order to withdraw their allegiance from him.[2] The Supreme Council decided to send ten lakhs of rupees with the General, and resolved that "this and all future supplies of treasure for the service of the army in the Carnatic shall be consigned to him."[3]

When the Bengal orders in pursuance of these resolutions reached Madras, the subordinate government replied that they had once received such instructions as orders, and had been told that they had misconstrued them. They therefore received them on this occasion merely as recommendations. By accepting them in that light, they were aware that they kept the responsibility on themselves. But the experience they had of the use made by Sir Eyre Coote of his sole and exclusive powers made them unwilling to surrender to him again the authority of their government. However they would pay attention to the measures which might be proposed by Coote as a member of their Select Committee. They admitted that, in accordance with the orders of the Directors, they were bound to obey any plan of operations directed by the supreme government. But nowhere did they find any authority given to the Supreme Council to transfer their powers to any other person.[4]

1 Id., 9 Jan. 1783, vol. 69, pp. 165-69.
2 Id., 27 Feb. 1783, vol. 70.
3 Id.
4 Madras to Bengal—19 April 1783, Id., 7 May 1783, vol. 71, pp. 509-20.

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On Sir Eyre Coote's return to Madras (April, 1783) the government invited him to attend the Select Committee. With reference to his powers, they told him that the whole executive power, civil and military, was lodged in the governor and select committee of Fort St. George, and could not be transfered, otherwise than by an act of Parliament, or an order of the Company, neither of which had ordered such a transfer. They therefore regarded him, while at Madras, as dependent on their orders, and gave him notice "that we shall hold it unwarrantable in you to do any act, except in such matters of detail as the Regulations of 1774 and 1778 allow, without our participation, or such others as time may not allow us to consult you about."[1]

When this letter was written Coote was stricken with his last illness. He therefore did not read it. On the 26th April 1783, a few days after his return to Madras, the great soldier passed away. It is difficult to say what turn affairs would have taken if Coote had not died at that moment. Coote had returned to Madras expecting to exercise the sole power of conducting the war and concluding a peace. The supreme government had pledged themselves to support him. The Madras govenment had, on the other hand, refused to part with their powers. Out of this complex situation, the Company was extricated only by the hand of providence. One thing, however, is clear. The president and Select Committee of Madras could not legally incur the penalty of suspension for disobedience to this particular order. That penalty was prescribed by the Regulating Act, whereas the supreme government, in entrusting to Coote the sole command professed to act according to the orders of the Directors.

On Coote's death, difficulty arose as to the money which he had brought along with him. The captain of the ship in which he had performed the voyage, delivered the money to Colonel Owen, as acting for Sir Eyre Coote. Colonel Owen

1 Madras to Coote—24 April 1783. Id., pp. 532-6.

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refused to hand over the money to the Madras government. The difficulty was however removed by the Supreme Council's order to that officer to make such delivery.[1]

In accordance with the instructions of the Court of Directors, it was now the duty of the governor general and council to issue orders regarding the conduct of the military operations, or for the commencement of negotiations if such was neccessary. But they abstained from giving any such order. Their silence left Madras free to exercise their authority to the best of their judgment.

It is clear that the effective prosecution of the Carnatic War on the Company's side was considerably hampered by these dissensions between the two presidencies, for which the Act of 1773 was mainly responsible. While giving the superintending presidency every incentive to interfere, the Regulating Act armed them with powers which were merely of a negative character and left their position extremely vague. The Bengal government went beyond their legal powers, and found their authority seriously questioned, and their orders set at nought by a government in which the tradition of independence died hard.[2]

A. P. DAS GUPTA

1 Cf. Bengal to Madras—7 May 1783, Id., p. 550.

(The volume numbers of the 'Consultations' are those of the India Office).

2 The above is one of the topics discussed in the author's unpublished monograph on the "Relations of the governor-general and Council of Bengal with the governor and Council of Madras under the Regulating Act of 1773".

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The Determination of the Relative Strength of a State and the Vyasanas

The determination of the relative strength of a State in comparison with that of another State may not be difficult when the difference between the two in regard to strength, financial, military or otherwise, be so great as to be palpable. When, however, the two kingdoms are, roughly speaking, of an equal rank, the determination of the superiority of one to another is not so easy. The basis of the comparison will, of course, be the seven constituents composing the strength of a State viz. svāmin, amātya, janapada, durga, kośa, daṇḍa, and mitra. In normal condition i.e. when each of the two kingdoms is in an equally prosperous condition, with all the constituents functioning properly, the two must be pronounced to be of equal power. But ordinarily, one or more of the constituents must be subject to one or more deficiencies, and hence there cannot be a precise equality between any two States held to be of equal rank. But such a small difference of power as may exist in this particular case is not sufficient to enable a king or a politician to be hopeful that, if a case for a dispute arises between the two States, the one that is considered superior by the very small margin of power as aforesaid can declare war against the other on the strength of that superiority and stands a fair chance of success by virtue of the small balance of strength in its favour. But if one or more components of the States be affected with one or more of the vyasanas (defects or calamities that impair or ruin the efficiency of a component), two States, though seemingly equal in power, may in reality be very differently situated in point of strength. Similarly a State superficially much stronger than another may have its vitals so much weakened by the vyasanas that the State seemingly much weaker can well prove itself the equal of

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the other or even superior to it in actual trials of strength. The computation of the strength of a State was made with reference to the seven components named above. This shows that for arriving at a conclusion regarding the relative strength of a State, a systematic mode of computation was resorted to instead of a haphazard guessing. Of course, in an estimate of strength like the present, mathematical precision cannot be the object of the computation, but is an index approximate enough to enable a king or a politician for guidance in the steps taken by him. The index thus gained may be called a rough one, having regard to the factors involved in the computation, but yet it is not so rough as to be wide apart from the actual state of things. It was to make the estimate as approximate as possible that pains were taken by every king to collect information about the States in his maṇḍala and money was spent for keeping a large establishment of informants who visited the dominions of the neighbouring kings and lodged information obtained there with the men in charge of the information bureaus of their master. For a king or a politician, the importance of being able to make an estimate of the relative position of the State in which he is interested as compared with any other State or States, for or against which he is going to take some steps full of grave consequences, is very great indeed. The process by which the estimate of the relative strength of a State is made rests on some principles which may be thus explained :

The seven components of statal strength viz., svāmin, (king), amātya (ministers), janapada (territory with the subjects), durga (forts), kośa (treasure), daṇḍa (army) and mitra (allies) are each subject to vyasanas, and the vyasana of each component is graver than that of the succeeding component. There are differences of opinion as to whether the vyasana of, say, amātya is less serious than that of svāmin and these differences of opinion with their reasons will be noted in their proper place elsewhere. Suffice it to say

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that the principle noted above is sound according to Kauṭilya. Thus, of two States A and B of equal status, if A has its king addicted to gambling in an inordinate degree and B has its amātya addicted to gambling in the same degree, the remaining six constituents of strength of A and B being normal, then A can be considered to be weaker than B, because the vyasana of a king is more serious than that of an amātya, and hence the reduction of the efficiency of the former affects the kingdom to a greater extent than that of the latter. Similary, if A has amātya affected with vyasana and B has janapada affected with vyasana, the other constituents remaining normal, the distress of the former is graver than that of the latter according to Kauṭilya, and hence A is weaker than B. In these illustrations, the constituents are different, and the nature of the vyasana affecting them is assumed to be the same. There may be cases in which the same constituent in each of the States may be affected with different vyasanas. The king of the State A may be addicted to gambling, and the king of B to drinking. In such cases, there are, of course, differences of opinion as to which vyasana is more serious, but if one of the opinions that appears to be the most reasonable and weighty, be followed, a definite conclusion will be reached. Should Kauṭilya's view be adopted in this instance, a king addicted to gambling is more dangerous than a king given to drinking, and hence B is weaker than A, the other constituents being assumed to be normal. Hence, in the Kauṭilīya there is treatment of the relative seriousness of the vyasanas of different kinds of the same constituent in two different States. The determination of the ally-strength of two States is difficult, because the constituents of the allies on each side are to be examined. It is in view of the importance of the subject for a king or a politician who has to have a workable estimate of the strength of the State with which he is concerned in comparison with the other State or States, for or against which serious courses of action are about to be adopted by him, that Kauṭilya is at so much pains in

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bringing together the data for a safe guidance. The subject involves no doubt many complications and also many points on which there is scope for much difference of opinion as will be apparent from the details that follow. There is also room for many hair-splitting arguments making the complications still more complicated. But in spite of all these drawbacks, an estimate of the relative strength of a State is always necessary before any important political steps can be taken for or against one or more neighbouring States. Mere unaided guesswork in such matters is likely to be productive of evil by giving a wrong notion of the actual state of things and pointing to a wrong course of action, while too much of hair-splitting argumentation on points where there is room for differences of opinion instead of following some authority or other on the point or points involved can only lead to confusion and unsettlement of decision. Hence a *via media* should be adopted by following the most practical and reasonable of the various opinions according to Kauṭilya's suggestion, if necessary, in reaching the conclusion as to the relative power of a State in a particular inter-statal situation.

The chapter on the Vyasanas in the Kauṭilīya opens with this sentence : Vyasanayaugapadye saukaryato yātavyaṃ rakṣitavyaṃ veti vyasanacintā [(in cases of) vyasanas (defects or distresses) befalling (the constituents of) both the States, the consideration of the vyasanas is for determining whether it will be more advantageous to take the offensive or the defensive attitude]. Here the words 'vyasanayaugapadye' and 'yātavyaṃ rakṣitavyaṃ vā' are to be specially noted. The first expression implies that vyasanas have affected one or more of the constituents of both the States that are about to take important actions concerning each other, while the words 'yātavyaṃ rakṣitavyaṃ veti' indicate that though the 'courses of action' (guṇas) may be six, or more if their combinations be taken into account, they can be reduced, for the purpose of consideration of the relative strength of two States or two groups of States, to the offensive and the defensive

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actions. In fact, of the 'six courses of action', the question of sandhi can only come in after the yāna is made by one side or the other and the actual fight (vigraha) takes place between the two parties reducing one of them to such a position that he has to sue for sandhi (treaty of peace). The defensive attitude is, of course, āsana. The question of saṃśraya arises in cases in which a conflict takes place between a powerful State and a weak one, and the former has not its strength reduced by vyasanas to such an extent that the difference in respect of power between the two States is not substantially great. As regards the remaining course of action, dvaidhī-bhāva, composed as it is of the elements of sandhi (alliance or cessation of war by a treaty of peace) and vigraha including yāna, the consideration of the vyasanas has concern with it in both its aspects of yāna and sandhi (alliance) for the purposes of the adoption of an aggressively hostile, or a defensive attitude respectively. Thus the words yātavyam and rakṣitavyam are comprehensive enough and include those aspects of the other courses of action that should be adopted after a consideration of the vyasanas of the two States or two groups of States concerned. The purpose of limiting the consideration of the vyasanas to courses of action between two States, both affected with vyasanas more or less, is to exclude the cases in which both the States have all their constituents of strength in a normal condition, or in which only one state is affected with vyasana and the other is not; because in the former case, the vyasanas do not enter into account at all because they do not exist, and in the latter, the difference of power between the two States is likely to be glaringly evident.

On an examination of the treatment of the vyasanas in the five chapters in Book VIII of the Kauṭilīya, we find that the vyasanas of the svāmin receive the greatest amount of attention, as two chapters (2 and 3) are devoted to it. The army and the ally are allotted a separate chapter (5). The relative seriousness of the vyasanas of all the seven cons-

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tituents of strength is treated in the first chapter, the treatment being brief in respect of each of the constituents, while the fourth chapter treats of the vyasanas of the janapada and treasure. The vyasanas of one or two high officials, such as the sannidhātṛ and samāhartṛ, have a place in the chapter on account of the bearing of their duties on the finance of the State.

The question of the treatment of the vyasanas, i.e., serious defects, or distresses of the constituents naturally implies that there should also be a treatment of their excellences in order to clear up the idea about the standard of qualities expected in regard to each of the constituents. These qualities have been dwelt on in the Kauṭilīya in several places.[1] Of course, in respect of many of them, e.g., the army, the fort, or the finance, much elaboration of the standard to which each should come up is not necessary.

I now proceed to treat of the details about vyasanas of the various constituents of statal strength on the basis of the Kauṭilīya. As stated already, the vyasana of each of the seven constituents, svāmin, amātya, janapada, durga, kośa, daṇḍa and mitra, is according to Kauṭilya graver than that of the succeeding constituents in the chain. The reasons why Kauṭilya thinks so and why the exponents of other schools of opinion or other politicians thought otherwise will be found from the following table :

1 See *K.*, VI, ch. I ; I, chs. 9, 10.

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Which more serious ?	Answer	Acc. to whom?	Reasons	Answer acc. to Kauṭilya	Kauṭilya's Reasons
Vyasana of Svāmin or of Amātya.	V. of Amātya more serious.	Bhāradvāja.	Deliberation in council, giving effect to resolutions, increase of income and reduction of expenditure, recruitment of army, defence of kingdom, remedy of defects and distresses, protection of the heir-apparent, are ill done. Even king's life falls into danger.	V. of Svāmin more serious.	It is the king who appoints the ministers and the high officials, remedies their vyasanas as also of the janapada, treasure, etc., and improves them. He can appoint other ministers and officials if necessary in place of those affected with the vyasanas. He is attentive to the exaltation of the good and the punishment of the wicked. The king himself can make the subjects prosperous if he be well-qualified. The subjects imitate the king as their model. They depend upon him for their welfare and not upon the amātya.
V.[1] of Amātya or V. of Janapada.	V. of Janapada more serious.	Viśālākṣa.	The country with the subjects is the source of treasure, army, raw mate-	V. of Amātya more serious.	The translations of resolutions into action proceed from the amātya. The construction of public

V. = Vyasana.

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			rials of manufactured goods, artisans, conveyances, etc. A janapada in vyasana will not supply them.		works of utility, acquisition and preservation of wealth, application of remedies to vyasanas, colonization of vacant lands and their improvement, punishment of culprits and collection of taxes all depend upon the amātya.
V. of Janapada or V. of Durga.	V. of Durga more serious.	The school of Parāśara.	The treasure and the army have their source in the fortified town which also affords shelter to the people of the countryside in danger. The pauras of the fortified town are more powerful than the people of the countryside and are always a help to the king. The jānapadas however side with a powerful enemy. Hence durga is more important, and its vyasana is more serious.	V. of Janapada more serious.	The people of the country are the root of forts, treasure, army, irrigation works, agriculture, cattle-rearing, and trade. Prowess, steadiness, promptness and numerical strength are found in them. Without janapada, a durga on a hill or an island loses its importance. It should however be noted that in a country where the agriculturists are in the majority, the fort is more important but in a country where the martial races are in the majority, the janapada is more important.

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Which more serious ?	Answer	Acc. to whom ?	Reasons	Answer acc. to Kauṭilya	Kauṭilya's Reasons
V. of Durga or V. of Kośa.	V. of Kośa more serious.	Piśuna.	The repair and defence of forts depend upon treasure. Through espionage carried on through money against the residents within the forts, they can be won over by the enemy. The control of janapada and friends and foes, and receipt of help from people or kings outside the territory and the utilization of the strength of an army depend upon money. In times of danger, money can be removed to a place of safety but not the fort.	V. of Durga more serious.	It is in the fort that the treasure and the army are kept secure. It is through the fort as the centre of operations that the secret operations in connection with a battle, the control of one's own army, the reception of an army coming to render help, and the offering of resistance to the army of an enemy or wild tribes are carried into effect. Without forts the treasure is captured by the enemy. The difficulty of reducing an enemy fighting from within a fort demonstrates its strength.

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V. of Kośa or V. of Daṇḍa.	V. of Daṇḍa more serious.	Kauṇapadanta.	The control over friends and enemies, the incitation of an army brought from another king as also one's own soldiers depend upon the army. The treasure is sure to be lost if there be no army, while soldiers can be recruited without treasure, i.e., by giving them raw materials and lands and by promise of distribution of the lands of enemies among the soldiers with whose assistance the lands are acquired.	V. of Kośa more serious.	The army may go over to the enemy if money be not paid to it and can even slay the king, while treasure is the sinews of war, and supplies the means for performing virtuous acts and fulfilling desires. Though treasure and army are interdependent, yet the former is the means of obtaining not merely the army but also all other things.
V. of Daṇḍa or V. of Mitra.	V. of Mitra more serious.	Vātavyādhi	The ally may work without remuneration, and need not be looked after as he stays far off. He is a check upon the rear-enemy, rear-enemy's friend, enemy, and the wild tribes; he helps in times of distress with treasure, army, and lands.	V. of Daṇḍa more serious.	It is on the strength of the army that a king can have an ally keep to his alliance. In emergencies requiring immediate action, one's own army is handy and not that of an ally. Moreover, the king expected to be an ally may be attracted to the enemy who offers a larger remuneration.

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Though in the table given above, the relative gravity of one of any two of the components of statal strength affected with vyasanas is shown, the extent to which a component is affected should always be closely examined. The remnant of strength that is left in a component affected with vyasana may be large in spite of its diseased condition. The factors (varying of course with each component), by reason of which the strength still left in a component may be great, are : (a) numerical strength, (b) devotion to the sovereign, and (c) the internal stock of energy still left. The remnants of strength left with a State after the reductions due to the vyasanas may be so large that they may well be effective against the components of another State specially if the latter be a little smaller. Hence, attention should be directed to the degrees of the vyasanas affecting the components and also to those components that are in their normal condition i.e. unaffected with vyasanas. There may however be cases in which the nature of the vyasana of one or more components of statal strength is such that it may ruin the efficiency of all the remaining components. In these cases, the vyasana though confined to one or a small number of components is very great indeed.

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II

Which more serious?	Answer	Acc. to whom?	Reasons	Answer acc. to Kauṭilya	Kauṭilya's Reasons
Internal troubles of the State or external troubles.	Internal troubles more serious.		Because the internal troubles of the State are like the danger from a concealed snake. Of these troubles, those due to the ministers are still more serious. Hence the king should always keep under his own control the treasure and the army.		
Dvairājya (e.g. when the king and his son or where brothers fight for the throne), or Vairājya (foreign rule).	Dvairājya more serious.	The Ācāryas.	Because Dvairājya is ruined by the hatred, partiality or mutual hostility of the two parties, while a Vairājya in which the invader naturally tries to win the good will of the subjects is enjoyed by others (i.e. the people as opposed to the invader) as it stands (i.e. without the ruin of the State) (See IHQ, I, 393).	Vairājya more serious.	Because in Dvairājya, the evil due to dissension between father and son or between brothers is counteracted by the ministers, the welfare of the State being of equal importance to both the parties, while in Vairājya, which comes into existence by the seizure of the State by an invader from its king still alive, the dominion is not regarded as 'his own' by the invader, the people being ill-treated, and robbed of their wealth, and it is forsaken when they become very much disaffected (IHQ, I, 393).

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Which more serious ?	Answer	Acc. to whom ?	Reasons	Answer acc. to Kauṭilya	Kauṭilya's Reasons
To have a king who has never studied the Śāstras (andha) or to have a king who has done so but does not follow them (calitaśāstra)	To have a king who has never studied the Śāstras is more serious.	The Ācāryas.	Because a king not enlightened by the Śāstras becomes inconsiderate in actions, obstinate, and prone to be led by others and thus ruins the kingdom, while a king who knows the Śāstras and deviates from them can be easily brought round.	To have a king who has studied the Śāstras but does not follow them is more serious.	Because a king who is bent upon deviating from the Śāstras in his actions cannot be brought round and thus ruins himself and his kingdom, while a king who has not studied the Śāstras can be persuaded to follow a commendable line of action laid down for him, say, by his ministers.
To have a diseased king or an upstart king.	To have a diseased king is more serious.	The Ācāryas,	For the deseased king cannot exereise a check upon the ministers who become for that reason arbitrary and thus ruin the kingdom, or, assisted by other limbs of the State may even kill the king ; while the upstart king pleases the subjects by properly doing his own duties, and by gifts,remissions of taxes, bestowal of honours upon the people, etc.	To have an upstart king is more serious.	For the diseased king follows the line of his duties as usual, but the upstart king acts waywardly by reason of the fact that he has acquired the State by dint of his own strength. He may also tolerate the oppression of the subjects for satisfying the demands of those who had helped him to have the throne. Not being able to establish his hold upon the subjects and other constituents of the State, he is

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					liable to be easily ruined by an enemy. Distinction should however be made between a king suffering from a disease of an ordinary type or of a vicious type.
To have an upstart but high-born king or an upstart but base-born king.	Here the Ācāryas and Kauṭilya are at one and consider that to have an upstart but base-born king is a more serious vyasana.				
To have a weak but high-born king or a strong but base-born king.	To have a weak but high-born king is more serious.	The Ācāryas.	Because the subjects of the weak king do not fear him and so do not agree to support him, while in the other case, they submit to the king for his strength.	To have a strong but base-born king is more serious.	Because the subjects submit to the weak but high-born king of their own accord, while they do not do so in regard to the other king, for he does not inspire a feeling of attachment to himself in their minds.
The destruction of standing crops or the destruction of seeds.	The destruction of standing crops is more serious.		Because such destruction implies the destruction of all the exertion spent upon the crops.		
Drought or excessive rain.	Drought is more serious.		For drought destroys the sources of subsistence while excessive rain does not.		

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III

This Section treats of three kinds of vyasanas brought about by the three blemishes having their origin in anger (krodha), viz. vākpāruṣya (use of abusive language), artha-dūṣaṇa [abuses relating to wealth including (a) adāna (refraining from making gifts when they should have been made), (b) ādāna (exaction), (c) vināśa (destruction of others' sources of income) and (d) parityāga (non-protection of wealth where it should be protected)], and daṇḍapāruṣya (use of violence or an unwarranted degree of same in dealings with others). It also deals with the four vices having their origin in passion (kāma) : mṛgayā (hunting), and addiction to the three W's, viz. wine (pāna), women (strī), and wager (dyūta).

It is held by some that the vices due to anger are more injurious than those due to passion, because the causes for anger are more numerous than those for passion. Many a king has been reported to have been killed by the subjects provoked by the actions of their kings. The range of provocatives of kāma is limited, though it has in its list of victims many kings who have died of diseases caused by over-indulgence, or have been killed by enemies venturing to attack them by reason of reduction of their treasure and strength brought about by their addiction to kāma. Kāma leads one, subject to it, to elevate the unoworthy, and Kopa causes in a similar way the oppression of the worthy. The vyasanas arising from these two are serious ones and should be avoided by a king.

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Three Blemishes originating in Anger.

Which more serious ?	Answer	Acc. to whom ?	Reasons	Answer acc. to Kauṭilya	Kauṭilya's Reasons
Anger or Passion,	Both are useful.	Bhāradvāja.	Indignation is a characteristic of good men and it leads to the application of remedies to the wrongs done by bad people, to the creation of an atmosphere in which his importance cannot be neglected, and to the diffusion of a fear of his personality. Passion leads to the achievement of success. It makes a man peace-loving, charitable, and amiable. It is a necessary adjunct to ambition so useful in every sphere of life.	Both are harmful, and anger brings about a more serious vyasana than passion.	Anger creates many enemies, and brings troubles in its train. Passion leads to humiliation, loss of wealth, and association with thieves, gamblers, hunters, musicians, etc. Humiliated he has to follow the lead of his own friends and relations and follow the dictates of his enemies, while being the object of the fury of his enemies, he is ruined. Again, the creation of enemies is worse than loss of wealth because the latter affects the finance while the other jeopardises life itself. Falling into trouble is wrose than the company of undesirable persons as the latter gives at least a pleasure for some time while the former causes lasting misery.
Vākpāruṣya (use of abusive language) or Arthadūṣaṇa [(abuses relating to wealth (vide supra)].	Use of abusive language is more serious.	Viśālākṣa	Because abusive language is very provoking and incites one to hostile actions.	Abuses relating to wealth are more serious.	Because the abuses relating to wealth affect the people vitally and create a deeper hostility. On the other hand, wealth properly used can make up for the use of abusive language.
Arthadūṣaṇa (abuses relating to wealth or Daṇḍapāruṣya (use of violence or an unwarranted degree of same in dealings with others.	Arthadūṣaṇa is more serious.	Pārāśaras.	Wealth is the root of dharma and kāma, and hence its abuse cannot but be serious.	Daṇḍapāruṣya is more serious.	The use of physical violence is much more resented than the abuses relating to wealth.

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Four Vices originating in Passion.

Which more serious?	Answer	Acc. to whom?	Reasons	Answer acc. to Kauṭilya	Kauṭilya's Reasons
Addiction to hunting or addiction to gambling.	Addiction to hunting is more serious.	Piśuna	Hunting in a forest is full of dangers, as the man addicted to hunting may fall into the hands of robbers and enemies, be preyed upon by wild animals, be caught in a conflagration, may slip into pitfalls, be confused as to the path to be followed, or may die of inanition. Gambling may on the other hand lead to the acquisition of wealth, e.g., by Jayatsena and Duryodhana,	Addiction to gambling is more serious.	Gambling involves loss to one party, e.g., in the case of Nala and Yudhiṣṭhira. The object acquired becomes a bone of contention. It leads to misuse of wealth possessed previously by unrighteous means. This wealth is also lost through gambling It also causes diseases through irregularities in the observance of hygienic rules. Hunting on the other hand confers the benefits of physical exercise, makes one proficient in the shooting of arrows and as it cannot be indulged in at all times, its evils are restricted by the limited opportunities for hunting.
Addiction to gambling or addiction to women.	Addiction to gambling is more serious.	Kauṇapadanta.	The passion for gambling keeps the gambler engaged at all times, while that for women is not so all engrossing. The very women can be made iustruments for the man's reform.	Addiction to women is more serious.	The money spent on women is spent without any hope of recovery but that lost in gambling can be recovered through gambling. A man (king) addicted to women does not attend the court and neglects the affairs of the State. The ministers grow lethargic. The man is also likely to take to drinking (which is another vyasana).
Addiction to women or addiction to drinking.	Addiction to women is more serious.	Vātavyādhi.	Owing to their fickleness, women induced by others are prone to act against their lovers. Drinking increases mental concentration, removes fatigue and helps the full enjoyment of the objects of the senses.	Addiction to drinking is more serious.	Henpeckedness may be undesirable but yet may lead to the acquisition of offspring and self-protection though licentiousness causes ruin. Addiction to drinking is not only devoid of the favourable aspects mentioned above but also brings about the ruin of the man. It also leads to senselessness. temporary insanity, death in life, shamelessness, obscuration of the intellect, loss of wealth and friends, dissociation from the good and association with the wicked etc.
Addiction to gambling or addiction to drinking.	Addiction to gambling is more serious.	Some politicians.	Gambling involving loss to one party and gain to another creates enmity. The subjects may by taking part in the gambling be alienated from the king. This is specially dangerous to a democratic State.		Kauṭilya is silent on this point. But it is held by some that of all the vyasanas, the one that brings about the elevation of the unworthy is regarded as the most dangerous because it weakens the kingdom. Drinking is such a vyasana.

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The Dāśarājña Battle

विश्वस्य मित्रभूतं तं देवं नत्वा विचारये ।
दाशराज्ञे निमित्तं वा विश्वामित्रमुनिर्न वा ॥

Of the references to historical events that we find in the Ṛgveda, the battle between king Sudās of the Tṛtsu-Bharata clan and a confederacy of Ten Kings on the banks of the Ravi is the best known to students of ancient Indian history. But the words of the hymns (VII, 18; VII, 33; VII, 83 &c.) describing or mentioning the battle are so obscure that in spite of efforts of scholars we have understood very little of the actual course of the engagement. The circumstances that led to the fight are also not very clear and various are the surmises that have been made by scholars on this point. The most prevalent view is that Viśvāmitra, being jealous of Vasiṣṭha at his snatching away from him the priestly office of King Sudās, organised against the king this league of ten chiefs.[1] When studying the question of some river identifications in the Ṛgveda, some years ago, it occurred to me that Viśvāmitra could not be held responsible in the matter. My views on this point were published three years ago in my paper "Identification of the Ṛgvedic river Sarasvatī and some connected problems" (*Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, Vol. XV, pp. 53-63). But as my treatment of this particular problem is likely to be overlooked by scholars, the paper being mainly a geographical one, I am placing before the readers of this journal what I feel about Viśvāmitra's responsibility in the matter of the War of Ten Kings.

John Muir, writing in 1872, could not decide for want of sufficient data whether Vasiṣṭha or Viśvāmitra was Sudās's earlier priest.[2] It was therefore impossible for him to dogmatise about Viśvāmitra's responsibility in the Dāśarājña Battle. But the Vedic Index says, Viśvāmitra "was certainly at one time the Purohita (domestic priest) of Sudās, but he seems to have been deposed from that post, to have joined Sudās's enemies, and to have taken part in the onslaught of the

1 Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 275; Keith in *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 81-2, Nripendra Kumar Dutt, *Aryanisation of India*, pp. 106-7, Abinash Chandra Das, *Ṛgvedic Culture*, pp. 357-9.

2 *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I, Second Edition, p. 375.

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kings against him, for the hymn of Sudās's triumph[1] has clear reference to the ruin Viśvāmitra brought on his allies." But are there any certain indications in Ṛv. VII. 18 to the effect that Vasiṣṭha was exulting over the discomfiture of Viśvāmitra as a priest of Sudās's enemies? To my mind, there is none. That both Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra were at different periods priests of Sudās is certain. But the question to decide is who came earlier. Epic and Purāṇic tradition represents Vasiṣṭha as an old brahmin priest and Viśvāmitra as acquiring brahminhood and consequent priestly power after great struggle. This change in Viśvāmitra, the tradition further says, was due to his coveting the brahmanical power that Vasiṣṭha could wield as his birthright. Applied to the Ṛgvedic incident, this should plainly mean that Vasiṣṭha was Sudās's priest earlier than Viśvāmitra. The cow over which the later literature represents Viśvāmitra as fighting with Vasiṣṭha seems to stand for the priestly fees which were given in the form of cows. Taittirīya Saṃhitā, VII. 4-7,[2] Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa, IV. 8, Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa, IV. 7. 3 represent Vasiṣṭha as wanting to avenge himself on the descendants or people of Sudās for his killing one hundred sons of the sage at Viśvāmitra's instigation. This shows that Viśvāmitra had hold over Sudās after Vasiṣṭha lost his. Manu-smṛti, VII. 41 holds out to scorn Sudās Paijavana for disrespect to brahmins and this can hardly be understood if the brahmin Vasiṣṭha came as Sudās's priest after Viśvāmitra who was originally a kṣatriya had been ousted from that office. Consequently we should not *assume* that Viśvāmitra being dispossessed of Sudās's priesthood, tried (unsuccessfully) to show to the king his folly in choosing Vasiṣṭha as his priest by organising a league against him.

From later literature and *a priori* consideration let us turn to the text of the Ṛgveda. If Viśvāmitra ever tried to punish Sudās, we should expect in the Third Book of the Ṛgveda some hints against the king or his clan but we find nothing of the kind. In hymn 33 of the Book we find Viśvāmitra taking the Bharatas across the Beas and the Sutlej, seemingly eastward,[3] and hymn 53, which makes reference

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1 Ṛv. VII. 18.

2 वसिष्ठो हतपुत्रोऽकामयत विन्देय प्रजामभि सौदासान् भवेयमिति etc.

3 Notice that Vipāś is mentioned before Śutudrī in the hymn and it must have come earlier in the march. The natural conclusion therefore is that Viśvāmitra marched from west to east or south-east and not the other way.

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to this crossing in verse 9 shows from verse 11 onwards that Viśvāmitra is taking on Sudās to further conquests. These are the only two places in the Third Maṇḍala where we have mention of Sudās or his Bharatas and in both places Viśvāmitra appears as his friend. Further, in III. 23 we find two Bharata princes, Devaśravas and Devavāta mentioned as having kindled fire on the banks of the Sarasvatī, the Dṛṣadvatī and the Āpayā, and this cannot be understood if Viśvāmitra fell out with Sudās and his Bharatas, and tried to ruin him by leading against him a host of ten kings.

I have already mentioned that the details of the battle are not clear. But one thing is sure, that Sudās's adversaries tried to overcome his army by breaking the dam of the Ravi or some such device, but they were themselves carried away by the stream (VII. 18. 5 ff.). Sudās seems to have made good his escape by a clever retreat (सखा सखायमतरद्विषूचीः, "the friend Indra rescued his friend Sudās from both the sides" v. 6d). One feels that Viśvāmitra is ridiculing this real retreat which Vasiṣṭha was bragging as victory due to his advice and intercession with Indra, when Viśvāmitra says in III. 53. 24 that before he joined the Bharatas, they knew only to move off and not to march forward but now they push on their horses in battle as swiftly as the released bow-string.[1] When Vasiṣṭha had joined Sudās's services he too had boasted that before his coming, the Bharatas were like cowherds' sticks, stripped and poor, but as soon as Vasiṣṭha became their priest the Tṛtsu people began to swell.[2] Viśvāmitra's vaunt seems to be a reply to Vasiṣṭha's and is fully justified because Sudās's career as a conqueror and a coloniser of non-Aryan lands (III. 53-14) begins after Viśvāmitra joins him. That the priests in Vedic times were advisers in battle and leaders in colonisation is further corroborated by the well-known story of Māthava Videgha and Gautama Rāhūgaṇa in Satapatha Brāhmaṇa I. 4. 3. 10ff. It becomes thus extremely difficult to suppose that Viśvāmitra preceded Vasiṣṭha in Sudās's priesthood. Consequently he could not have brought about the League of Ten Kings.

But are there any indications in the Ṛgveda as to what priest was watching the interests of Sudās's adversaries when Vasiṣṭha was aiding him? Probably there are. That both Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha

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1 इम इन्द्र भरतस्य पुत्रा अपपित्वं चिकितुर्न प्रपित्वम् ।
हिन्वन्त्यश्वमरणं न नित्यं ज्यावाजं परिणयन्त्याजौ ॥

2 दण्डा इवेद्गोअजनास आसन् परिच्छिन्ना भरता अर्भकासः ।
अभवच्च पुरएता वसिष्ठ आदित्ते सूनां विशो अप्रथन्त ॥

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brag that they increased the power and prestige of Sudās and his Bharatas after they joined his services shows that both of them had predecessors in the office. And Vasiṣṭha's predecessors seem to have been the Bharadvājas. They were the priests of Divodāsa (VI. 16. 19 etc.)[1] who according to the explicit statement in VII. 18. 25 b (दिवोदासं न पितरं सुदासः) was the father of Sudās. The Bharadvājas also connect themselves with the Bharatas (VI. 16.4.19) and with a Kṣatraśrī, son of Pratardana in VI. 26.8. Pratardana, we know from other sources, was a son of Divodāsa.[2] Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā XXI. 10[3] refers to Bharadvāja having helped Pratardana to get a kingdom. It is clear thus that the Bharadvājas were connected with Sudās's family, but that he himself did not have much to do with them. If he rejected them in favour of the Vasiṣṭhas or they championed the cause of Pratardana's succession instead of his own (K. S. XXI. 10), then it is not impossible that the estranged Bharadvājas should have some hand in the Dāśarājña Battle. The authors of the Vedic Index believe that there is "clear reference (In VII. 18) to the ruin Viśvāmitra brought on his allies." We have instead a wish for the conquest of Pūru "of unavailing speech in worship" (विदथे मृध्रवाचम् VII. 18.13). The meaning I assign to मृध्रवाचम् is borne out by VII. 18.9 [.....सुदास इन्द्रः सुतुकाँ अभिवानरन्मयन्मानुषे वध्रिवाचः (of impotent speech)] and the fact that मृधा, seemingly connected with मृध्र, means in the later language 'false.' The Bharadvājas seem to be the priests of these Pūrus too (VI. 20.10) and it is not impossible that Sudās's battle had some intimate connection with a feud with the Pūrus,[4] for the hymn describing the battle expresses a wish for the conquest of the Pūrus and another hymn in the same collection (VII. 8. 4) refers to this conquest having been achieved. Any more definite information than this seems at present unavailable in our texts.[5]

KSHETREŚACHANDRA CHAṬṬOPĀDHYĀYA

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1 आग्निरगामि भारती वयद्वा पुरुचेतनः। दिवोदासस्य सत्पतिः॥

2 Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa, XXVI. 5 ; Kauṣītakī Upaniṣad, III. 1.

3 एनेन ह स्म वै भरद्वाजः प्रतर्दनं संनह्यन्नेति ततो वै स राष्ट्रम् अभवत् (=अजयत्).

4 I have shown in my *Identification of the Ṛgvedic River Sarasvatī* etc., pp. 55-6, that RV. I. 63-7, VI. 20-10 and I. 130. 7 prove that the Bharatas were closely connected with the Pūrus and very likely as a branch of the same clan.

5 For a fuller treatment of some of these points see my paper referred to above, pp. 53-63.

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The Administration of the Delhi Empire in the pre-Mughal period

The fall of Pṛthvīrāj in the second battle of Tarāin and the consequent establishment of the Muhammadan power in India, brought about important changes in the political atmosphere of this country and imparted freshness and a new vigour into the Indian soil. The new powers began to formulate rules and regulations for the proper administration of the country. The system of Government, which the pre-Mughal sovereigns devised for the administration of India was borrowed mainly from the country from which they came. The administrative system which they established was military in its origin and it retained its military character to the end.

Like other Muhammadan states, the Delhi Empire in the pre-Mughal period was a theocratic one with the Emperor as its vicegerent upon earth. The sovereign was thus the head of the church and state—the powers of Pope and Cæsar combined in one hand. He was thus all-powerful in the state both in things spiritual and temporal. Although in strict theory he "was responsible to the general body of the Muhammadans for the proper discharge of his duties, in practice he was an absolute autocrat responsible to nobody," his actions were tempered only "by his fear of the Muslim soldiery and his reluctance to incur social odium."[1] (Sarkar's Mughal Administration. p. 27). No constitutional body like the parliament of these days in England to enforce its will upon the sovereign and checkmate his whims and caprices was ever framed or conceived of by the Muhammadan legislators of that age. Of course, there was an advisory council and we get references of this council in almost all the leading Persian authorities of this period but the power and status of this council depended primarily on the will of the reigning sovereign. First, the council consisted of some of the high officials of the state whom the king could confide upon and who were the creation of the king himself. The council was thus a nominated body and not a popular or representative body elected by the people themselves. It sat only when the king summoned it and its principal function was to

1 The same remark was true in the pre-Mughal period.

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advise him on certain important matters of state which came up for discussion and not to enforce its will upon him; he was free either to accept the advice of the council or to reject it and in fact, whenever the interest of the king ran counter to that of the council, he rejected its proposal. If necessary the council was dissolved and new men to suit his will were again taken in, in place of the old members; so, the existence of the council depended solely on the caprice of the reigning sovereign. A council which was the creation of the king himself and which depended on the will of the sovereign for its existence could not be expected to serve, in any way, as a check upon the autocratic action of the sovereign.

Writing about the reign of Alauddin Khilji, Nizamuddin Ahmed says in his Tabaqat-i-Akbari, "Although in the early period of his reign he used to take counsel with people about matters of policy, and allowed them to interfere in them, yet in his later years, when his mind was free from anxiety about everything, and all his political projects ended according to his wishes, he did whatever came into his thoughts, and accorded with his views and did not take counsel with any one in such matters" (i. De, Tabaqat-i-Akbari, p. 185; ii. Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Persian text, p. 168). The above sentence throws a good deal of light on the status and position of a council in those days. In another place writing about the reign of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq, the same author says, "He granted them (some nobles) permission to sit in his assemblies and consulted them about the laws and rules which previous Sultans had framed for securing the stability of their empires and for regulating the affairs of the people." (De, Tabaqat-i-Akbari, p. 209). It clearly shows that Ghiyasuddin Tughlak acted with the advice of his council.

Sultans like Altamash (Raverty, Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 731), Balban (Briggs' Ferishta, vol. 1, p. 255) and Jalaluddin Khilji (De, op. cit. p. 145) generally took the advice of the council before taking any important step in any direction. The importance which Balban attached to the advisory council can be best shown in the following line of advice which he gave to his son, Muhammad Sultan, "Do not attempt anything without consulting wise men," (i. De, Tabaqat-i-Akbari, p. 107, ii. Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Persian text, p. 91), thereby referring to the advisory council.

In Tabaqat-i-Nasiri (Raverty, p. 731) we find reference to the President of the council during the reign of Altamash. Reference about the same office is also found in the Tabaqat-i-Akbari (De, Taba-

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qat-i-Akbari, p. 153 (ii) Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Persian text, p. 138) towards the beginning of the reign of Alauddin when Sanjar who was brother-in-law of the Emperor and who was given the title of Ali Khan was entrusted with this post ; so it is clear that there was also a "President of the Council"—which is of absolute necessity for the working up of every Council.

Next in importance to the king was the post of Wazārat-i-Mamālik or Wazir-ship of the realm (Raverty, Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 698) which corresponds to the modern Premiership ; the very title indicates that the person who was entrusted with this high position had enormous powers in his hands and that all other officers of the state were his subordinates ; but it must also be borne in mind that, in practice, his power increased or decreased according to the temperament of the reigning sovereign. During the reign of Alauddin Khilji or Muhammad Tughlaq the position of the Wazir was no better than a Secretary to register his will or to follow his instruction but the state of things was otherwise during the reign of Sultan Nasiruddin or Mubaraq Shah—the former entrusted much of his work to the Wazir in order to devote his time to religious pursuits, but the latter wasted his time in frivolous amusements and cared little about the administration of the kingdom. During the reign of such sovereigns the Wazir became actually all-powerful in the state. It need also hardly be said that the Wazir being the nearest person to the king enjoyed the confidence of the sovereign in a degree which no other official did. The Exchequer and Revenue Officer were under his control. During the reign of Firuz Tughlaq we clearly find that the state industries, Royal Mint and Public Works were also under his control (Elliot, vol. III, pp. 355, 357-59) There were other ministers subordinate to him, each in charge of a department, but these ministers may best be termed as secretaries instead of ministers because they had very little independent position and their works were liable to supervision by the Wazir. Among the Secretaries the most important of which we get reference were :—Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Secretary for Petitions, Secretary for Correspondence (De, Tabaqat-i-Akbari, p. 126 ; Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Persian text, p. 111); and Secretary for Commerce (De, Tabaqat-i-Akbari, p. 154).

The Imperial Household and Kārkhānās

From the available sources we get a lucid idea about the management of the Royal Household—the only point, about which no

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material is still forthcoming, is whether there was any post similar to the Khani-Saman or High Steward of the Mughal period. The systematic arrangement of the separate departments in which the Royal Household was divided and its management lead us to the conclusion that there was certainly a similar office in the pre-Mughal time. The Household was divided into several branches, each branch in charge of a separate officer; among those branches the following may be mentioned:—(i) the kitchen, which was in charge of Chashnigir or "comptroller of the (royal) kitchen." (Raverty, Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, pp. 723, 736); (ii) wardrobe in charge of Sar Jamader or "Head-keeper of the wardrobe" (Raverty, Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 758) (iii) bed-chamber in charge of a nobleman (Briggs' Ferishta, vol. 1, p. 451) (iv) harem in charge of Malik Dinar or "keeper of the harem" (De, Tabaqat-i-Akbari, p. 164); (v) elephant stable, horse-stable and camel stable—each in charge of an officer. From the writing of Shamsi-Afif in Tarikhi Feroj Shahi we get a good account about the working and management of the Royal Household and those of the Kārkhānās in the reign of Firuz Tughlaq; he says, "Sultan Firuz had 36 royal establishments, for which enormous supplies of articles were collected .....and the annual outlay on which was very large. Some of them were in receipt of a regular payment (rāyati); others had no fixed income (ghairrayati). Thus among the rāyati establishments there were the elephant, horse and camel stables, the kitchen, the butlery, the candle department, the dog-kennels, the water-cooling department and other similar establishments. These received a regular monthly allowance of one lac and sixty thousand tankās for their expenses in addition to which there was the cost of their furniture and the monthly salaries of the accountants and other officers which also amounted to one lac and sixty thousand silver tankās. In the establishments which received no regular allowance, such as the wardrobe, the alamkhānā or insignia, the carpet stores and the like, new goods were procured every year according to orders given. In the winter season six lacs of tankās were expended on the wardrobe, besides the outlay for the spring and summer. 80,000 tankās were expended on the alamkhana in the purchase of articles, besides the salaries of the accountants and the wages of the work people. About 2 lacs of tankās were expended in the carpet department. Each of these establishments was under the charge of a khan or mālik of high rank—Khwaja Abul Hasen Khan was charged with the general superintendence of all the Kārkhānās and through him all orders were issued to the respective

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establishments. There was a separate financial department (Dewan Khana) for the Kārkhānās in which the general accounts were kept, but the accounts were rendered to, and recorded in, the Exchequer (Dewan-i-wazarat). So the Exchequer not only kept an account of the land revenues (iktā) but also of the expenditure of the Kārkhānās (Elliot, vol. III, pp. 356-357).

Dewan-i-wazarat

Dewan-i-wazarat was a very well organised department under the Delhi Sultanate in the pre-Mughal period. This office kept an account of all the departments of the empire. It kept an account of the land revenues and although there was a separate financial department (Dewan-khana) for the Kārkhānās, their accounts were also received and finally checked in this office. Writing about the reign of Firoz, Shamsi Afif says, "The managers (Muharrir) of the Kārkhānās also had to attend in the Exchequer at the end of every year and present abstracts of their accounts, showing the balance of cash and the stores of goods." The fief-holders also had to submit an account every year to this office. On this, the same author says, "In this reign there were audits of the accounts of the fiefs. When the feudatory came up from his fief to court, he was brought before the Exchequer, where an audit of his accounts was held and the results were reported to the throne. The balance was struck and the chieftain was questioned, after which he was sent back at once to his fief." (Elliot, vol. III, pp. 356-357). In this manner the accounts of all the departments were submitted to this office for final audit. Under Firūz Tughlaq this department attained great perfection and many corruptions were checked with the help of this office. In the reign of Sikandar Lūdī also the rule of audit and inspection of accounts were strictly adhered to and cases of defalcation and embezzlement were brought to justice whenever detected irrespective of status or position (Brigg's Ferishta, I, p. 574).

The Judiciary

The Emperor was the highest court of justice in the realm and we find innumerable instances of the Emperors dispensing justice in their own fashion. Next to him was the chief Kazi of the Empire (De, Tabaqat-i-Akbari, p. 154; Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Persian text, p. 139) who was, as his title signifies, the head of all Kazis of the Empire in matters of law and justice. Every provincial capital

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had a Kazi and besides many other places of importance had also a Kazi. In this connection the names of some of the important places which had a Kazi may be mentioned :— Delhi (De, Tabaqat-i-Akbari; p. 209), Badoan (Brigg's Ferishta, vol. I, p. 377; De, Tabaqat-i-Akbari, pp. 142,186), Gwalior (Raverty, Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, pp. 644, 667), Oudh (Raverty, Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 664 ; De, op. cit., p. 186), Malwa, Gujrat (De, op. cit., p. 218), Kurra (Brigg's Ferishta, vol. I, p. 377), Bengal and the Deccan (De, op. cit., p. 209). There were also Kazis for the purpose of administering justice in the army. But we do not know what was the jurisdiction of each of these Kazis and it seemed, moreover, that the smaller towns and villages had no Kazi of their own and no reference is found of Kazis being appointed in these places. How the litigations of these places were disposed of we do not know definitely but it seems probable that they were left at the mercy of the village panchayats and local arbitration which were still prevalent in India. So as regards justice the people of these places practically derived no benefit from the Government. And, moreover, even in those big places where Kazis were appointed their number was very insufficient in proportion to the number of cases to be tried by them and their jurisdiction was extremely large, so, the litigants had to undergo great difficulties and to wait a long time before their grievances might be redressed.

In those days the main defects of the judicial department were that there was no regular organization of courts from the highest to the lowest or a judicious division of the area to be served by each court. Moreover, justice was administered in a "rough and ready fashion" and no written judgment was passed.

Offences which required severe punishment, were :—(1) "perversion from the true faith, (2) deliberate murder, (3) adultery by a man whose wife was living, with a woman whose husband was also living, (4) treason against the sovereign, (5) heading an insurrection and attempting to cause a revolution, (6) siding with the enemies of the sovereign and helping and aiding them by supplying intelligence and weapons, and (7) disobeying the orders of the sovereign and treating them with contumely." [(i) De, Tabaqat-i-Akbari, p. 233) ; (ii) Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Persian text, p. 217)]. The lot of the criminal was very hard and the mode of punishment extremely rough which may be best described in the words of Ferishta as follows :—"It has been usual..... to spill Muhammadan blood on trivial occasions, and for small crimes,

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to mutilate and torture them, by cutting off the hands and feet, and noses and ears, by putting out eyes, by pulversing the bones of the living criminal with mallets, by burning the body with fire, by crucifixtion and by nailing the hands and feet, by flaying alive, by the operation of ham-stringing, and by cutting human beings to pieces." (Brigg's Ferishta, vol. I, pp. 462-463). These things continued till the reign of Fīrūj Tughlak who being moved by these horrors made an attempt to put a stop to many of these cruel practices but they were too deep-rooted in the soil to be stopped by one stroke of the pen; they might have been mitigated to some extent during his lifetime but after his death things reverted to the old order and throughout the mediæval period of Indian history we find almost the same picture.

JOGINDRA NATH CHOWDHURI

The Caste of Candragupta Maurya*

The controversy over the caste of the Mauryas is not of very old origin. Every one is familiar with the tradition that makes him a scion of the Nanda dynasty and his family name a derivative of Murā, his low-caste mother or grandmother. The Buddhist traditions were not seriously considered but by scholars who made the Buddhist scriptures their sole authority.[1]

The Hindu tradition of his being a Śūdra was first seriously doubted in an interesting paper by Mr. Haritkrishna Deb.[2] Since then scholars have become more and more willing to regard Candragupta a kṣatriya. Dr. Smith agreed with Mr. Deb.[3] Dr. Hemchandra

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* This paper was read before the Oriental Society, Allahabad University.

1 I leave wholly out of account Dr. Spooner's theory of the Zoroastrian origin of the Mauryas. The 'Spoonerian Zoroastrianism', as Dr. Subimal Chandra Sarkar calls it, has already been criticized by scholars and the controversy need not be reopened.

2 *JBORS.*, 1918, pp. 91-94.

3 Smith, *EHI.* (4th edition) p. 44, n. 1.

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Ray Chaudhuri, after many forceful arguments, comes to the same conclusion as Mr. Deb, though on totally different grounds.[1] I shall here gather all evidences available on the subject. Though in the main I shall agree with the statements of Mr. Deb and Dr. Ray Chaudhuri, and especially with the latter, I shall show how some of their arguments are untenable.

Mr. Deb's arguments are briefly as follows: The *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* of the Kashmirian poet, Kṣemendra, as well as the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva make Candragupta the son of Pūrvananda, the previous Nanda. The passages concerned are:

योगनन्दे यशःशेषे पूर्वनन्दसुतस्ततः ।
चन्द्रगुप्तो हतो राजा चाणक्येन महौजसा ॥[2]

महामन्त्री ह्ययं स्वेच्छमचिरात्त्वां विनाशयेत् ।
पूर्वनन्दसुतं कुर्याच् चन्द्रगुप्तं हि भूमिपम् ॥[3]

पूर्वनन्दसुते लक्ष्मीश्चन्द्रगुप्ते निवेशिता ॥[4]

The Pūrvanandas, according to Messrs Deb and Jayaswal, formed a Kṣatriya dynasty, as distinguished from the Navanandas, the new Nandas, who were certainly Śūdras.

The next argument of Mr. Deb is based on a passage in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, where Kauṭilya declares that a weak but highborn king is preferable to a low-born but strong king. The passage in question is:

नवेऽप्यभिजातोऽनभिजात इति। दुर्बलोऽभिजातो बलवाननभिजातो राजेति। ... ... दुर्बलमभिजातं प्रकृतयः स्वयमुपनमन्ति। बलवतश्चानभिजातस्योपजापं विसंवादयन्ति।[5]

Such a passage cannot come from the minister of a Śūdra king.

Mr. Deb then turns to the *Mudrārākṣasa*, a political drama that has for its subject-matter the revolution in Magadha. In this drama, Cāṇakya uninformly addresses Candragupta as *Vṛṣala*, the dictionary meaning of which word is Śūdra. What could Cāṇakya gain, says

1 Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, (2nd edition) pp. 165 and 225.
2 *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, Lévi's edition, p. 47.
3 *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Bomb. Edn. 2, p. 10.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 14.
5 *Arthaśāstra*, Mysore 2nd edn., p. 326.

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Mr. Deb, by constantly drawing pointed attention to his master's low birth ? Cāṇakya always addresses Candragupta, according to him, with the derivatives of *bhavat*, generally supposed to correspond to Hindi आप and Bengali आपनि. This is utterly incompatible with *Vṛṣala*. Then he proceeds to make an ingenious suggestion on the basis of a manuscript of the drama preserved in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. This manuscript, written in the Bengali script, substitutes *Vṛṣabha*, 'a hero' 'a brave man' in place of *Vṛṣala*. A similar confusion between the two words is also found in some cases in the Purāṇas.[1]

Dr. Ray Chaudhuri's arguments are as follows: The *Mahāvaṃsa* represents Candragupta as a scion of the Moriya clan:

मोरियानं खत्तियानं वंसे जातं सिरीधरं ।
चंदगुत्तो ति पञ्ञातं चानक्को ब्राह्मणो ततो ॥
नवमं धननन्दं तं घातेत्वा चण्डकोधवा ।
सकलं जंबूदीपस्मिं रज्जे समभिसिंचि सो ॥[2]

This Moriya clan, according to the *Mahāparinibbānasuttanta*, an ancient Pāli text, lived in Pipphalivana and belonged to the kṣatriya caste.

अथ खो पिप्फलिवनिया मोरिया कोसिनारकानं मल्लानं दूतं पाहेसुं 'भगवा पि खत्तियो मयं पि खत्तिया'।[3]

In the *Divyāvadāna*, Bindusāra says to a girl:

त्वं नापितो अहं राजा चत्रियो मूर्धाभिषिक्तः कथं मया सार्धं समागमो भविष्यति ।[4]

In the same work, Aśoka says to one of his queens:

देवि, अहं चत्रियः कथं पलाण्डुं परिभक्षयामि ।[5]

Dr. Ray Chaudhuri's last argument is that in a Mysore Inscription of the 14th century, Candragupta is called 'an abode of the usages of eminent kṣatriyas.[1]

The latter arguments are quite valid and must be regarded as final. But Mr. Deb has run to the extreme, and has made some untenable

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1 Pargiter, *DKA*, pp. 28, 37.

2 Geiger, *Mahāvaṃsa*, P. T. S., p. 30.

3 *Mahāparinibbānasuttanta*, vi. 26, in the *Dīgha Nikāya*, P. T. S., vol. II, p. 166.

4 Cowell & Neil, *Divyāvadāna*, p. 370.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 409.

6 Rice, *Mysore & Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 10.

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remarks. He has asked, what could Cāṇakya gain by constantly drawing pointed attention to his master's low caste? The reply to his question is given in the drama itself, when a Kañcukin, wondering at the power of Cāṇakya says:

तत् स्थाने खलु वृषलो देवश्चन्द्रगुप्तः ... ...
निरीहाणामीशस्तृणमिव तिरस्कारविषयः ॥[1]

'It is proper that king Candragupta would be a Vṛṣala to him. To the desireless, kings are objects of disrespect, as if they were straws'.

Cāṇakya addresses Candragupta, according to Mr. Deb., with the derivatives of *bhavat*. If he did, it was not incompatible with *Vṛṣala*; for passages can be quoted in hundreds from classical Sanskrit literature where kings address menials with *bhavat*.[2] It appears that there was actually no distinction between *tvam* and *bhavān*. The only places where Cāṇakya and Candragupta meet in the drama are Acts III and VIII, in all of which places Candragupta is addressed with the derivatives of *Yuṣmad*. Only twice towards the end of the drama is he addressed with *bhavat*; it is also to be marked that he is no longer called *Vṛṣala* there.

Equally untenable is his argument that *Vṛṣabha* is the correct reading instead of *Vṛṣala*. For, not only does Cāṇakya address him by that term, but sometimes Rākṣasa too, e.g.

पतिं त्यक्त्वा देवं भुवनपतिमुच्चैरभिजनं
गता छिद्रेण श्रीर्वृषलमविनीतेव वृषली ॥[3]

We cannot even imagine that the deadliest of Candragupta's enemies would even address him with such an honorific as *vṛṣabha*. Moreover *vṛṣala* and *vṛṣalī* have been put in juxtaposition here in order to show their relation and to take advantage of a possible alliteration.

I shall quote one more passage in connection with this *Vṛṣabha* problem. The passage is uttered by Cāṇakya:

नन्दैर्वियुक्तमनपेक्षितराजराजै-
रध्यासितं च वृषलेन वृषेण राज्ञाम् ॥[4]

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1 *Mudrārākṣasa*, Act III, śl. 16.

2 E.g. *Śakuntalā*, Act II (N. S. P., 1922, p. 68, Cappeller, p. 20) राजा— (परिजनं विलोक्य) अपनयन्तु भवन्तो मृगयावेशम् ।

3 Mudrārākṣasa Act VI, śl. 6.

4 Ibid., Act III, śl. 18.

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Anyone knowing Sanskrit would understand how it would be a redundant expression, if not actually a fault, if instead of वृषलेन वृषेण राज्ञाम् we read वृषभेण वृषेण राज्ञाम्। Cāṇakya addresses Candragupta as *Vṛṣala* even when he is angry, as in numerous passages in Act III; when in indignation, one would hardly address the object of his anger with such terms as *Vṛṣabha*.

Thus we have to face facts as they are. The author of the *Mudrārākṣasa* knows that Candragupta is a low-caste man. It is the manuscript of Mr. Deb that is in the wrong. The confusion between the two words may be accidental or deliberate. In the Allahabad Praśasti of Samudra-Gupta, the two letters *bha* and *la* look somewhat alike and a confusion is not impossible. Even in modern Devanāgarī, there is such a possibility.

Mr. Jayaswal argues that there were two Nanda dynasties in Magadha, the first consisting of Nandi(-a-)vardhana and Mahānandin and the second of Mahāpadma and his eight sons. This suggestion is based on the *Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, where both the words Pūrvananda and Yogananda occur.[1] But in both these works, Pūrvananda is distinguished from Yogananda but not from Navananda. And all traditions agree in interpreting *Navanandāḥ* as Nine Nandas and not new Nandas. For these reasons Mr. Jayaswal's theory has not been accepted by scholars.

The tradition that Candragupta was the son of Nanda is known also to the author of the Mudrārākṣasa. Some of the passages showing this may be quoted :—

चिरं धुर्येणोढा गुरुरपि भुवो यास्य गुरुणा ॥
धरं तामेवीचैर्नवव्यसि वोढुं व्यवसितः

Again:

नन्दान्वय एवायमिति सुहृज्जनापेक्षया चामात्यराक्षसश्चन्द्रगुप्तेन सह संदधीत ।[2]

Thus the *Mudrārākṣasa*, the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* know of the origin of Candragupta from Nanda. It is well known that the latter two books are based on Guṇādhya's *Bṛhatkathā*, a book written in Paiśācī Prākṛt in the 1st century B.C. or A.D. Unfortunately this book is now lost, and we cannot ascertain what were the exact contents of the book. From a passage in the *Avaloka* of

1 *JBORS*, 1915, pp. 87ff.
2 Act III, śl. 3.
3 Act IV.

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Dhanika, a commentary on Dhanañjaya's *Daśarūpaka*,[1] it is evident that the *Mudrārākṣasa* derived its plot from the *Bṛhatkathā* :

तव बृहत्कथामूलं मुद्राराक्षसम्—

चाणक्यनाम्ना तेनाथ शकटारगृहे रहः ।

कृत्यां विधाय सहसा सपुत्रो निहतो नृपः ॥

योगानन्दयशःशेषे पूर्वनन्दसुतस्ततः ।

चन्द्रगुप्तः कृतो राजा चाणक्येन महौजसा ॥

इति बृहत्कथायां सूचितम् ॥

Thus when three independent works, all claiming the same book as their original, represent Candragupta as a scion of the Nanda dynasty, we may reasonably conclude that the *Bṛhatkathā* too contained this tradition.

The saying that Candragupta was the son of Murā, a low-born woman, by Nanda, is not corroborated by any reliable authority. Dhuṇḍhirāja, the commentator of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, gives the following genealogy of Candragupta :

King Sarvārthasiddhi had two queens, Sunandā and Murā. From Sunandā was born the Nandas and from Murā Maurya. Maurya's son was Candragupta.

We should place little confidence on this genealogy given by a commentator writing in as late a period as 1635 Śaka Year i.e. 1713 A.D. This is in direct conflict with the story of the drama itself, which makes Sarvārthasiddhi a cousin of the Nandas, placed on the throne as a stop gap after the destruction of the Nandas. The Murā tradition was a later creation, probably to give a satisfactory solution to Candragupta's family name Maurya in harmony with his Vṛṣala caste mentioned in the *Mudrārākṣasa*. Thus it is evident that if we connect Candragupta with the Nandas, we cannot offer any interpretation to his family name Maurya.

The Purāṇas offer us no solution here. The general reading of the Matsya, Varāha and Brahmāṇḍa is :

इत्येते नव मौर्या वै भोक्ष्यन्ति च वसुन्धराम् ।

सप्तत्रिंशच्छतं पूर्णं तेभ्यः शुङ्गं गमिष्यति ।[2]

The Vāyu Manuscript (d) of Pargiter reads इत्येते नन्दसम्भूताः । This is evidently an intentional variation to suit the traditional Nanda origin

1 Under I, 68 of Dhanañjaya. Nirṇayasāgara Edn. p. 34.

2 Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

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of the Mauryas. Another manuscript reads : कलौ कुरुकुलोद्भवाः। This is obviously a wrong reading and may be discarded.

There is only one sentence in the classical histories which concerns our subject. This is from Justin : "This man (Sandrocottos) was of mean origin."[1] This does not lead us far because it can be taken to suit equally whether Candragupta is taken as a Śūdra or as a Kṣatriya of humble birth.

Thus for a satisfactory solution of the problem, we have to fall back on the Buddhist sources, which have been quoted at length in connection with Dr. Ray Chaudhuri's arguments. They say, to put in brief, that Candragupta was a descendent of the Moriyas, a noble Kṣatriya clan of Pipphalivana. As the *Mahāparinibbānasuttanta* is a fairly old text, at least older than any Hindu authority available on the subject, and as its evidence is supported by a distinctly separate tradition preserved in the *Divyāvadāna*, we may accept its testimony as trustworthy. But we should not forget that most of the arguments of Mr. Haritkrishna Deb are not sound, and some of them must be summarily rejected. Nor should we forget that the *Bṛhatkathā* probably knew Candragupta to be a scion of the Nanda dynasty, and that this origin is supported by one manuscript of the Vāyu Purāṇa.

The seemingly contradictory statements of the Buddhists and the Brāhmaṇas, I think, can be reconciled. The dictionary meaning of the word *vṛṣala* is śūdra. But in early books in Sanskrit we find the word used in a different sense. Mr. Jayaswal, in a note to Mr. Deb's paper, informs us that according to the *Mahābhārata* the word means a 'heretic.' The *Arthaśāstra* uses the word in two places. The passages are :

परिव्राजिका वत्तिकामा दरिद्रा विधवा प्रगल्भा ब्राह्मणी अन्तःपुरे कृतसत्कारा महामात्रकुलान्यधिगच्छेत्। एतया मुण्डा वषल्यो व्याख्याताः।[2] and

कुलनीवीग्राहकस्यापव्ययने, विधवां छन्दवासिनीं प्रसह्याधिचरतः, चण्डालस्यार्थां स्पृशतः, प्रत्यासन्नमापदि अनभिधावतो, निष्कारणमभिधावनं कुर्वतः, शाक्याजीवकादीन् वृषलप्रव्रजितान् देवपितृकार्येषु भोजयतः शत्यो दण्डः।[3]

Dr. Shamasastry has taken the word to mean a Śūdra at both places[4] and it is not an altogether absurd meaning. But the meaning

1 McCrindle, *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, 2, p. 327.
2 *Arthaśāstra*, Mysore Edn. p. 20. 3 *Ibid.*, p. 199.
4 Shamasastry, *Arthaśāstra* (translation), Bangalore, 1929, pp. 20 and 224.

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'heretic' or 'particular sect of heretics' would suit the context better. For in the first passage, which is about the spies, the inspiring of confidence in the suspected is the main thing and a Śūdra woman would be the last person to be trusted and in the second passage *vṛṣala* is mentioned with other heretical sects, and it appears that '*Śākyājīvakādīn*' is an adjective of '*vṛṣalapravrajitān.*' So the whole passage should be thus translated. 'Any one entertaining in dinners dedicated to gods, or ancestors, heretical ascetics belonging to the Śākya (Buddhist) and Ājīvaka (partly Jain) sects, shall be fined a hundred paṇas.'

Here the *Manusmṛti* would help us. Dr. Bühler has shown that it cannot be earlier than the 2nd century B.C. and later than the 2nd century A.D.[1] The references to Brāhmaṇical supremacy in social, religious, and even in political fields would certainly leave the impression that it was written in a period of Brāhmaṇical ascendancy, and there are two interesting ślokas in the book :

शस्त्रं द्विजातिभिर्ग्राह्यं धर्मो यत्रोपरुध्यते ।
द्विजातीनां च वर्णानां विप्लवे कालकारिते ॥

and

सैनापत्यं च राज्यं च दण्डनेतृत्वमेव च ।
सर्वलोकाधिपत्यं च वेदशास्त्रविदर्हति ॥[2]

In these ślokas Mr. Jayaswal rightly sees an attempt to justify the usurpation of the throne by the Brāhmaṇa Puṣyamitra in c. 185 B.C., so that we may place the Dharmaśāstra in a period nearer to the 2nd century B.C. than to the 2nd century A.D.

The *Manusmṛti* is quite clear on the point that *Vṛṣala* was either the general name of the heretics or the name of a particular anti-Brāhmaṇical sect:

शनकैस्तु क्रियालोपादिमाः क्षत्रियजातयः ।
वृषलत्वं गता लोके ब्राह्मणादर्शनेन च ॥[3]

In the list of such tribes that follows, we do not find mention of the Moriyas ; nor is it wise to think that the list is to be taken very seriously. But the śloka is of immense importance to us, because it tells us the true origin of the Vṛṣalas.

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1 SBE., vol. xv., Introduction.
2 VIII, 348 2 XII, 100.
3 X. 43. Jolly reads ब्राह्मणातिक्रमेण च, which is better.

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There is another śloka in the *Manusmṛti* which strengthens our conviction all the more:

वृषो हि भगवान्धर्मस्तस्य यः कुरुते ह्यलम् ।
वृषलं तं विदुर्देवास्तस्माद् धर्मं न लोपयेत् ॥[1]

The verse occurs in a context whence it appears certain that it refers to the duties of a king. The interpretation is fanciful; but it seems that within the living memory of the people was a king or a dynasty of kings, who on account of violating the Brāhmaṇical religion had been styled Vṛṣala.

But there is another śloka where the word occurs distinctly in the sense of a Śūdra:

वृषलीफेनपीतस्य निःश्वासोपहतस्य च ।
तस्यां चैव प्रसूतस्य निष्कृतिर्न विधीयते ॥[2]

Two explanations of the inconsistent use of the word is possible. One is that the word was now in a stage of transition from its original meaning of a heretic to its later meaning of śūdra. Another suggestion is that the śloka is an interpolation. For in the ślokas preceding it we find sanction for Brāhmaṇas to marry Śūdra women. This was utterly unsuitable to the taste of the later Brāhmaṇas, and so, instead of altering the whole text, they inserted a śloka with a view to prohibit such intermarriages.

Had Candragupta any heretical tendencies? According to Thomas 'the testimony of Megasthenes would seem to imply that Candragupta submitted to the devotional teaching of the śramaṇas as opposed to the doctrine of the Brāhmaṇas.'[3] Rice vigorously held that Candragupta was a Jaina.[4] We may, however, regard the matter as undecided. But were not the activities of Aśoka alone sufficient to provoke the Brāhmaṇas to a hatred for the same dynasty? I am awake to the arguments of Dr. Ray Chaudhuri[5] that none of the activities of Aśoka was directed against the Brāhmaṇas. But it can no longer be doubted that it was Buddhism that Aśoka propagated,[6]

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1 VIII. 16. 2 III. 19.

3 *Early Faith of Aśoka*, p. 23.

4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 39. Fleet opposed him in the *Ind. Ant.*, 1892 p. 157; *Ep. Ind.*, III. 171 n.

5 *Op. cit.*, pp. 224 ff.

6 Bhandarkar: *Aśoka*, pp. 116 ff.

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and so the missionary work of Aśoka was certainly displeasing to the Brāhmaṇas, and hence they vilified him. A similar instance is found in the case of the Ṛgvedic king Sudās. Vedic literature does not miss an opportunity of extolling the king for his generosity. But the *Manusmṛti* says that Sudās was ruined through want of discipline.[1] The reason has been suggested by Mr. K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya:

'He abandons his hereditary priests, the Bhāradvājas, for a new priestly family, the Vasiṣṭhas, and the Vasiṣṭhas too in favour of Viśvāmitra, who probably did not belong to an old priestly family.'[2] Another parallel case is that of the Vrātya Kṣatriyas, who became degraded, according to Manu, because they became *Sāvitrīparibhraṣṭa*. The list of the Vrātya tribes contains the name of the Licchavis,[3] who were regarded by the Buddhists as pure Kṣatriyas. Thus I have been led to believe that the Mauryas were really Kṣatriyas, and later on became Śūdras in the Brāhmaṇical eyes on account of their heretical tendency. The Buddhists, to whom non-observance of Brāhmaṇical rites was no cause of social degradation, but rather the other way, continued to call them Kṣatriyas, and have recorded the true fact in the *Mahāparinibbānasuttanta*, the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the *Divyāvadāna*.

There may be another reason for the Brāhmaṇas to degrade Candragupta. After defeating Selukas, he married a Greek princess, possibly a daughter of the vanquished sovereign. Our authority for this is Strabo, who says: "Selukas Nikator gave them to Sandrokottos in concluding a marriage alliance, and received in exchange 500 elephants."[4] Even Hindu tradition is aware of this historical fact. The Bhaviṣya Purāṇa says:

चन्द्रगुप्तस्ततः पश्चात्पौरसाधिपतेः सुताम् ।
सुलूवस्य तथोद्वाह्य यावनीं बौद्धतत्परः ॥[5]

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1 VII. 41.

2 *Identification of the Ṛgvedic River Sarasvatī and some connected Problems*, Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, vol. XV, pp. 62.

3 X, 20-22.

4 McCrindle: *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 89.

5 III, 6. 43. Quoted by Jayaswal: *JBORS*, 1915, p. 93. We have got here a further evidence that Candragupta was a Buddhist.

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Thus the whole dynasty had Greek blood in it and this might have given the Brāhmaṇas a just cause for indignation.[1]

We need not wonder that Cāṇakya, a Brāhmaṇa, helped Candragupta, a heretic, to the throne. His motives for doing so were purely political, and scruples of creed-distinctions need not have debarred the statesman from taking advantage of the proper man. Moreover, Candragupta might not have broken away from the Brāhmaṇical fold in his early life, when he was raised to the throne. Like his grandson, he might have turned to be a votary of either of the two heretical sects sometime after establishing his position.

Thus I summarize my conclusions: Candragupta was in reality a high class Kṣatriya of the Moriya clan of Pipphalivana.[2] He married a Greek princess, and possibly embraced a protestant religion. And his grandson though having perfect toleration and respect for the Brāhmaṇas, used the whole energy of the state in the propagation

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1 Three centuries later, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Srī Pulumāyī married the daughter of Rudradāman. But we do not know of any loss of caste that the 'eka-brāhmaṇa' had to undergo. Perhaps Rudradāman was a full-fledged Hindu by this time. Or else the people had now become quite accustomed to such marriages.

2 We often come across attempts to associate the Mauryas with 'peacock.' Some writers have even called the dynasty 'the Peacock dynasty.' Sir John Marshall finds in the peacocks in the lowest architrave of the eastern gateway at Sāñchi 'a special allusion to Aśoka, (*A Guide of Sanchi*, p. 62). Dr. Spooner attributed some punch-marked coins with peacocks on them to the Mauryas (*JRAS*, 1915). Some colour to this theory is lent by the fact that Aśoka could not long give up his habit of taking peacocks (Rock Edict I), flesh of which, Buddhaghoṣa informs us, was delicious to the people of Madhyadeśa (Bhandarkar: *op. cit.*, p. 16). Hemacandra's Pariśiṣṭaparvan says that Candragupta was the daughter's son of the chief of the village named Mayūrapoṣaka (Ray Chaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 225). This, coupled with the fact that peacocks were tamed in the parks of the Indian royal palace (McCrindle: *op. cit.*, p. 141), an information which Aelian got probably from Megasthenes, makes it probable that the Mauryas kept a large number of peacocks to be used as food. But this is all uncertain, and goes against all tradition. This must be rejected, unless there is something in the Buddhist texts to connect the Moriyas with *Mayūra*.

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of Buddhism. For these reasons, the Brāhmaṇas regarded the Mauryas as Vṛṣalas or heretics. Later on, the word *Vṛṣala* changed its significance and came to mean a Śūdra. Hence the Mauryas came to be regarded as Śūdras. The next step was to connect them with their Śūdra predecessors, and to find out a fanciful interpretation of their family name. Thus Candragupta became an illegitimate son of Nanda by Murā, a low caste woman.

AMALANANDA GHOSH

NOTE

In communicating the above paper of my pupil, Mr. Amalananda Ghosh, I have the following remarks to make. The word *vṛṣala* seems to mean *śūdra* in all the three places of the Manusmṛti. The context of X, 43 is the enumeration of the various *Saṃkarajātis* and their functions, and everything seems to be in favour of the tribes and castes mentioned in vv. 43ff. being vile Śūdras in the eyes of our author. In the light of X, 43 we may take वृषलं in VIII, 16, an otherwise colourless verse, to mean शूद्रम्. It should be remembered that धर्म does not mean our 'religion' or 'creed' but duties prescribed by the Śāstras. Mr. Ghosh himself admits that वृषली in III, 19 means a Śūdra woman. As regards the verse being an interpolation, this depends on how we take III, 14-19; my personal impression is that these six verses were added at the very time when the old Mānava Dharma-Sūtra received the present metrical form.[1] I do, however, think that *vṛṣala* could well have meant a heretic in earlier times. Instead of following the etymology suggested by Manu (VIII, 16), I would suppose that the word originally meant 'pious' (*vṛṣa*=dharma+*la*, cf. śrī-la, śrī-ra, madhu-ra etc.), then 'following a religious sect,' then 'a nonconformist, or heretic.' The word *pāṣaṇḍa*, it will be recalled, has a parallel history. Passage, next to the sense of a 'vile Śūdra' is very easy of comprehension. On the question of Candragupta's caste, I would like to emphasize the fact that the Purāṇas really do not call him a Śūdra. ततः प्रभृति राजानो भविष्याः शूद्रयोनयः of Matsya, Vāyu and Brah-

1 I have strong reasons for not following Prof. Hopkins and Mr. Batakrishna Ghosh in rejecting the old hypothesis of a Dharmasūtra original for our Manusmṛti.

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māṇḍa Purāṇas and ततो नृपा भविष्यन्ति शूद्रप्रायास्त्वधार्मिका: in Bhāgavata and Viṣṇu with reference to the Nandas need not make all the succeeding kings Śūdras, for the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas were certainly not Śūdras. Also the *śūdrayoni* or *śūdraprāya* Nandas themselves need not have been considered full Śūdras, simply because Mahāpadma's mother was a Śūdra woman. Inter-caste marriages, *anuloma* and sometimes even *pratiloma*, were prevalent and by constant hypergamy the Nandas may have risen to the status of full Kṣatriyas.[1] Consequently Candragupta could be considered a Kṣatriya, though the son of a Nanda. His Nanda ancestry is fairly well-authenticated, because the Bṛhatkathā seems definite on this point. As regards the name *Maurya*, I think it is a metronymic, of course not meaning Murā-putra, but Moriyā-putra or Moriya-dauhitra. Metronymics like Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāyī, Dākṣīputra Pāṇini etc. are too well known to require citation. Hemacandra actually knew Candragupta to be the daughter's son of a Mayūrapoṣaka (obviously a Mayūrīya or Moriya) king. Consequently Candragupta was perhaps a Maurya only through his mother's line and his successors may have called themselves Mauryas because of the founder of the line having called himself one. A partial parallel may be cited from Gupta history. Candragupta I married a Licchavi princess, and his son by that wife was preferred to the throne, who was proud to call himself a Licchavi dauhitra. Samudragupta's successors kept up that epithet for him in their epigraphs. Similarly the Nanda-born Candragupta may have felt pride in tracing his ancestry on the mother's side to the Mayūrīya (Moriya in Pāli literature and in Prākṛt) Kṣatriyas of Buddha's time.

K. CHAṬṬOPĀDHYĀYA

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1 In later times, however, the Śūdrā-born Mahāpadma and his issues would not be considered Kṣatriyas but Śūdras.

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Rāvaṇa and his Tribe

II

We have compared before (*I.H.Q.*, V, pp. 281ff.) the customs of Rāvaṇa's tribe with those of the Kuis and found that there is little or no difference between the two. Now we enter upon the study of the names of the tribe in Laṅkā. The Kuis are known to the world by a name quite different from what they call themselves by. Their Telugu neighbours call them the 'Khonds,' while the Oriyas give them the name of 'Kandh'. But they take pride in calling themselves 'Kuis'. The Gonds call themselves 'Koitor'.[1]

Scholars like Caldwell and Grierson thought the meaning of the word *Kui* was obscure. Caldwell says "some consider Khond, a kindred word with Gond, and derive both names from the Tamil word *Kundru*, a hill, literally a small hill, the Telugu form of which is *Konda*. This would be a very natural derivation for the name of a hill people; but unfortunately, their nearest neighbours, the Telugus call them not Khonds but Gonds, also Kods; and as they call themselves Kūs, according to Mr. Latchmaji, the author of the grammar of their language, the existence of any connection between their name and *Kundru* or *Konda*, a hill, seems very doubtful. The term *Ku* is evidently allied to *Koi*, the name by which the Gonds call themselves, and which they are fond of lengthening into *Koitor*."

It is right that they should be called Khonds because they live in hills. The Rākṣasas also are given a similar appellation in

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1 "The tribe is commonly known under the name of Khond. The Oriyas call them Kandhs and the Telugu people, Gonds or Kôds. The name which they use themselves is Kū and their language should accordingly be denominated Kui. The word Ku is probably related to Koi, one of the names which the Gonds use to denote themselves. The Koi dialect of Gondi is, however, quite different from Kui" (Grierson).

"It has been asserted, indeed, that all the Gonds, when speaking of themselves in their own language, prefer to call themselves Koitors. This word is plural appellative regularly formed from Koi" (Caldwell).

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the Rāmāyaṇa. They are called the 'Laṅkā-nivāsinaḥ.' In my paper on the aboriginal names in the Rāmāyaṇa, it has been shown that Laṅkā means high, so a hill. 'Laṅkā-nivāsinaḥ' consequently signifies hill people As for the name 'Kui' by which the people call themselves, it means in their language 'fighting men'. *Kui-giva* means to attack. The weapon which every Kui always carries is *Kurāri* or *Kuraḍi* which means a weapon (*ari*) to attack with; Koi and Koya are other forms of the word. The name by which they are proud to call themselves indicates their natural disposition to attack others with little or no provocation. Ethnology shows that the Kuis are descendants of the Rākṣasas of Laṅkā, and now the name Kui tells us of the cruel propensity of these men. We have now to study what the name Rākṣasa signifies. But before we take up the study of the meaning of the word Rākṣasa, it is but necessary to enquire, to which of the tribes this word is applied in the epic.

Three distinct tribes, each separated by at least 100 miles from the other, are implied by the name of Rākṣasa in the epic. The first is the Virādha clan near the northern end of the Daṇḍaka forest. As declared by Virādha, the representative of the clan, it was descended from Java and Śatahradā. It was known by the name of Rākṣasa. Virādha himself tells Rāma (III. 2-12): "Ahaṃ vanam idaṃ durgaṃ virādho nāma rākṣasaḥ, carāmi sāyudho nityaṃ ṛṣimāṃsāni bhakṣayan." [He preyed upon the flesh of the inhabitants of the Daṇḍaka forest (ṛṣi)].

The second clan known to the Aryans as Rākṣasas was that of Kabandha. The name by which these clansmen called themselves was Dānava (III-71.7) because they were the children of Danu.

The most cruel and the strongest was the third and it is represented by the inhabitants of Laṅkā and its suburb Janasthāna. The name by which they called themselves and by which the Aryan settlers of the Daṇḍaka forest called them is Rākṣasa or Rakṣa.

In the Uttarakāṇḍa these men are said to have got that appellation because they had carefully guarded the waters that God created in the beginning of the world. But nowhere in the other books of the poem is this quality mentioned of these men; nor is there even an allusion to it anywhere in the other books. The expressions like 'Rākṣasāh pisitāśanāh (III. 36. 3) and Rākṣasān pisitāśanān (III. 54. 18) tell us something other than the watching of the waters. These statements intimate that the Rākṣasas were flesh-eaters. When Rāma with his wife and brother went to the settlement of

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Śarabhaṅga, all the colonists (tāpasāḥ) requested him to see the corpses of the colonists (munīnām) that had been killed by the Rākṣasas (III. 6. 16).

The settlers said that, as they did not wish to spoil the merit they had earned for ages, they did not curse the Rākṣasas even though the latter were eating them away (III. 20. 15.). When Rāma did not find Sītā in the Parṇaśālā, he thought that she had been devoured by the Rākṣasas (III. 60. 30). He was led into the belief that she was devoured by the Rākṣasas, because he knew that they were cannibals. We have seen that Virādha, though of a different tribe, lived on human flesh. The other tribes living in and about the Daṇḍaka forest recognised the people of Laṅkā and their kindred as men living on human flesh. Kabandha speaking of the talents of Sugrīva says (III. 73. 32) :

nara-māṃsāśināṃ loke naipuṇyād adhigacchati.

Commentaries say that 'naramāṃsāśinām' means 'Rākṣasānām'. It is now clear that the people other than the inhabitants of Laṅkā called them by the name of Rākṣasa. Let us now see how they exhibited their own nature of preying upon human flesh.

Rāvaṇa himself was a cannibal. Finding that Sītā was seduced neither by his wealth nor by his personal appearance and prowess, he threatened her that his cooks would cut her body to pieces for his morning meal (III. 56. 26).

tatas tvāṃ prātarāśārthaṃ sūdāśchetsyanti leśasaḥ.

Mārīca and his associates disguised themselves as beasts of prey and feasted on the bodies of the Aryan colonists of the forest region. Sūrpaṇakhā threatened to eat Sītā that Rāma might have no objection to marry her (III. 17. 28 ; III. 18. 16 ; V. 24. 39. 48 ; VI. 8. 22). This blood-thirstiness of the Rākṣasas is personified in the form of Kumbhakarṇa who is represented as devouring the Vānaras pell mell.

The above illustrations from the Epic assert that the word Rākṣasa is used by Vālmīki to signify the cannibalistic nature of the people of Laṅkā. Consequently the word must have originated from a word that means blood.

In Telugu there are 'Rakkasi' and 'Rākāsi', both of which mean the drinker of blood. When the final syllable 'asi' or 'āsi' is taken away, only Rakka or Rākk remains, which means blood. It appears as Rakta in ordinary use, one 'k' being changed to 't'. In Kui also Rakka is used in this sense. This word exists in all the Dravidian

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languages. This is one of the words that has gone into Sanskrit from Dravidian.

Rākāsi and Rakkasi have both been adopted into the Aryan tongue with a slight change. K generally changes to Ch in Dravidian languages; so Rāchasi and Rachchasi are formed. In Sanskrit Ch is changed to Kṣ, and Rākṣasa and Rakṣas are found in that language.

In the Mahābhārata (III. 274. 2. 9) Khara and Śūrpaṇakhā are said to have been born to Rākā, one of the three wives of Pulastya. Since Khara and Śūrpaṇakhā are called Rākṣasas, it appears that this derivation represents metaphorically that the word *Rākṣasa* is derived (born) from Rākā (Rakka).

Closely allied to the Rākṣasas are the Piśācas. Immediately after Sītā had been carried to the mansion of Rāvaṇa, he is said to have ordered the Piśācas to keep guard over her (III. 54. 14).

The Rākṣasas seem to be identical with the Piśācas, though they are treated as two distinct tribes in Amarakoṣa and other books.

In the Svarga-khaṇḍa of the Padma-purāṇa, it is said that bhūta, preta, and piśācas live in mid-air.

And above these but below the solar sphere are the Rākṣasas said to be wandering about.

It is this kind of interpretation unsupported either by reason or by the natural state of things that made these tribes live in ultra-mundane worlds. Obsessed by such notions we are unable to identify these tribes though we daily come in contact with them. We see them but we cannot identify them with the Rākṣasas and Piśācas whom we believe to be living beyond human ken. The same is the case with the others that are enumerated along with the Rākṣasas and the Piśācas. But with the help of ethnology and philology we have identified the ancient Rākṣasa tribes with the modern Kuis. Similarly the *Guhyakas*, the *Gandharvas*, the *Kinnaras*, the *Vidyādharas*, the *Apsaras*, the *Yakṣas* and the *Siddhas* who are all classed as the *Devayoni* tribes can also be identified with the peoples that are found in India, if only we study their respective languages and customs in the right way.

Now coming to the etymology of the word *Piśāca* we can see that because the people indicated by the word are identical with the *Rākṣasas*, the word signified the same thing as the name given to the people of Laṅkā. Therefore its etymology also must be akin to that of *Rākṣasa*. In Sanskrit it is treated as a compound made up of *Piśitam* (*māṃsam*) *aśnāti*, but a very laborious explanation is given

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for the formation of the word :—*aś*+"*karmaṇy aṇ*" *iti aṇ*; *tataḥ pṛṣodaradīni yathopadiṣṭam iti śitā bhāgasya lopaḥ*; *aś bhāgasya śacādeśaḥ*." The disappearance of a part of a word and the substitution of a different termination is all done just to give it an Aryan appearance. *Piśita* becomes first '*Pi*' by the disappearance of 'śita'; then '*aś*+*an*' become *śāca* instead of '*āśa*'; so the word *Pi*+*śāca*=Piśāca is formed. This explanation, on the very face of it, shows that the word is foreign to Sanskrit. The word appears to be formed of *Piśa* and *aca*; in Dravidian languages there is no difference between *s* and *c*; so Pisa+asa is found; 'asa' or asi is a personal termination in Kui, and Piśa or Pīśa means flesh. Thus *Pisāsi*, as pronounced by the lower class of men in the Telugu country, is obtained. When pronounced by the refined men it becomes Piśāci.

Now we understand that the Rākṣasas and the Piśācas show by their very names that they were bloodthirsty and were preying upon human flesh. This character of these men is again exhibited by the Kui tribes whom we have seen to be still maintaining those customs which the Rākṣasas of Laṅkā are said to have followed in days of yore. The Kui tribes are spoken of as the people that had sacrificed human beings till the middle of the eighties of the last century. This human sacrifice was so very common amongst the Kuis that in the year 1841, as many as 240 Mariahs (human victims) had been sacrificed at the new moon feast in February of that year. "Between 1837 and 1854 Col. Campbell was the means of rescuing 1506 mariah victims, of which 717 were males and 789 females." These figures confirm their love for man-slaughter. This human sacrifice appears to me to be a relic of the ancient cannibalism. The love of blood was so ingrained in them that the man-slaughter of ancient feast was adopted for purposes of worship in subsequent times when preying upon men was given up either by outward compulsion or by the reform in their own society. This sacrifice has been given up now on account of the vigorous watch kept over the tribes by the British government. Yet the faith in the efficacy of blood has been so strong that they have substituted a buffalo for the man and they treat it with as much cruelty as they used to do with the human victim. The intensity of the cruelty of a human sacrifice can better be understood from the description of a Mariah sacrifice from the Ganjam District Manual.

In the Rāmāyaṇa, tribesmen allied to the Rākṣasas are also men-

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tioned. Mandodarī, the wife of Rāvaṇa, mourning over the body of her lord says that he was the son of the daughter of Yātudhāna (Yātudhānasya dauhitra). Yātudhāna is one of the names of Nairṛta, the lord of the South-west corner of the world. That Rāvaṇa is given the appellations of Nairṛtaḥ, Nairṛta-patiḥ, shows that he became the ruler of the dominions which had belonged to his maternal grandfather who had no sons. The Rāmāyaṇa informs us that Mālyavat was the father of Rāvaṇa's mother (VI. 35. 6).

Tatas tu sumahāprajño Mālyavān nāma Rākṣasaḥ
Rāvaṇasya vacaḥ śrutvā iti mātāmaho'bravīt.

This correlated with 'Yātudhanasya dauhitra' tells us that Mālyavat was of the Yātudhāna tribe. Though there are not sufficient data given to confirm it, the tribe may be identified with one of the modern tribes, if the etymology of the word Mālyavān is found out.

The word and the relationship of the holder of the name with the Rākṣasas now identified with the Kuis, suggest that it is formed from Malai, a Dravidian word for a hill. It is also pronounced Mālaya as in "Ganjam Mālayās." When 'an' the Dravidian masculine singular termination is added to it, Malaya-an, is formed. Since V is used to prevent hiatus, the word becomes Mala-ya-v-an or Maleiyavan, a man of the mountains or a mountaineer. Caldwell gives Malayinan as an example of a word in which the masculine singular termination is annexed to the oblique case or inflexional base. He further says, 'sometimes, the inflexional 'in' is merely added euphonically e.g. "there is no difference in meaning between Villan, a bowman and Villinan, which is considered a more elegant form." So there is no difference between Malei-y-in-an and Malei-v-an. This derivation shows that in the time of Rāvaṇa also there was a tribe kindred to the Rākṣasas, and they were known as the Malayavāns just as the Khonds in modern days are said to have got their name from a word which means a hill.

(*To be continued*)

G. RAMADAS

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When was the Gommaṭa image at Sravaṇa-Belgoḷa set up ?*

Gommaṭa, Bāhubali[1] or Bhujabali was, according to Jaina tradition, the son of the first Tīrthaṅkara known as Ṛṣabha, Ādideva or Puru, and the younger half-brother of Bharata, with whom he fought for the empire of the world. Gommaṭa gained victory in the battle, but generously handed over the kingdom of the earth to his elder brother, who thereupon ruled over it and thus became the emperor of the world, the first of such emperors (ādi-cakreśvara). Gommaṭa, for his part, retiring from the world, devoted himself to the practice of austerities, got rid of all traces of *karma* and became a *kevalin*; and thereupon, the emperor Bharata set up at Paudanapura a statue of him which measured 525 bow-lengths in height and which came to be known as Kukkuṭeśvara or Kukkuṭa-jineśvara owing to the fact that the region around it became infested with *kukkuṭasarpas* or cockatrices.[2]

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* The following abbreviations have been used in the course of this paper:

DKD for Dr. Fleet's Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts in the *Bombay Gazetteer* (1896), Vol. I, Part 2.

EC for *Epigraphia Carnatica*. The second volume contains the inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa, and a second edition of it has been recently published by Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar. The references in this paper are to this edition.

EI for *Epigraphia Indica*.

ŚB for Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa inscriptions.

1 Following the Kannaḍa usage, I have here written this word (and similar words) without final n, though the correct form is *Bāhubalin*.

2 See ŚB inscription, No. 234; EC., vol. ii, *Intro.*, p. 12. It is the opinion of Mr. R. Narasimhachar (EC., vol. II, *Intro.*, p. 12; *Translation*, p. 97) that this inscription was written in A.D. 1180. I have however shown, in my article on Boppaṇa the author of this inscription (p. 195 of the Kannaḍa journal *Prabuddha-karṇāṭaka*, No. 37A), that it is very probable that it was written some years later, in A.D. 1195-1200.

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This saint and hero seems to have had a peculiar attraction to the Jaina sculptors who worked on a large scale; for there are now standing in Southern India no less than three colossal monolithic images of him. Two of them are in the South Kanara district of the Madras Presidency, one measuring about 41 feet in height, at Kārkaḷa, and the other, about 35 feet in height, at Yenūr. It is made clear by the inscriptions written on them that the former was set up by Vīrapāṇḍya in 1432 A.D., and the latter by Timmarāja of the family of Cāmuṇḍa in 1604 A.D. (see Hultzsch in EI., vii, 109).

The third image, which is the most colossal of the three and measures about 57 feet in height, is standing on a hill, which rises about 400 feet above the plain, at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa in the Mysore State. The inscriptions written on it are undated; and hence one has to seek the aid of extraneous evidence in order to find out when it was set up.

Regarding this matter, there are two different accounts given in Jaina books. According to one, contained in the *Munivaṃśābhyudaya* of Cidānanda (c. 1680 A.D.) and the *Rājāvalī-kathe* of Devacandra (a Kannaḍa work written in A.D. 1838), the image of Gommaṭa with that of Pārśva was brought from Laṅkā by Rāma and Sītā, and set up and worshipped on the larger and the smaller hills at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa; while, according to the other account, contained in the *Bhujabali-carite* (a Kannaḍa poem written by Pañcabāṇa in c. 1614 A.D.), the 'god' Gommaṭa, being pleased with the devotion of Cāmuṇḍa-rāya, manifested himself in the form of the stone image on the larger hill at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa. The *Sthala-purāṇa* of Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa (of very late date; translated in Ind. Ant., II, 130ff.) and the *Bhujabali-śataka* of Doḍḍayya (a Sanskrit poem written in A.D. 1550), on the other hand, say nothing about Rāma and Sītā, but mention merely that the image of Gommaṭa was standing at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa and that Cāmuṇḍa-rāya got it touched up by sculptors and consecrated it. The date of consecration was Ky. 600, Vibhava, Caitra-su 5, Sunday coupled with Mṛgaśiras and Saubhāgya-yoga, and the time, Kumbha-lagna on that day, according to the following verse contained in the latter work:

Kaly-abde ṣaṭ-chatākhye-nuta-Vibhava-saṃvatsare māsi Caitre
pañcamyāṃ śuklapakṣe dinamaṇi-divase Kumbha-lagne su-yoge/
Saubhāgye Mastanāmni prakaṭita-bhagaṇe suprasastāṃ cakāra
śrīmac-Cāmuṇḍa-rāyo Beḷuguḷa-nagare Gommaṭeśa-pratiṣṭhām.//

As the year Ky. 600 corresponds to B.C. 2501, it is manifest that

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this is an absurdly early date, especially since it is mentioned in this work itself that Cāmuṇḍa-rāya was the minister of the king Rājamalla, belonged to the Brahma-kṣatriya caste, and was a disciple of Ajitasena and Nemicandra.

We therefore leave aside these legendary accounts and turn to more trustworthy evidence. Inscriptions no. 175 (in Kannaḍa), 176 (in Tamil), and 179 (in Mahrāṭhī) that are incised on the image of Gommaṭa in Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa state that it was set up by Cāmuṇḍa-rāya. To judge from the palaeography, these inscriptions belong to the 10th century A.D., and were in all probability written at the very time when the image was made and set up. A similar statement is made in ŚB inscription No. 254[1], written in 1398 A.D., while ŚB no. 234,[2] written in praise of Gommaṭa and his image by the Kannaḍa poet Boppaṇa or Sujanottaṃsa in A.D. 1195-1200 (see no. 3 above) states likewise that the image was made and set up by Gommaṭa or Cāmuṇḍa-rāya who was in the service of the Gaṅga king Rācamalla. This Rācamalla is, according to Mr. R. Narasimhachar (EC., II, Intro. p. 15), identical with the Gaṅga king of that name who ruled in A.D. 974-984; and he therefore observes that, since the *Cāmuṇḍarāya-purāṇa*, composed by Cāmuṇḍarāya in A.D. 978[3],

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1 Ll. 102-5: yasmiṃś Cāmuṇḍa-rājo Bhujabalinam inaṃ Gummaṭam karmaṭhājñaṃ (*for* karmaṭhānyam?) bhaktyā śaktyā ca muktyai jita-suranagare 'sthāpayad bhadram adrau/

2 Ll. 13ff. .....ant ādandu tad-devakalpaneyiṃ māḍipen endu
māḍisidan int ī-devanaṃ Gomaṭaṃ//
śrutamuṃ darśana-śuddhiyuṃ vibhavamuṃ sad-vṛttamuṃ
dānamuṃ
dhṛtiyuṃ tannoḷe sanda Gaṅga-kula-candraṃ Rācamallaṃ
jagan-/
nutan ā-bhūmipan advitīya-vibhavaṃ Cāmuṇḍa-rāyaṃ
Manu-
pratimaṃ Gommaṭan alte māḍisidan int ī-devanaṃ
yatnadiṃ//

3 This is a mistake. The *Cāmuṇḍarāya-purāṇa* was completed, as stated in the final stanza, on Phālguna-su 8 coupled with Monday and Rohiṇī, in Śaka 900, Īśvara. According to the southern luni-solar system, the *śaṃvatsara* Īśvara corresponded to Śaka 900 current or

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does not mention the setting up of Gommaṭa's image in the long account it gives of the author's achievements, and since, according to tradition, the consecration took place in Rācamalla's reign, it is reasonable to conclude that the image was set up after A.D. 978 and in about the year 983.

A different opinion has been expressed by Dr. R. Shama Sastri in the *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year* 1923, pp. 16f., when discussing the question of the starting point of the Gupta era. Dr. Sastri cites there first, from Pandit Khūbacandra's introduction to his edition of Nemicandra's *Gommaṭasāra*, the following stanza:

> Kalky-abde saṭ-chatākhye nuta-Vibhava-saṃvatsare māsi Caitre
> pañcamyāṃ śukla-pakṣe dinamaṇi-divase Kumbha-lagne su-yoge/
> Saubhāgye Masta-nāmni prakaṭita-bhagaṇe supraśastāṃ cakāra
> śrīmac-Cāmuṇḍa-rāyo Beḷuguḷa-nagare Gommaṭeśa-pratiṣṭhām//

The Pandit has extracted these verses from the *Bāhubalicarita*.[1] He then observes: "No dating can be better furnished with all necessary

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A.D. 977; but in this year, the tithi Phālguna-su 8 was in no way connected with the *nakṣatra* Rohiṇī, and the date is hence irregular for this year.

According to the northern luni-solar system, (for other examples of northern luni-solar Jovian saṃvatsaras in Southern India, see my book, *Some Śaka Dates in Inscriptions*; pp. 5ff. 48ff. Śaka 900, Īsvara corresponded to Ky. 4977 or A.D. 976. In this year, Phālguna-su 8 began on Monday, 27th January 977 A.D., at about 31*gh.* 3*p.* (Sūrya-siddhānta) or 26*gh.* 25*p.* (Ārya-siddhānta and Brahma-siddhānta) after mean sunrise. And the *nakṣatra* Rohiṇī, too, began to be current, according to the unequal-space sysem of Garga, at tabout 39*gh.* 49*p.* (Sūrya-siddhānta) or 32*gh.* 45*p.* (Ārya and Brahma siddhāntas), and according to the unequal-space system of Brahmagupta, at about 38*gh.* 12*p.* (Sūrya-siddhānta) or 31*gh.* 8*p.* (Ārya and Brahma siddhāntas) after mean sunrise of that Monday. It is evident therefore that it is this Monday (27th January, 977 A.D.) that is referred to in the *Cāmuṇḍarāya-purāṇa* and that that book was completed on this day.

For other instances of Śaka dates that cite the *tithi* and *nakṣatra* that began late in the day instead of those that were current at sunrise, see pp. 69ff. of my above named book.

1 *I. e.* Doḍḍayya's *Bhujabali-śataka* mentioned above.

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verifiable means than this. We have an era, the Jovian cyclic year, the lunar month, a definite lunar day, constellation, yoga, and what is most necessary, the week-day. Though the exact date of neither Nemicandra nor of Cāmuṇḍarāya is known, yet it is ascertained beyond doubt that both of them flourished about the close of the 10th century A.D. and the first half of the 11th. At the close of his Ajitanāthapurāṇa, Ratnākara[1] says that under the patronage of Cāmuṇḍarāya he wrote the Purāṇa in Śaka 915 (Vijaya Saṃvatsara) corresponding to A.D. 993. It follows from this that Cāmuṇḍarāya, the minister and general of the Gaṅga king Rācamalla, must necessarily have been at the time in the flower of his youth. Similarly, Vādirāja, the author of Pārśvanātha Kāvya, written, as stated in the beginning of the work itself, in Śaka 947 (Krodhi Saṃvatsara) corresponding to A.D. 1025, makes mention of the name of Vīranandin as a celebrated writer whom Nemicandra acknowledges (verse 638 Labdhisāra) as one of his two teachers,[2] the other being Abhayanandi. Accordingly we have to find out which of the two Vibhava years, one coinciding with A.D. 968 and another with 1028 would be in harmony with the factors of the Calendar mentioned in the verse." He then proceeds to verify and find out the European equivalent of this date with the help of the tables contained in Swamikannu Pillai's book, and gives on p. 17 the details of his calculation which show, according to him, that on Sunday, 3rd March 1028 A.D., Caitra-su 5 of Vibhava, *nakṣatra* Mṛgaśiras and Saubhāgya-yoga were current at the time of Kumbha-

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1 Dr. Sastri confounds here two different Kannaḍa poets. The poet Ratnākara, whom he names, lived in the 16th century A.D., and wrote two works, *Triloka-śataka*, and *Bharateśvaracarita* in Śaka 1479 or A.D. 1557. The *Ajitanātha-purāṇa* (this is also known as *Ajita-tīrthakara-purāṇa* and *Ajita-tīrthakara-purāṇa-tilaka*), on the other hand, was written by the poet Ratna in 993 A.D. Ratna also wrote, in about 982 A.D., *Sāhasabhīma-vijaya* or *Gadā-yuddha*, commemorating the exploits of *Irivabeḍeṅga Satyāśraya* who succeeded his father, the Cālukya Taila II Āhavamalla, as king in A.D. 997, and two other works, *Paraśurāma-carita* and *Cakreśvara-carita* that have not come down to us, at some time before 993 A.D.

2 This, too, is a mistake. Vādirāja mentions merely that Vīranandin was the author of the *Candraprabha-carita*, and says nothing about his having been the teacher of Nemicandra, author of *Gommaṭasāra* and *Labdhisāra*.

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lagna, that is, about 53*gh.* after sunrise. And he therefore arives at the conclusion that Cāmuṇḍa-rāya set up Gommaṭa's image on that day, and then proceeds, taking this date as the basis, to erect a vast superstructure about the starting point of the Kalki era, Gupta era, etc. All this is wrong.

In the first place, the details of calculation given by Dr. Sastri himself on p. 17 *l.c.* show that the *nakṣatra* Mṛgaśiras was not current at the time of Kumbha-lagna on Sunday, 3rd March 1028, that the *nakṣatra* Rohiṇī was current at that time, and that Mṛgaśiras began to be current only towards noon of the following Monday. But (as I have shown elsewhere[1]), the calculation made by Dr. Sastri is not correct; and a correct calculation, made with the help of the same tables of Swamikannu Pillai as Dr. Sastri has used, shows that at the time of Kumbha-lagna on the above mentioned Sunday, the *nakṣatra* and *yoga* current were respectively Kṛttikā and Viṣkambha, and that Mṛgaśiras and Saubhāgya began to be current at about 15*gh.* and 50*gh.* respectively after mean sunrise of Tuesday, 5th March, 1028 A.D.

Again, it will be noted that the stanza *Kalky-abde ṣaṭ-chatākhye...* to which Dr. Sastri attaches so much importance is the same as the stanza cited by me above excepting that the first word is read by Pandit Khūbacandra and Dr. Sastri as *Kalky-abde* instead of *Kaly-abde.* There is no doubt that this is a wrong reading; for not only is a Kalki era unknown and the correct reading *Kaly-abde* found in all MSS of Doḍḍayya's poem, but it is mentioned by other Jaina authors also that the image of Gommaṭa was set up in the Kaliyuga year 600; compare Mr. Narasimhachar's observation on p. 15, Intro., in EC., vol. II that "the traditional date of the consecration of Gommaṭa by Cāmuṇḍa-rāya given in *several* literary works is Sunday the fifth lunar day of the bright fornight of Caitra of the cyclic year Vibhava corresponding to the year 600 of the Kaliyuga era".

It thus becomes clear that Dr. Sastri's opinions that there was a combination of Vibhava *saṃvatsara*, Caitra-su 5, Mṛgaśiras and Saubhāgya at the time of Kumbha-lagna on Sunday, 3rd March 1028 A.D., that Cāmuṇḍa-rāya set up Gommaṭa's image on that day, and that the Kalki era began in the year 127 A.D., are all unfounded.

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1 On p. 175 of No. 33 of the Kannaḍa journal *Prabuddha-karṇāṭaka* referred to above, in the course of my article on Nāgavarma.

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Secondly, we have definite evidence to show that the image was set up long before 1028 A.D.; and what we know of Cāmuṇḍa-rāya from inscriptions and other sources indicates conclusively that he could not have been living in 1028 A.D., but, had, in all probability, died long before.

Now, in order to avoid misconception, I may remark here that it is quite true that, as observed by Dr. Sastri, a Cāmuṇḍa-rāya did flourish in the first half of the 11th century A.D.; and as a matter of fact, we know of at least three persons of that name who lived in the Kannaḍa country in that period and who held a high position:

(1) We thus find mentioned in two inscriptions[1] at Belgāme (EC., VII, Ṣikārpūr 120 and 151, pp. 163, 193 dated in 1047 A.D.) a Cāmuṇḍa-rāya who was governing the Banavāse Twelve-thousand, Sāntaḷige One-thousand, and Hayve Five-hundred provinces as the feudatory of the W. Cālukya king Someśvara I Trailokyamalla-Āhavamalla, and who caused to be constructed by his subordinate Nāgavarma, temples dedicated to the worship of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Jina. The titles[2] given to him in these inscriptions indicate that he belonged to a family of feudatory chiefs who originally ruled at Banavāse and who perhaps were identical with the Kādambas.

(2) Different from the above is the daṇḍanāyaka Cāmuṇḍa-rāya mentioned in another isncription at Belgāme (Ṣikārpūr 114, p. 152) as the father of Nāgavarma daṇḍanāyaka, and grandfather of Cāmuṇḍa-rāya-daṇḍanāyaka and Sarvadeva-daṇḍanāyaka. As this Sarvadeva was holding the high position of *mahāsāmantādhipati* and *mahā-pracaṇḍa-daṇḍanāyaka* under the W. Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI, in 1093 A.D., his grandfather Cāmuṇḍa-rāya must have been living in A.D. 1043 or earlier.

(3) A third Cāmuṇḍa-rāya[3] is mentioned as his patron by the

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1 He is mentioned in an inscription at Gāma also (E.C., VII, p. 83) which is dated in 1061 A.D., as the governor of the Banavāse Twelve-thousand province.

2 For the titles; see EC., *loc. cit.*

3 His name is mentioned as *Rāya*, which is an abbreviation of the full name *Cāmuṇḍa-rāya* formed by the elision of the first word *Cāmuṇḍa* in accordance with the vārttika, *vināpi pratyayaṃ pūrvottara-padayor vā lopô vācyaḥ* on P. 5-3-83. We find this abbreviated name *Rāyā* used of the *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Cāmuṇḍa-rāya (mention-

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Kannaḍa poet Nāgavarma in his work *Chandombudhi* which was written in about 1030-40 A.D. This Cāmuṇḍa-rāya, it is stated in this work, held the position of *mantrin* and *sandhi-vigrahin* (minister for Peace and War) under the Gaṅga king Rakkasagaṅga who had the title of *gaṇḍara mākuti*, and who, as I have shown elsewhere[1], is identical with the Gaṅga king of that name who was the nephew of king Rācamalla who ruled in 974-984 A.D. As this Rakkasagaṅga was the disciple of the Jaina Guru Śrīvijaya-Oḍeyadeva, and lived till about 1047 A.D. (see JBBRAS, 1927, vol. 3, p. 160), his minister Cāmuṇḍarāya too must have been living in that year or earlier.

The Cāmuṇḍa-rāya who set up Gommaṭa's image at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa, however, was a quite different person from the three Cāmuṇḍa-rāyas mentioned above. This Cāmuṇḍa-rāya was the disciple of the Jaina guru Ajitasena and was known as Gommaṭa-rāya also as we learn from the verses found at the end of Nemicandra's *Gommaṭa-sāra* (Karma-kāṇḍa verses 965-972):

The epithet *dakkhiṇa* is applied to *kukkuḍa-Jiṇa* in v. 968 in order to distinguish it from the *kukkuṭa-Jina* (Gommaṭa's image) which, according to tradition (see p. 290 above), was set up by Emperor Bharata at Paudanapura near Madhurā in Northern India.

The last of the verses (v. 972), it will be seen, mentions a commentary that was written in the language of the country i.e. in Kannaḍa, by Cāmuṇḍa-rāya on the *Gommaṭasāra* at the time when that work was being composed[2] by Nemicandra, and that was known

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ed above) in inscription No. 151 of Ṣikārpūr, (p. 193, line 21: *negaḷda vanīpaka-vrajake Rāyana koṭṭa.*) and line 25: *el elē bandapaṃ Rāyaṃ* and in inscription No. 120 of Ṣikārpūr (p. 163 in line 32: *ivaṃ Rāyana besadiṃ*). We find it also used in Ṣikārpūr inscription No. 114, of the *daṇḍanāyaka* Cāmuṇḍa-rāya (mentioned above) in line 20 (p. 152), and of his grandson Cāmuṇḍa-rāya in lines 29 and 36 (p, 152) and lines 13 and 23 (p. 153). It is likewise used in an inscription at Marale (EC., vol. VI, pp. 128f.) of the *daṇḍanāyaka* Cāmuṇḍa-rāya who was an officer of the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana and was known as Rāyaṇa-daṇḍanāyaka also; see line 14 on p. 131.

1 In my *Kannaḍa* article on the poet Nāgavarma; *Prabuddha-Karṇāṭaka*, No. 34, p. 172.

2 From the following observation: *bhagavān Nemicandra-siddhāntadevaś catur-anuyoga-catur-udadhi-pāragaś Cāmuṇḍa-rāya-pratibodhana-vyājena* of Nemicandra's disciple Mādhavacandra at the begin-

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as *Vīra-mārtāṇḍī*.[1] Now *Viramārtāṇḍī* means composed or written by Vīramārtāṇḍa[2]; and *Vira-mārtāṇḍa* was one of the many titles which were borne by Cāmuṇḍa-rāya who was the author of the *Cāmuṇḍarāya purāṇa* mentioned above.

This author has there said of himself at the end that he was born in a Brahma-kṣatra family,[3] that he was the disciple of Ajitasena, that the Gaṅga king who was known as Noḷamba-kulāntaka, Gaṅga-kula-cūḍāmaṇi, Jagadekavīra and Dharmāvatāra, was his *parama-svāmin*,[4] and that he had acquired the titles *samara-dhurandhara*,

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ning of his commentary on Nemicandra's *Labdhi-sāra*, we learn that that work, as well as the *Gommaṭa-sāra* and other works, were in fact written by Nemicandra for the express purpose of instructing Cāmuṇḍa-rāya. And this Cāmuṇḍa-rāya, was the minister of the Gaṅga king Rācamalla, according to the following observation of Abhaya-candra (in the beginning of his Sanskrit commentary on the *Gommaṭasāra*): Gaṅga-vaṃśa-lalāma-...śrīmad-Rācamalla-deva-mahīvallabha-mahāmātya-pada-virājamāna-raṇaraṅgamallāsahāyaparākramaguṇa-ratna-bhūṣaṇa-samyaktva-ratna-nilayādi-vividha-guṇa-grāma-nāma-samāsādita-kīrti- . . śrīmac-Cāmuṇḍarāya-bhavya-puṇḍarīka.

1 It has been observed by Pandit Manoharalala Sastri, at p. 4 of the introduction to his edition of Nemicandra's *Triloka-sāra*, that it is this *Vīramārtāṇḍī* that is referred to by Keśava-varṇi in the following stanza, *nemicandraṃ jinaṃ natvā siddha-śrī-jñāna-bhuṣaṇam| vṛttiṃ Gommaṭasārasya kurve karṇāṭa-vṛttitaḥ||* that stands at the beginning of his Sanskrit commentary on the *Gommaṭa-sāra*. This opinion seems to me to be incorrect. For, Keśava-varṇi does not say in the above stanza that the *Karṇāṭa-vṛtti* that he has used was written by Cāmuṇḍa-rāya; and since he himself wrote a *Karṇāṭa-vṛtti* (known as *Gommaṭasāra-karṇāṭaka-vṛtti* and *Jīva-tattva-pradīpikā*) on the *Gommaṭa-sāra* in Śaka 1281, Vikārin or 1359 A.D., (*Karṇāṭaka-kavi-carite*, I, 335), it is, in all probability, this work that he utilised as basis in writing his Sanskrit commentary on the *Gommaṭasāra*.

2 Similarly formed words are *Bālam bhaṭṭī*, *Śaṅkarānandī*, *Brahmānandī*, *Gadādharī*, *Dinakarī*, *Rāmarudrī*, *Rāmāśramī*, etc., which are used to denote the well-known scholia written by Bālam-bhaṭṭa, Śaṅkarānanda, Brahmānanda, Gadādhara, etc. on *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, *Bhagavad-gītā*, *Advaita-siddhi* and other works.

3 *Vīramārtāṇḍa* is also found used in many stanzas of the *Cāmuṇḍa-rāya-purāṇa* to denote the author Cāmuṇḍa-rāya.

4 *Parama-svāmin* means 'great master'; but the epithet *parama*

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vīra-mārtāṇḍa, raṇa-raṅgasiṃha,[1] *vairi-kula-kāladaṇḍa, bhuja-vikrama, samara-Paraśurāma, satya-Yudhiṣṭhira, pratipakṣa-rākṣasa, bhaṭa-mārin, samyaktva-ratnākara, śaucābharaṇa* and *subhaṭa-cūḍāmaṇi* because he (1) defeated Vajvaḷa-deva in the battle of Kheḍaga, (2) showed great heroism at Gonūru in the battle against the Noḷambas, (3) fought single-handed against Rājāditya at Uccaṅgi, (4) killed Tribuvana-vīra in the fort of Bāgeyūr and made Govindara enter into it, (5) killed Rāja, Bāsa and other champions in the fort of King Kāma, (6) killed Mudu-Rācaya, known also as Caladaṅka-gaṅga and Gaṅgara baṇṭa, in revenge for slaying his younger brother Nāgavarma, (7) never told an untruth even in jest, (8) defeated many champions of the enemy's army, (9) slew crores of brave soldiers in battles, (10) possessed in a high degree truthfulness, liberality and other virtues, (11) turned away from others' wives and wealth, and (12) was the crest-jewel of most valorous feudatory chiefs. And it hence becomes clear that this author is identical with the Cāmuṇḍa-rāya who is praised in the above-cited verses of the *Gommaṭa-sāra* as the erector of the Gommaṭa image at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa and author of the commentary named *Vīra-mārtāṇḍī.* I shall hereafter refer to him as the Gaṅga general Cāmuṇḍa-rāya in order to distinguish him from the other Cāmuṇḍa-rāyas mentioned above.

Inscription No. 281 at Śravaṅa-Beḷgoḷa is devoted to the praises of a Cāmuṇḍa-rāya, and states that he belonged to a Brahmakṣatra family, that when his own master Jagad-eka-vīra, by order of King Indra, raised his arms to kill Vajvaḷa-deva, the younger brother of Pātālamalla, he pressed forward on his elephant and routed the enemy,

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indicates in addition (compare the analogous use of this word in *parama-guru*) that Noḷambakulāntaka was the predecessor of the king who was at the moment of writing, the master of Cāmuṇḍa-rāya. This was Rācamalla who was the successor of Noḷambakulāntaka and ruled from 973 to 984 A.D.

1 The Sanskrit work *Cāritra-sāra* was, according to the passage that is found at the end, written by a Camuṇḍa-rāya who had the title *raṇa-raṅga-siṃha.* This Cāmuṇḍa-rāya, however, was the disciple of Jinasena and was styled M a h ā r ā j a; and he seems therefore to be different from Cāmuṇḍa-rāya, author of the *Cāmuṇḍa-rāya-purāṇa* and *Vīramārtāṇḍī,* who was the disciple of Ajitasena minister and general of the Gaṅga king, and who is nowhere mentioned with the epithet M a h ā r ā j a.

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that he distinguished himself in the wars against the Noḷamba king, and that he frustrated the attempt of Caladaṅka-gaṅga to seize the the Gaṅga empire by force. This inscription, which is incised on the northern face of a pillar, is fragmentary; but, neverthless, the few details mentioned in it of Cāmuṇḍa-rāya, being, clearly, the same as those mentioned in the *Cāmuṇḍarāya-purāṇa*, show beyond doubt that the Cāmuṇḍa-rāya mentioned in it is identical with the Gaṅga general Cāmuṇḍa-rāya. Mr. R. Narasimhachar, therefore, is in all probability correct in surmising (EC., II, Intro. p. 24) that the other faces of the pillar contained portions of the same inscription and perhaps gave a precise account of the time and circumstances in which Cāmuṇḍa-rāya had the inscription and the Gommaṭa image set up.

Similarly, it is very probable that the Cāmuṇḍa-rāya who built the Cāmuṇḍarāya-basti at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa and is mentioned in ŚB. 122 is identical with the Gaṅga general Cāmuṇḍa-rāya.

It is this Gaṅga general Cāmuṇḍa-rāya who was the patron of the above mentioned Kannaḍa poet Ratna[1] (Ranna). This is shown not only by the poet's reference to him as *Gaṅga-maṇḍala-cakreśvara-kaṭakōttama-nāyaka* 'the best leader of the army of the ruler of the Gaṅga country' in his *Sāhasabhīma-vijaya* (I, 40) but also by his mention of him immediately after Noḷambakulāntaka, see *Ajitanātha-purāṇa*:

It is likewise shown by the fact that Ranna wrote two books which he named *Paraśurāma-carita* and *Cakrēśvara-carita* (these books were written by the poet in the name of his son and his daughter, whom he called Rāya and Aṭṭimabbe respectively after his patron and patroness). As already observed above these books have not come down

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1 This is the opinion of Mr. R. Narasimhachar also; see his *Karṇāṭaka-kavi-carite*, I. 54. I likewise agree with him in identifying the Jaina priest Ajitasena whom Ranna mentions (in his *Ajitanātha-purāṇa*) as his guru with the Jaina priest of that name who was the guru of the Gaṅga general Cāmuṇḍa-rāya.

2 Eng. transl.: "Great (was) Būtuga; greater than him, Maruḷa; greater than him (was) Noḷambāntaka. Much greater (than him) was Cāmuṇḍarāya in *dāna* and *dharma* (giving of gifts and performance of beneficial works). Great undoubtedly was Śaṅkaragaṇḍa; and great art thou, O Dāna-cintāmaṇi, inasmuch as thou hast taken on their burden (of supporting and promoting the Jaina faith) and art carrying it through.

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to us; but nevertheless, there can be no doubt that the origin of the name *Paraśurāma-carita* is to be found in Cāmuṇḍa-rāya's title *samara-Paraśurāma*, and that Ranna has described in that book the exploits of this samara-Paraśurāma (his patron Cāmuṇḍa-rāya) and also of Jamadagni's son Paraśurāma. Compare in this respect Ranna's book *Sāhasabhīma-vijaya* whose name is founded on *sāhasa-Bhīma*, one of the titles of Irivabeḍeṅga Satyāśraya, son and successor of the W. Cālukya king Tailapa II. In this book the poet describes the exploits of Sāhasa-Bhīma (i.e., Irivabeḍeṅga Satyāśraya, son of Ranna's patron Tailapa) and also of Bhīma the Pāṇḍava. Similarly, there can be no doubt that the *Cakreśvara-carita* had for its subject-matter the life-history of the 'first emperor' (*ādi cakreśvara*) Bharata and desribed how he fought with, and was vanquished by, his younger brother Bāhubali, how Bāhubali magnanimously made over the empire to him and became a *kevalin*, and how Bharata set up a statue in memory of Bāhubali, etc., and that the occasion for writing it was furnished by Cāmuṇḍa-rāya's setting up of the Gommaṭa image at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa. And thus the names of these books too, it seems to me, show that Ratna's patron Cāmuṇḍa-rāya was identical with the Gaṅga general Cāmuṇḍa-rāya.

On the other hand Mr. R. Narasimhachar's opinion (pp. 2ff. of the Introduction to his edition of Nāgavarma's *Kāvyāvalokana*; *Karṇāṭaka-kavi-carite*, I. 44) that this Cāmuṇḍa-rāya was the patron of the Kannaḍa poet Nāgavarma also, is incorrect. This opinion is founded by Mr. Narasimhachar on Nāgavarma's statement in his *Chandombudhi* that he was the disciple of Ajitasena, and that his patron was Aṇṇa or Rāya who was the *mantrin* and *sandhi-vigrahi* of Rakkasagaṅga who was known also as *gaṇḍaramukuti* (Pearl among Champions). This Rakkasagaṅga is identified by Mr. Narasimhachar with the Gaṅga king of that name who was the son and successor of Rācamalla, and ruled in 984-999 A.D. The poet's guru Ajitasena is identified with Ajitasena, the guru of the Gaṅga general Cāmuṇḍa-rāya. Relying also on Doḍḍayya's statement in the *Bhujabali-śataka* that King Rācamalla bestowed on his general Cāmuṇḍa-rāya the title rāya on account of his liberality, Mr. Narsimhachar identifies the poet Nāgavarma's patron with the Gaṅga general Cāmuṇḍa-rāya, and in addition, because he is referred to as *aṇṇa*[1] also, identifies the poet Nāgavarma himself with the

[1] *Aṇṇa* means, literally, 'elder brother'; but this word is used

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general Cāmuṇḍa-rāya's brother who is mentioned in the *Cāmuṇḍarāya-purāṇa*.

All this is wrong because

(1) In the first place, the epithet r ā y a is used, as we have seen above (p. 296), of three other Cāmuṇḍa-rāyas; and since it would be absurd to suggest that r ā y a is a title bestowed on these three persons also, it follows that Doḍḍayya's statement in the *Bhujabali-śataka* is based on a misunderstanding and is incorrect. The word *rāya* is, in fact, an abbreviated form of the name *Cāmuṇḍa-rāya*, as has already been pointed out above (p. 296, fn. 3).

(2) The poet states in the *Chandombudhi* that he was a Brāhmaṇa and that he was the eldest son of Veṇṇamayya. He cannot therefore be identical with the general Cāmuṇḍa-rāya's younger brother who was a Brahma-kṣatra, or with the younger brother of any person whatsoever. Again, Nāgavarma, brother of the Gaṅga general Cāmuṇḍa-rāya, was killed by Caladaṅ kagaṅga before the *Cāmuṇḍa-rāya-purāṇa* was written, i.e. before 27th January, 977 A.D. He could not therefore be identical with the poet Nāgavarma who mentions the name of King Bhoja (of Dhāra), who ruled in 1019-1060 A.D., in one of his works (the Kannaḍa *Kādambarī*), and who held the position of Kaṭakopādhyāya in the court of the W. Cālukya king Jagadekamalla I who ruled in 1015-1042 A.D. (see JBBRAS, 1927, vol. 3, p. 137).

(3) The Rakkasagaṅga, mentioned in the *Chandombudhi*, too, cannot be identical with Rācamalla's son (984-999 A.D.) For, as pointed out above, the title g a ṇ ḍ a r a m ū k u t i is applied to him in the *Chandombudhi*; and since this title is used in an inscription at Huṃca (EC., VIII, Nagar 35) of the Gaṅga king Rakkasagaṅga who was the son of Vāsava-deva, younger brother of the above-named Rācamalla, and not of the other Rakkasagaṅgas known to us, it follows that it is this Rakkasagaṅga who is referred to in the *Chandombudhi*. As this king was ruling till about 1037 A.D. (see JBBRAS, 1927, vol. 3, p. 160), his minister Cāmuṇḍa-rāya, too, must have been living about that time. Again, while it is said of the author of the *Cāmuṇḍa-rāya-purāṇa* that he was the *mantrin* and *senāpati* of the Gaṅga king, it is said of the poet Nāgavarma's patron that he was the *mantrin*

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as a name of the general Cāmuṇḍa-rāya in his *Cāmuṇḍarāya-purāṇa* and of other Cāmuṇḍa-rāyas elsewhere, and hence it seems to be another abbreviated form of the name *Cāmuṇḍa*.

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and *sandhi-vigrahin* of the Gaṅga king; and this too indicates that the two Cāmuṇḍa-rāyas were different persons.[1]

The foregoing statements make it clear that the Gaṅga general Cāmuṇḍa-rāya is different from the three Cāmuṇḍa-rāyas mentioned on p. 296 above. I shall now show that this Cāmuṇḍa-rāya was not living in 1028 A.D. and that the Gommaṭa image was set up by him at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa long before 3rd March 1028 A.D.

(1) We have seen above that the Gommaṭa image set up by Cāmuṇḍa-rāya at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa is referred to in Nemicandra's *Gommaṭa-sāra*. Verse 665 of this book[2] is cited (see p. 5 of Pandit Khūbacandra's introduction to his edition of the *Gommaṭasāra-jīvakāṇḍa*, and p. 5 of Pandit Manoharalala Sastri's introduction to his edition of Nemicandra's *Trilokasāra*) in the *Prameya-kamala-mārtaṇḍa* of Prabhācandra, which is, in its turn, referred to in the *Prameya-ratna mālā* (see JBBRAS, 1927, vol. 3, p. 147) of Anantavīrya, who is mentioned by Vādirāja in his *Pārśvanātha-carita* which was completed on 27th October, 1025 A.D. (see *ibid.*, p. 140). It follows hence that the Gommaṭa image of Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa must have been set up some years before 1025 A.D.

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1 Similarly, it is apparent that the poet Nāgavarma is not identical with the Nāgavarma who was the subordinate of the *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Cāmuṇḍa-rāya mentioned above or with the Nāgavarma-daṇḍanāyaka who was the son of the *daṇḍanāyaka* Cāmuṇḍa-rāya mentioned above. Like these officers, however, and like the Gaṅga general Cāmuṇḍa-rāya's brother Nāgavarma, too, the poet Nāgavarma was a soldier and has said of himself (in the *Chandombudhi*) that he was like the son of Kuntī (i.e., like Arjuna) in battle.

Likewise, it is very probable that Ajitasena who was the guru of the poet Nāgavarma was different from the Ajitasena who was the guru of the Gaṅga general Cāmuṇḍa-rāya. The latter Ajitasena belonged to the Senānvaya of the Mūla-saṅgha, while the former is perhaps identical with the Ajitasena Vādibhasiṃha who belonged to the Aruṅguḷānvaya of the Nandi-gaṇa of the Draviḍa-saṅgha and was the disciple of Śrīvijaya-Oḍeyadeva mentioned above, and is mentioned in several inscriptions at Huṃça (Nagar 35-41) as the disciple of Śrīvijaya-Oḍeyadeva, (see also ZDMG, lxviii, 697).

2 viggaha-gadim āvaṇṇā kevaliṇo samuhado a jogī ya/
siddhā ya aṇāhārā sesā āhāriṇo jīvā//

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(2) We have also seen above that Cāmuṇḍa-rāya has said in the *Cāmuṇḍarāya-purāṇa* that his master was the Gaṅga king known as Noḷamba-kulāntaka, Dharmāvatāra, and Jagadekavīra. These titles are found amongst the following that are used of the Gaṅga king Mārasiṃha in ŚB. 59 (p. 11 ll. 36ff.): *Gaṅga-vidyādharaṃ/ Gaṅgaroḷ gaṇḍaṃ/ Gaṅgara siṅgaṃ/ Gaṅga-cūḍāmaṇi/ Gaṅga-vajraṃ/ Caladuttaraṅgaṃ/ Guttiya Gaṅgaṃ/ Dharmāvatāraṃ/ Jagad-eka-vīraṃ/ Nuḍidante Gaṇḍaṃ/ Ahita-Mārtaṇḍaṃ/ Kadana-karkaśaṃ/ Maṇḍalika-Triṇetraṃ/ śrīman-Noḷambakulāntaka-devam.* They are also used of him in the Hebbal inscription published in the Indian Antiquary, xii, 170 (see DKD, p. 305); and the title *Noḷambakulāntaka* is applied to him in many inscriptions (see EC., III, *Intro.*, p. 6). Hence there is no doubt that the above-cited titles in the *Cāmuṇḍarāya-purāṇa* refer to this Mārasiṃha, and that it was this Mārasiṃha who was the *parama-svāmi* of Cāmuṇḍa-rāya; and Mr. Narasimhachar's opinion (EC., II, *Intro.*, p. 45; *Karṇaṭāka-kavi-carite*, I, 39) that these epithets refer to Rācamalla is incorrect.

From the many laudatory epithets that are applied to this Mārasiṃha in ŚB. 59, we learn that he conquered[1] the Gūrjara king at the time of Kṛṣṇarāja's (i.e., the Rāṣṭrakūta king Kṛṣṇa III 's) northern *dig-vijaya*, that he broke the pride of Alla, that he dispersed the bands of *kirātas* dwelling on the skirts of the Vindhya forests, that he protected the army of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Emperor at Mānyakheṭa (i.e., Mālkheḍ), that he performed the anointment of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Indra who was away from Mālkheḍ, that he defeated Vajvala, younger brother of Pātālamalla, that he took the hill-fort of Uccaṅgi, that he defeated the Cālukya prince Rājāditya, that he won victory in the battles fought on the banks of the Tāpī at Mānyakheṭa, at Gōṇūr, Uccaṅgi and Pābhase, and that he supported the Jaina faith and erected *basadis* and *māna-stambhas* at many places.

Since Cāmuṇḍa-rāya was a general under this king, it is to be expected that some of the expeditions and fights mentioned above should be referred to in the account of his exploits given in the *Cāmuṇḍarāya-purāṇa*; and we do, in fact, find that the fights against Rājāditya at Uccaṅgi, against the Noḷambas at Gōṇūr, and against Vajvala, younger brother of Pātālamalla are mentioned in that book also.

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1 *Vidita*, in line 8 of the inscription, is, I think, a mistake for *vijita*.

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As regards the fight with Vajvala, it is explicitly stated in the verse of ŚB. 287, that both Mārasiṃha (referred to in this stanza as Jagadekavīra) and Cāmuṇḍa-rāya took part in the battle, that when, at the behest of King Indra, Mārasiṃha began to attack the army of Vajvaladeva on his elephant, Cāmuṇḍa-rāya accompanied him, aud fought in front of him on his own elephant. This battle, we learn from the *Cāmuṇḍa-rāya-purāṇa*, was fought at Kheḍaga, i.e., Kheṭaka, which is the ancient name of the town now known as Kheḍā[1] in Gujarat (see Dr. Bhagavanlal Indraji's *Early History of Gujarat*, p. 115 in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, 1896, vol. 1, part 1).

Who was this King Indra that, as indicated by the above-cited stanza of ŚB. 287, was present at the scene of battle in Gujarat and ordered Mārasiṃha to demolish the enemy? The name Indra suggests that he belonged to the lineage of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas; and we have in fact met above with a king of this name whose anointment was performed by Mārasiṃha. This king is identified by Dr. Fleet (DKD., p. 424) and Mr. R. Narasimhachar (EC., II, *Intro.*, pp. 44, 47) with the Indra who is described in ŚB. 133 as the daughter's son of Gaṅga-Gāṅgeya (i.e., the Gaṅga king Būtuga), the son's son of King Kṛṣṇa and son-in-law (or sister's son) of Rāja-cūḍāmaṇi, and who died in A.D. 982 at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa. And, further, this King Kṛṣṇa, too, is identified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III by Dr. Fleet who accordingly shows this Indra as the son of an unknown son of Kṛṣṇa III in the genealogical table that he has given of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in his DKD (opposite to p. 386).

Now I am inclined to agree with Dr. Fleet that the Indra mentioned in ŚB. 133 is the son's son of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III; but I doubt whether it was this Indra who was crowned king by Mārasiṃha. ŚB. 133, mentioned above, which is solely concerned with the praise of this Indra, applies to him the titles Raṭṭa-kandarpa, Rāja-Mārtaṇḍa, Calad-aṅkakāra, Calad-aggaḷi, Kīrti-nārāyaṇa, Eḷeva-beḍeṅga, Geḍegal-ābharaṇa, Kaligaḷoḷ gaṇḍa, and Bīrara bīra, and describes at length his skill in playing polo; but it does not contain one word that would indicate that he was a crowned king who had the titles *samasta-bhuvanāśraya, śrī-pṛthvī-vallabha, mahārājādhirāja,*

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1 According to Dr. Hultzsch (EI, 1,52) and Dr. Fleet (DKD, pp. 382, 413), however. Kheḍaga or Kheṭaka is the ancient name of the town now known as Kaira (headquarter of the Kaira district), which is likewise in Gujarat.

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parameśvara and *parama-bhaṭṭāraka*, or that he was the last of the Rāṣṭrakuṭa kings who ruled over the Seven-and-half-lac country. On the other hand, it applies to him (impliedly) the epithet *rāja-tanūja*[1] or prince in line 52 and seems therefore to indicate that he was not a crowned king.

It is my belief therefere that Dr. Fleet's above-cited opinion is incorrect, and that the Indra-rāja mentioned in ŚB. 133 was never crowned as king. Even if one grants, however, that he was crowned as king, his coronation must have taken place after the defeat and death of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kakka or Kakkala II in A.D. 973 and before June 974 (see DKD, p. 424); and since Indra's first concern after his coronation would be to strengthen his position and to crush the Cālukya forces, it is not conceivable that, before doing this, he would undertake an expedition in Gujarat against Vajvala-deva within twelve months after his coronation and before the death of Mārasiṃha which took place at some time before Āṣāḍha (June-July) in 974 A.D. (see DKD, p. 424).

The foregoing considerations thus make it clear that the battle of Kheḍaga was not fought in A.D. 973 or 974, and that King Indra who was present at it, was not the Indra,[2] son's son of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa

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1 "Lying is their greatness; giving and eagerly taking back, their deliberation; fondness for others's wives, their thought; not making gifts, their cleverness; loving and deceiving, their learning; such being the case, how can one mention by name the present-day princes and compare Indra-rāja with them?"

2 An expedition against Gujarat by Tailapa's forces under the command of the general Bārapa is mentioned in Merutuṅga's *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* (Mūlarāja-prabandha), and also in Someśvara's *Kīrtikaumudī*, Hemacandra's *Dvyāśraya-kāvya*, Arisiṃha's *Sukṛta-saṃkīrtana* and in the *Hammīra-kāvya*. Ranna too in his *Sāhasabhīma-vijaya*, likewise mentions that Irivabeḍeṅga Satyāśraya, when he was *yuvarāja*, fought with and vanquished the Gūrjaras. As we know that Tailapa fought six times with, and finally overcame, Muñja, the Paramāra king of Malwa, it is also very probable that his armies fought in Gujarat on more than one occasion with the Gūrjaras. It is not, however, conceivable that these armies were on any occasion led by Indra, or that these fights took place before Mārasiṃha's death in A.D. 974.

Similarly, we learn from ŚB. 59 itself that Mārasiṃha had occasion

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king Kṛṣṇa III. The only other Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of that name who could have been a contemporary of Mārasiṃha was Indra III who succeeded his grandfather Kṛṣṇa II in A.D. 915 and ruled till 916-17. Of the three inscriptions of his reign that are mentioned in DKD (p. 415), two copper plates were found at Navsari in Gujarat (see ZDMG, vol. I, 322-9); and it is mentioned in them that Indra had come from his capital Mānyakheṭa to Kurundaka[1] (the modern Kaḍodā on the bank of the Tāpī) for his *paṭṭabandha-mahotsava* (festival of coronation) which took place on 14th February, 915 A.D. It is also stated in the Karḍā plates of A.D. 972 (Ind. Antiquary, xii, 263) that Indra's predecessor Kṛṣṇa II fought with the 'roaring Gurjara' and that Kṛṣṇa's enemies, being frightened, abandoned Kheṭaka and the territory (*maṇḍala*) surrounding it and fled, while it is said in the Cambay plates (EI, vii, 30ff.) that the armies of Indra III took Kanauj in A.D. 916 from the Pratīhāra king Mahīpāla and also wrested from him Surāṣṭra and other adjoining provinces.

All this indicates that Kṛṣṇa II was engaged towards the end of his reign in fighting with his enemies in Gujarat, that his grandson Indra was with him at that time or went to Gujarat immediately after Kṛṣṇa's death, and that, not wanting to go away from the scene of fighting, he had his coronation ceremony performed in Gujarat at Kurundaka, continued the fight with his enemies and captured Kanauj. There seems therefore to be no doubt that it was this Indra who was present at the battle of Kheḍaga in which Mārasiṃha and Cāmuṇḍa-rāya fought with Vajvala-deva. This battle must have been fought at some time in A.D. 915-16; and even if we suppose that Cāmuṇḍa-rāya was very young, aged only eighteen years, when he took part in it, it would follow that he must have lived in about A.D. 897-98, and could not have been living in 1028 A.D.

As a matter of fact, we can conclude from the stanza[2] *piriyaṃ-*

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to fight with the Gūrjaras in the course of the northern *dig-vijaya* of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III. We do not know, however, of any prince named Indra who could have been in command of the expedition at that time.

1 This village as also Kheḍaga were in the Lāṭa country which, in A.D. 900-916, formed part of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire.

2 Of the persons named in this stanza, Butuga is the Gaṅga king of that name who was the father of Mārasiṃha,; Maruḷa was the son of Butuga by Revaka-nimmaḍi, daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa

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Būtugan ātaniṃ Maruḷaṃ...cited above from the *Ajitanāthapurāṇa* that Cāmuṇḍa-rāya was not living at the time when that book was completed in 993 A.D. For it is said in this stanza that Būtuga was a great promoter and supporter of the Jaina faith, that after him, Maruḷa, after Maruḷa, Noḷambāntaka, Cāmuṇḍa-rāya, and after Cāmuṇḍa-rāya, Śaṅkaragaṇḍa, were likwise great supporters, and that, after Śaṅkaragaṇḍa, Dānacintāmaṇi was capably discharging the burden carried by them; and it becomes thus evident that Cāmuṇḍa-rāya was not living at that time. Hence too it follows that he must have set up the Gommaṭa image before 993 A.D.

(3) This fact is brought out clearly by the following stanza also of the *Ajitanātha-purāṇa*:

unnata-Kukkuṭēśvara-Jinēśvaranaṃ Jina-bhakte pōgi kāṅ-
bannegam annamaṃ bisuṭu parvatamaṃ parid ēre taj-Jinā-/
sannadoḷ Attimabbege patha-śramam āral akāla-vṛṣṭiy āytennado
dēva-bhaktig adu cōdyame koḷḷave puṣpa-vṛṣṭigal//

It is stated in this stanza that when the devout Attimabbe (the patroness, above-mentioned, of the poet Ranna) went, fasting, to see

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king Amoghavarṣa-Vaddega; and Noḷambāntaka, of course, is Mārasiṃha, who was the son of Butuga by Kallabbarasi. Cāmuṇḍa-rāya is the minister and general of Mārasiṃha. Of Śaṅkaragaṇḍa, nothing is known, while Dānacintāmaṇi or Attimabbe was the patroness of the poet Ranna. She was the daughter of the *daṇḍanāyaka* Mallapa who was an officer of Tailapa II, wife of the *daṇḍanāyaka* Nāgadeva, who was the son of the *mahāpradhāna* Dallapa, and mother of the *paḍavaḷa* Aṇṇigdeva or Tailapa who too was an officer of Tailapa II. After her husband's death, she devoted herself to a spiritual life, and following the example of her father and her uncle the *daṇḍanāyaka* Punnimayya, who commissioned the poet Ponna (who had received the title of *kavi-cakravarti* from the Rāṣṭrakuṭa Kṛṣna III) to write the *Śāntinātha-purāṇa* (life-history of the Tīrthaṃkara Śāntinātha), she commissioned the poet Ranna (who too had received the title of *kavi-cakravarti* from Tailapa II) to write the *Ajitanātha-purāṇa* and describe the life-history of the Tīrthaṃkara Ajitanātha. She also caused to be made 1500 *gapuras*, flag-staffs flying gay flags, 1500 *dīpa-mālās* of gold, 1500 bells, 1500 Jina images worked with gold and precious stones, etc.; and she made so many munificient gifts that she came to be known as Dāna-cintāmaṇi (Wishing-stones in granting gifts).

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the Gommaṭa image, and felt much exhausted when climbing the hill, a shower of rain fell miraculously and revived her. The reference to the 'climbing of the hill' shows that the Gommaṭa image was set up by Cāmuṇḍa-rāya at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa, and it was not the mythical image set up at Paudanapura on the plain by the Emperor Bharata. This latter image was, besides, as already mentioned, not visible to the eyes of human beings.

It is hence evident that the Gommaṭa image of Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa was in existence in 993 A.D.; and since, as Mr. Narasimhachar has said, it is reasonable to assume that Cāmuṇḍa-rāya would have alluded to it and to his title of Gommaṭa-rāya (which, doubtless, was due to his having set up the Gommaṭa image) in the *Cāmuṇḍarāya-purāṇa*. In case he had set it up already, one may conclude that it was set up after 977 A.D. We will therfore not be far from wrong if, for the present, we assume that it was set up in about 980 A.D.

A. VENKATASUBBIAH

Hyder Ali's Fleet

One of the most formidable enemies the English had in India was Hyder Ali, the able and energetic ruler of Mysore. He formed a steadfast alliance with the French against their common adversary. His son Tipu went farther and opened negotiations with many foreign potentates, Zeman Shah of Afghanistan, the Imam of Muscat and last but not least, the Sultan of Turkey. His ambassadors received a warm welcome at Versailles and although these diplomatic efforts met with scant success, Tipu could very well claim to be the only Indian prince who took any interest in the world politics of his day. But an Indian ruler could not expect to form an effective alliance with Muscat or Constantinople unless he had a strong fleet at his command. Tipu, it is well-known, made an attempt to organise a good fighting fleet, but it will be a mistake to suggest that Hyder had failed to appreciate the value of a powerful navy. His English enemies were strong on the sea, his Portuguese neighbours still relied on their navy in their struggle with Indian states, even the Peshwa possessed a fleet of his own. When the conquest of the Malabar coast put Hyder in possession

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of the famous ports of that region he naturally aspired to extend his power over the sea, but our knowledge of his naval policy is extremely limited. We know that he had a fleet and we also know that his men-of-war were of no use to him in his war against the English. But when he actually undertook the organisation of his navy and what agencies he employed for this purpose are not generally known. It is, however, not impossible to supplement our meagre knowledge on this subject with some scraps of information from unpublished Portuguese record.

Col. Wilks mentions Hyder's fleet but once. In 1768 the Mysore admiral deserted his master's cause and joined the English.[1] Low gives the following account of this incident in his *History of the Indian Navy*:[2] "Early in 1768, the Bombay Government fitted out an expedition, consisting of a squadron of their ships, with four hundred European troops and a large body of Sepoys, to attack Hyder Ali's sea ports on the Malabar coast. The enterprise was completely successsful. The expedition first made its appearance off Onore, or Honawar where Hyder Ali, the great ruler of Mysore, familiarly known at this time as Hyder Naick, had begun to prepare a fleet. He had, however, alienated from his interests the captains of his ships by appointing as his admiral Ali Bey,[3] an officer of cavalry, who of course, was totally ignorant of nautical matters. The consequence was that, when the expedition appeared off Onore, Hyder's fleet, consisting of two ships, two grabs, and ten galivats, sailed and joined the English. Onore, and Fortified Island, at the mouth of the Onore river, were captured, and thence the expedition sailed for Mangalore." Thus in 1768 his fleet proved worse than useless to Hyder. On land he could hold his own against his enemy but on the sea he had the misfortune of witnessing his fleet going over to the other side. Hyder was not the person to be disappointed by a single disaster, however serious, and we shall see how he made a fresh attempt to recoup his loss and reorganise his navy.

If a contemporary Portuguese letter is to believed, the numérical strength of Hyder's fleet was somewhat greater than that indicated by Wilks and Low. By 1763 Hyder had risen to sufficient eminence

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1 Wilks' *Historical Sketches of the South of India* (2nd edition), Vol. I, p. 331.

2 Low, *History of the Indian Navy*, Vol. I, p. 153.

3 Lutf Ali Beg, according to Wilks.

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and a short biography of his was forwarded to Lisbon along with a letter, dated the 26th January, 1764. This brief but interesting sketch gives a fairly accurate account of Hyder's conquest of Kanara but does not say anything about his naval power.[1] In a letter, dated the 23rd September, 1765, we come across the first notice about Hyder's growing power on the sea.[2] It runs as follows: "The whole of this part of Asia (now) enjoys the benefit of a peace (which is) insecure, on account of the unbridled ambition of the potentates who rule this area: Our neighbours, the Marathas and Aidar Ali Can concluded it during the last winter, and the freedom in which the latter is, permits him to augment a fleet which has already begun to cause us some anxiety, and if at present we fear him as a pirate, we have reason to apprehend that time and luck may give him the power to ruin us. We know that his fleet now consists of thirty vessels of war and a large number of transport ships. It is commanded by an Englishman with some European officers." In a letter, dated the 12th December of the same year[3] we again read of Hyder's increasing maritime power. It will not, therefore, be unreasonable to infer that Hyder first launched his fleet sometime between 1763 and 1765, and like many of his neighbours employed European officers to command his navy. But it is a matter of surprise that his admiral should be an Englishman. Wilks and Low say nothing about the nationality of the admiral who joined the English so readily. Nor do we know whether the Englishman, mentioned in the letter quoted above, continued to hold his command till 1768. But apart from the discontent attributed to the appointment of a cavalry officer to the chief naval command, the ready rebellion and desertion of the fleet may very well be explained by the nationality of the admiral. It may be noted in this connection that not merely the English officers, but European commanders of other nationalities as well, deserted Daulat Rao Sindhia during the second Maratha War. It is not unlikely that Hyder appointed Lutf Ali Beg to the head of his fleet because he could not implicitly trust the commanding admiral who happened to be an Englishman. But this is a mere conjecture.

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1 Archivo Ultramarino, Officios dos Governadores, Maço 2, No. 12.

2 Officios dos Governadores, Maço 3, No. 44.

3 Officios dos Governadores, Maço 3, No. 25.

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We learn from a letter[1] addressed by Jose Pedro da Camara to Martinho de Mello e Castro on the 28th December, 1778, that Hyder was again building a large number of men-of-war and a Dutchman was employed to strengthen the harbour of Bhatkal. The letter deserves quotation: "I should particularly inform you that the Nabobo Aidar Ali, aspiring to make himself as respectable on the sea as he is formidable on land, has ordered the construction of many sailing ships[2] in all the places of the south coast (which are) big enough for this great work. He has hitherto in the sea or in stocks eight three-masted ships which carry 28 to 40 pieces (of artillery) and a similar number of *Palas*, also in the sea or in stocks, of lesser tonnage. For making a greater progress in the work and to provide necessary accommodation for building and preserving the most powerful fleet in Asia, he began this month to build a stockade above the water line in the gulf of Batical, which is situated near Onore on the firm land to the south, and is very near the island of Angediva, with the intention of constructing a huge mole which will enclose a port, where, (at the full tide), it is said, a large fleet can anchor. The projected work also includes fortification for the defence of the port. It is being at present outlined according to its circuit inland; it will have an enclosure big enough for a large borough for the residence of numerous merchants of all nationalities who are expected to be attracted by the gift of convenient plots of the neighbouring lands and the loan of capital, which will ensure their establishment in that place where large warehouses for storing goods, articles and ammunition for a big marine, and factories for the work of a busy arsenal have been so well planned." The letter proceeds to say that this great work was under the charge of a Dutchman named Joze Azelars, who was originally an ordinary shipwright in the service of the Dutch East India Company. He professed to be a skilled engineer, when he entered the service of Hyder Ali, and undertook to finish the work in three years at an estimated cost of seventeen lakhs of pagodas. Jose Pedro da Camara, to whom we are indebted for this information, was of opinion that it would be impossible to complete the work in the stipulated period for lack of skilled workmen, and we do not know whether this grand scheme was ever realised.

We read in another letter (in the same bundle), dated the 11th

1 Officios dos Governadores, Maço 5, No. 70.

2 Embarcaçoens de gavia.

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May, 1779, that the work was not progressing satisfactorily. After giving a brief account of Hyder's annexation of the Kṛṣṇā-Tuṅga bhadrā *doab*, the letter proceeds to say, "the mole that the Nabobo planned at Batecal, very near Angediva, is being built very slowly, because the Dutch director of the work encounters difficulties enough in the inlets of the bay and (experiences) greater opposition from the Brahmans who assist him as inspectors or overseers of that work. This is all that I can inform Your Excellency about the progress made by this terrible prince."[1]

Hyder died in 1782, but before his death his fleet suffered another terrible disaster, as we learn from Captain Low. "In the latter part of 1780, Sir Edward Hughes, while on the West Coast of India, dealt a fatal blow to the rising maritime power of Hyder Ally, against whom we were engaged in a life and death struggle. On the 8th of December, being with his squadron off Mangalore, the principal dockyard and naval arsenal of Hyder Ally, the Admiral saw two ships, a large grab, three ketches, and many small vessels, at anchor in the roads with the Nawab's flag flying on board them. He immediately stood in, and finding them to be vessels of force, and all armed, anchored as close to them as the depth of water would allow, and ordered the boats of the squadron to destroy them, under cover of the fire of two ships of the Bombay Marine. This service was conducted with the usual spirit and activity of British seamen, and, in two hours, they took and burnt two ships, one of twenty-eight, and the other of twenty-six guns; one ketch of twelve guns was blown up by the enemy at the instant the boats were boarding her; another ketch of ten guns, which cut her cable, and endeavoured to put to sea, was taken, and the third, with the smaller vessels, were forced on shore, the grab only escaping into the harbour, after having thrown everything overboard to lighten her."[2]

Thus ended the great projects of Hyder Ali, and the naval power of Mysore died in its infancy. Col. Kirkpatrick was of opinion that Hyder had bestowed little or no attention on the organisation of a fleet,[3] but the Portuguese letters, mentioned above, leave no doubt

1 Archivo Ultramarino, Lisbon, Officios dos Governadores, Maço 5, No. 28.

2 Low, *History of the Indian Navy*, Vol. I, p. 178.

3 *Select Letters of Tippoo Sultan*, p. 415.

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that Kirkpatrick's conclusion, based on negative evidence alone, can no longer be upheld. The earliest reference to Tipu's fleet was to be found, according to Kirkpatrick, in a letter[1] the Sultan addressed to Mir Ghulam Husain on the 24th September, 1786. "The navy" says Col. Wilks, "was not finally organised on paper till 1796, and can scarcely be deemed to have had a practical existence."[2] The maritime hopes of Mysore perished with Hyder, and although Tipu established commercial relations with the Imam of Muscat, he did not succeed where his father had failed.[3]

SURENDRA NATH SEN

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1 *Select Letters of Tippoo Sultan*, p. 414.

2 *Historical Sketches of the South of India* (2nd edition), Vol. II, p. 267. It is, however, difficult to accept this statement of Col. Wilks. In 1787 an alliance between the Portuguese and the Marathas was proposed against Tipu. Two articles of the draft treaty provided for Portuguese naval co-operation with the Marathas against Tipu's fleet. It is, therefore, clear that Tipu's fleet had a practical existence as early as 1787. Officios dos Governadores, Maço 20, No. 95. Biker, *Tratados da India*, Vol. VIII, pp. 221-222.

3 Copies of four letters written at different times to one Raghuji Angira, who is described as Captain of Hyder Ali's fleet, are to be found in the Goa archives. These letters, however, furnish no information about the Mysore fleet except that a Hindu officer once occupied a high office in Hyder's navy.

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Śraddhā and Bhakti in Vedic Literature

I

The word *bhakti*, as a religious technical term, makes its first historical appearance at a comparatively late period in Indian religious history. This is probably due to the fact, as we shall see presently, that *bhakti*, as a mystic and monotheistic form of loving devotion, requires a personal deity for its object and involves an attitude of mind which is hardly compatible with the Vedic and Brāhmaṇic idea of worship and ritualism; but at the same time, *bhakti* need not in itself be inconsistent with a polytheistic view of the world, and the germs out of which the idea of *bhakti* developed must have been inherent in the primitive tendencies towards ritualistic magic, animism, totemism[1] and other forms of early belief, from which must also be traced the beginnings of the more orthodox systems of Indian Philosophy. Ideas are of greater significance than words; and the intuitive realisation of the idea of *bhakti* may run through the whole of early literature and may possess greater historical importance than what a solitary word like *bhakti* or *śraddhā*, used in early literature, would do.

Earliest appearance of bhakti.

The original Indo-European religion is still a matter of speculation, and it is not clear if the idea of *bhakti* was present in it. Meillet[2], who has recently sought to reconstruct this early religion through linguistic palaeontology, maintains that it was a simple and primitive affair, but it had some fine and noble features about it. What is interesting to us to note is that there was, according to Meillet, the idea of faith (**kred-dhō, crēdō, śraddhā*) in a beneficient and enjoyment-giving (**bho-*

No trace in Indo-European religion.

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1 Some of the names of the tribes and families of the *Ṛg-veda* such as Kaśyapa (tortoise), Matsya (fish), Aja (goat), Gotama (great ox), Vatsa (calf), Śaunaka (son of a dog), Kauśika (owl), Māṇḍūkya (son of a frog), Śigru (horse-radish) are supposed by scholars to point to the survival of totemism in *Ṛg-veda*; but Hopkins (*PAOS*, 1894, p. cliv) doubts this.

2 A. Meillet, *Linguistique Historique et Linguistique Générale* (Paris, 1921), pp. 326-329. See Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, *Foundations of Civilisation in India*, Weiteverden, 1929, p. 72 (Reprint).

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gos, bhaga, baga, bogu) deity who belonged to the sky or heaven (**deiwos, dēvas, deus*), to whom holy libations were poured (**ghutom, hutam*). But, as Schrader[1] very pertinently pointed out long ago, though Latin *crēdō* is certainly identical with Sanskrit *śraddhā* (="trust, confidence, belief, truth, uprightness"), it is wholly arbitrary to assume that the word was an expression of *religio* in the primeval period. The equation of Vedic *bhaga* with similar words in Zend and Anglo-Saxon may or may not prove anything, for the question of direct borrowing or independent evolution is not entirely precluded; but the predicate of a deity as the giver of all good things, even if it possesses a certain religious significance, is not conclusive as to the presence of faith or devotion for a personal god. Again, even if the pouring of libations be established as a characteristic of early belief, the mode of worship which it indicates and which is to be presumed from the Vedic ritual of *homa*, is fundamentally different from that of *pūjā* which is involved in the idea of *bhakti*.

It would be interesting in the light of the above suggestion to examine the passages bearing on *śraddhā* in Vedic literature itself.

Śraddhā in Vedic literature.

From a careful consideration of these passages it would appear that Schrader is undoubtedly right in rendering the word in English as "trust, confidence, belief, truth, uprightness," without any implication of a sense of loving devotion, although authorities like Max Müller,[2] Macdonell,[3] Whitney and Lanman[4] would translate it, rather misleadingly, by the word 'faith.' Apart from the well-known Śraddhā-hymn (*Ṛg-veda*, x, 151), the usual form in which the word occurs is *śrat* + √*dhā*, either as a finite verb or as a participle, as in the following :

In the Ṛg-veda.

i, 55, 5—ádhā caná śrád dadhati tvíṣīmata índrāya (*Sāyaṇa* : tviṣīmata indrāya sarve janāḥ śrad dadhati/ śrad iti satyanāma/ indro balavān iti yad ucyate tat satyam eveti sarve pratipādyante).

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1 *Pre-historic Antiquities of the Aryan People*, trs. F. B. Jevons, London, 1890, pp. 142, 415.

2 *The Upaniṣads* (SBE), Oxford, 1900, Kaṭha-Upaniṣad, i, 2.

3 *Vedic Mythology*, p. 119 ; also in Art. 'Vedic hymn' in *ERE*.

4 *Atharva-veda, Trans. and Notes* (HOS), pp. 209 (iv, 35, 7), 233 (v, 7, 5 but explained in the notes as 'confidence'), 372 (vi, 122, 3), 536 (ix, 5, 21), 589 (x, 7, 1), 591 (x, 7, 11) etc.

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i, 103, 3—sá jātúvarmā śraddádhāna ójaḥ púro vibhindánn acarad ví dāsīḥ (*Sāyaṇa*: śraddadhānaḥ = ādarātiśayena kāmayamānaḥ).

i, 103, 5—śrád índrasya dhattana vīríāya (*Sāyaṇa*: śrad dhattana = bahumānaṃ kuruta).

i, 104, 7—śrát te asmā adhāyi (*Sāyaṇa*: asmābhiḥ śraddhā kṛtā).

ii, 12, 5—śrád asmai dhatta sá janāsa índraḥ (*Sāyaṇa*: sa indro'stīti viśvāsam atra kuruta).

viii, 75, 2—śrád víśvā vāryā kṛdhi (*Sāyaṇa*: śrat satyāni kṛdhi kuru).

x, 39, 5—śrád arír yáthā dádhat (*Sāyaṇa*: śrad dadhat = śraddadhyāt).

x, 147, 1—śrát te dadhāmi (*Sāyaṇa*: śraddhā nāmādarātiśayaḥ).

The other forms of the word are:

śráddhitam i, 104, 6—śráddhitaṃ te mahatá indriyāya (*Sāyaṇa*: śraddhitam = asmābhiḥ śraddhānaṃ kṛtam, tvadīyam balam bahumāna-pūrvakaṃ stuma ityarthaḥ).

śraddhāmanāḥ (compounded), ii, 26, 3—devānāṃ yáḥ pitáram āvívāsati śraddhāmanā havíṣā bráhmaṇaspátim (*Sāyaṇa*: śraddhāmanāḥ = śraddhā manasi yasya tādṛśaḥ san).

śraddhāmanasyā x, 113, 9—śraddhāmanasyā śṛṇute (*Sāyaṇa*: manaḥ-śabdāt kyac/ śraddhā-yuktayā manasa icchayā śṛṇute).

But the word *śraddhā* itself in its various case-forms occurs:

śraddháyā (instrumental), viii, 1, 31—śraddháyāhám ráthe ruhám (*Sāyaṇa*: śraddhayā ādarātiśayena yuktaḥ san ratha ā ruham ārohayam).

ix, 113, 2—ṛta-vākéna satyéna śraddháyā tápasā sutá índrāyendo pári srava (Sāyaṇa does not explain the word *śraddhā* here).

śraddhā (instrumental), vii, 32, 14—śraddhā ít te maghavan pārye diví vājí vājam siṣāsati (*Sāyaṇa*: śraddhā = śraddhayā yuktaḥ san).

śraddhām (accusative), i, 108, 6—tāṃ satyāṃ śraddhām abhi ā hi yātám (*Sāyaṇa*: ādarātiśayena kṛtām uktim).

ix, 113, 4—śraddhām vádan (*Sāyaṇa*: yajamānānāmātmnopekṣitāṃ vadan).

śraddhé (locative ?), i, 102, 2—asmé sūryā-candramásābhicákṣe śraddhé kám indra carato vitarturám (*Sāyaṇa*: śraddhe = śraddhārtham/ cakṣuṣā dṛṣṭe vastunīdaṃ satyam iti śraddhotpadyāte.)

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It will be seen from the relevant extracts given from Sāyaṇa's commentary that the word *śrat* is always interpreted as 'truth,' *satya*, and *śrat* + *dhā* in its various forms is explained variously as conveying the sense of *ādarātiśaya*, *bahumāna* or *viśvāsa*. Sāyaṇa would, therefore, take the word to mean 'high regard,' 'esteem,' or 'belief in truth.'

In the Śraddhā-hymn.

In the Śraddhā-hymn of the *Ṛg-Veda*, x, 151, Śraddhā, as an abstract deity, is said to be invoked morning, noon and evening. Through Śraddhā fire is kindled, oblations are offered and wealth is obtained. Śraddhā favours him who bestows or desires to bestow gifts and performs sacrifices. Such skilful exaltation of Śraddhā as a goddess is also to be found in *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* ii, 8,8 and iii, 12,3, 1-2, where she is said to dwell within the gods, who obtain their divine quality through her ; and, invoked as the mother of all wishes, the foundation of the world, the upholder of all and the first-born of the divine order, she is asked to accept oblations. Obviously, Śraddhā, as a personified abstraction, has here a somewhat extended significance. Sāyaṇa explains the deified abstract conception rather vaguely as "a particular human desire" (*puruṣa-gato'bhilāsa-viśeṣaḥ*). This sense is accepted by Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara in their commentaries on the *Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā* of the Yajur-Veda ; and they generally agree with Sāyaṇa in interpreting *śrat* as 'truth,' *satya*, (*VS*, viii, 5 ; xix, 30), and *śraddhā* as 'trust,' *viśvāsa*, or 'belief in the existence and generosity of the gods,' *āstikya-buddhi*. On *VS*, xix, 30, Uvaṭa with whom Mahīdhara agrees, remarks : *śrad iti satya-nāmasu paṭhitam| tadasyāṃ dhīyate āstikyenaivam etad iti sā śraddhā puṇya-kṛtāṃ manoviśeṣaḥ*; and this passage would make clear Sāyaṇa's indefinite explanation of *śraddhā* as a particular form of human desire, the word 'desire' being not very happy in implying a state of belief in the existence of the gods (*āstikya*). It is true that on *VS*, xviii, 5 Mahīdhara explains *śraddhā* somewhat narrowly as "belief in the next world" (*para-loka-viśvāsaḥ*), but on *VS*, viii, 5 (śrád asmai naro vácase dadhātana), Mahīdhara, like Uvaṭa, explains : *śrad iti satya-nāmasu paṭhitam.....śraddhāṃ kuruta āstikya-buddhiṃ kurutetyarthaḥ*.[1] One passage of the *Vājasaneyi-*

In the Yajur-Veda.

1 It is not necessary to take into account corresponding or similar passages in the Kaṭha or Maitrāyaṇīya recensions of the *Yajur-Veda*; but they can be easily found out with the help of the excellent indices given in L. von Schroeder's editions of the texts.

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Saṃhitā, however, clearly states that Śraddhā is truth and Aśraddhā is falsehood (xix, 77):

dṛṣṭvā́ rūpé vyā́karot satyānṛté prajā́patiḥ/
áśraddhām ánṛte'dadhāc chraddhā́ṃ satyé prajā́patiḥ//

"Prajāpati, having beheld the two forms, separated Truth and Lie from one another. He put Aśraddhā unto Lie, Śraddhā unto Truth."

In the Atharva-Veda.

A similar examination of the passages of the *Atharva-Veda* where the word *śraddhā* or its various forms are used would confirm the above indications. In almost all the cases,[1] again, where Sāyaṇa comments on the passages in question, he explains the word, used in its different forms, as *ādara*, 'regard' (xi, 2, 28), *viśvāsa*, 'trust' (xi, 2, 28), *abhilāsa-viśeṣa* 'a particular wish' (xi, 10, 22), or *āstikya-buddhi* 'belief in truth' (vi, 122, 3; xi, 9, 9). The kind of belief that is understood by the word will be clear when we consider that in the *Ṛg-veda*, if not in the later Vedas, the word *śraddhā* in its various forms occurs in the hymns addressed chiefly to Indra, as also occasionally to Agni, Aśvinā, Soma or Brahmaṇaspati.[2] It is never employed in the fervent hymns to Varuṇa, in which alone, in the whole of Saṃhitā literature, we can expect to find an experience of intense devotional fervour akin to the feeling of *bhakti*. Even in Ṛg-vedic times there must have prevailed some amount of scepticism regarding the existence and generosity of the gods; and in a well known passsage of an Indra-hymn,

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1 On the following passages there is no commentary by Sāyaṇa, but the sense of the passages would require similar meanings of the word *śraddhā*: v, 7, 5; ix, 5, 21; x, 7, 1; x, 7, 11; xiii, 6, 2; xv, 2, 5; xv, 7, 2-4-5; xv, 16, 4. The form *śraddadhānāḥ* occurs in xii, 3, 7 and *śraddadhānena* in ix, 5, 7-11; but in both these cases the word is not explained by Sāyaṇa. In one passage (iv, 30, 4, śrudhí śruta śraddhéyaṃ te vadāmi), Sāyaṇa explaining the word *śraddheyam* says: *śraddheyaṃ śraddhātavyam/ śraddhā bhaktiḥ/ tayā prāpyam para-tattva-svarūpaṃ vadāmy upadiśāmi/* The explanation of *bhakti* is obviously inadmissible: but probably the meaning of the word *śraddhā* in this passage approximates to 'wisdom', as in *Atharva-veda* vi, 133, 4, where the girdle of disciplehood is addressed as daughter of Śraddhā and is asked to assign the disciple to Mati (thought) and Medhā (wisdom).

2. The occurrence of the word in an address to Brahmaṇaspati need not be made the ground for any monotheistic conclusion.

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in which this attitude is alluded to, the poet exhorts the people to have belief or confidence in Indra (ii, 12, 5):

yáṃ smā pṛcchánti kúha séti ghorám
utém āhur naíṣó astítyenam/
só aryáḥ pustír víja ivā́ minā́ti
śrád asmai dhatta sá janāsa índraḥ//

"The terrible one of whom they ask 'where is he,' of whom they also say 'he does not exist'; he diminishes the possession of the niggard like the (player's) stake. Believe in him; he, O men, is Indra."[1] This 'belief' is not the sentiment of devotion or supplication for mercy which finds expression in Varuṇa-hymns, but *āstikya-buddhi*, as rightly explained by the commentators: and the way in which this belief is opposed or supported in Vedic texts shews that it could not have been taken for granted.

A later sense of Śraddhā.

In one passage of the *Atharva-veda*[2] (vi, 122, 3) Sāyaṇa explains the word *śraddadhānāḥ* as *karmānuṣṭhāna-tatparāḥ*, and in another place in the same text *śraddhā* is explained as *tad-anuṣṭhāna-viṣayā āstikya-buddhiḥ*, implying thereby the sense of a belief in the efficacy of ritualistic worship. This must have been the later meaning of the word *śraddhā* when it was connected directly with ritualism and with *dakṣiṇā* or sacrificial fee paid to the officiating priest, although this sense seems to have been foreshadowed even in the Śraddhā-hymn of *Ṛg-veda*, x, 151, 2. Oldenberg, relying on two passages from the *Kaṭha-Upaniṣad* I, 1f. (taṃ ha kumāraṃ santaṃ dakṣināsu nīyamānāsu śraddhāviveśa), and *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa* iii, 11, 8, 1f, supported by passages from other Vedic texts and later ritualistic and Smṛti works, attempts[3] to as-

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1 Macdonell's translation in *Vedic Reader*, Oxford 1917, p. 49 (modified). Cf also i, 55, 5; vii, 32, 14.

2 Bloomfield (*Atharva Veda*, p. 77) would take the word *śraddhā* in such passages to mean "faith that expresses itself in work, namely in *dakṣiṇā*". The connexion of *śraddhā* with *iṣṭāpūrta* and the equation of *pūrta* with *dakṣiṇā* (Bloomfield, *Religion of the Veda*, p. 194-5) seem to be rather far-fetched; but the latter Brāhmaṇic idea of Śraddhā as the promoter of the sacrifice and its attendant gifts cannot be denied. See below.

3 *ZDMG*, 50, pp. 448-50. Cf. Bloomfield, *Religion of the Veda*, pp. 186-193, 201.

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cribe this narrower connotation to the term *śraddhā* used in Vedic literature in general, connecting it with the idea of gift, with special reference to the generosity to the priests who officiate at a sacrifice. That is to say, he who is liberal in offering *dakṣiṇā* to the priest at the sacrifice is supposed to have *śraddhā*. But it is not necessary to find this restricted sense in every passage in the Vedic texts, nor is it always suitable or justified.[1] Oldenberg, however is undoubtedly right in holding that this became the general sense of the word in later ritualistic Brāhmaṇa literature, when the personification of Śraddhā, who made men believe in such a god as Indra and in in the efficacy of sacrifice to him, became an important thing in the eyes of the priests, who naturally exalted her as the giver of their daily food.[2] Śraddhā, as a Ṛg-vedic goddess, may not be more than a poetic symbol, but it must have been a symbol whose importance could not be denied, from a very practical point of view, in the priestly ritual. The Śraddhā-hymn itself speaks of Śraddhā bestowing her favour on those who offer sacrifice and are liberal in their gifts (x, 151, 2). Passages like dakṣiṇā śraddhām āpnoti (*VS*, 19, 30), śraddadhānena dattaḥ (*Atharva-veda*, ix, 5, 11), yadā hy eva śraddhatte 'tha dakṣiṇāṃ dadāti, or, kasmin nu dakṣiṇā pratiṣṭhiteti śraddhāyām iti (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Up.* iii, 9, 21), śraddhayā deyam aśraddhayādeyam (*Taittirīya-Up.* i, 11, 3) may be cited in support of this later conception of Śraddhā as the promoter of the sacrifice and its attendant sacrificial fee.

Śraddhā in the Nirukta.

In equating *śrat* with *satya* and *śraddhā* with *viśvāsa*, the commentators, of course, follow the indication given by Yāska[3] in his *Nirukta*. He explains the word *śrat* (in *Nighaṇṭu* iii, 10) as one of the synonyms of truth (*satya-nāmāni*, *Nir.* iii, 13), and *śraddhā* (in *Nighaṇṭu* v, 3) as an attitude of the mind based on truth (*śraddhānāt*, *Nir.* ix, 30). Durgācārya

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1 See, for instance, the passages already cited above, as well as those given under *śraddhā* in Jacob's *Concordance to the Upaniṣads*, (Bombay 1891) p. 931.

2 Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda* (HOS, 1925), pp. 249-50. There is a late Ṛg-vedic hymn addressed to *Dakṣiṇā*, x, 107, 2, which extols the liberal patrons, somewhat in the flattering manner of the *dāna-stutis*.

3 They clearly refer to Yāska, when they say: *satya-nāmasu paṭhitam*.

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remarks on this that *śraddhā* means that intuitive attitude of belief which one assumes towards the *caturvargas* and which does not undergo any change. The tutelary deity of this intuition is called Śraddhā, whom Durga identifies as a manifestation of Agni. This Vedic deity Śraddhā becomes the daughter of the Sun in *Śatapatha-Br.* xii, 7, 3, 11, and of Prajāpati in *Taitt. Br.* ii, 3, 10, 1. Her relationship is further worked out in the Epics and the Purāṇas.[1]

It is clear from what is said above that *śraddhā* in the Vedic texts, at least in the Vedic Saṃhitās, must have conveyed a sense which was never akin to the mood of *bhakti* as a form of loving devotion to a personal deity, but simply implied confidence, trust or belief based on the knowledge of truth. The earliest formulation of the doctrine of *bhakti* in the *Bhagavadgītā*, which is followed also in the systematic *Śāṇḍilya-sūtra*, clearly implies that *bhakti* may presuppose or may be the result of knowledge or belief, but it is not identical with them; for it is, in its purest from, a kind of personal affection directed solely and simply to a deity, a rapt communion with or participation in the life divine, realised in an ethical or emotional frame of mind. This sense is hardly present in the passages which bear upon *śraddhā* in the Vedic texts ; and even in later literature *śraddhā* is not always used synonymously with *bhakti*.

The term bhakti in Vedic.

The term *bhakti* in the technical reli gious sense is nowhere employed in the Vedic Saṃhitās. The root *bhaj* from which the word is derived is used in its various verbal and other forms,[2] but nothing is gained by an examinations of these passages. In *RV.*, i, 127, 5 Agni is spoken of as extending his favour by discriminating between *bhakta* and *abhakta*, but it is not necessary to read into the passage a strict technical sense, and Sāyaṇa rightly renders the terms simply by *sevamāna* and *asevamāna* among the Yajamānas i.e. worshippers who do or do not worship Agni for protection.[3] An analysis of the numerous Vedic passages in which

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1 E.W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology* (Strassburg 1915); pp. 86, 140, 165, 199 etc.

2 In Pāṇini's Dhātupāṭha (ed. Boehtlingk) there are two roots *bhaj*—(1) *bhaj sevāyām*, 'to serve' in the Bhū-class 1, 1047, and (2) *bhaj viśrāṇane* 'to distribute' in the Cur-class, x, 194. The root *bhakṣ* 'to eat' is supposed to be a secondary form of the root *bhaj*.

3 Boehtlingk and Roth, *Sanskrit Woerterbuch*, render the word by *zugetheilt*.

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the √*bhaj* occurs in its various forms would shew that the root is used with various shades of meaning, such as (i) 'to distribute, allot, apportion,' (ii) 'to furnish supply, bestow,' (iii) 'to share with,' (iv) 'to partake of', 'enjoy' (v) 'to set about' (vi) 'to resort to'. But the word is hardly ever used in the special sense of 'to love', 'to adore,' from which the term *bhakti* in its technical sense is derived.

Other senses of bhakti in early literature.

The term *bhakti* or *bhakta* itself is used in other senses in Vedic literature, but with these we have no concern. The word *bhakti* often signifies distribution, partition, separation or even portion or share ; and in the *Nirukta* as well as in the *Ṛg-veda-Prātiśākhya* it is employed in the sense of 'succession,' 'order,' or 'series,' or as meaning 'an attribute.' Yāska speaks (vii, 24) of the Brāhmaṇas as "given indeed to too large an indulgence in metaphorical expression" (*bahu-bhakti-vādīni hi brāhmaṇāni bhavanti*).[1] In vii, 8, again, Yāska speaks of the morning libations as the *bhaktis* of Agni.[2] Here the phrase *agni-bhaktāni* apparently means 'things which resort to or relate themselves to Agni' ; for the use of the word appears to be sanctioned in this sense by Pāṇini, iv, 3, 95. Pāṇini's rule lays down that an affix (*aṇ*) comes after a word in the first case-ending in construction, in the sense of 'this is his object of *bhakti*.' The *Kāśikā-Vṛtti* explains : *bhajyate sevyata iti bhaktiḥ, śrughno bhaktir asya iti śraughnaḥ*. Similarly the term *māthura* is cited as an illustration, meaning apparently 'one who resorts to Mathurā.' In other words, the term *bhakti* in this aphorism, implying 'resorting to,' 'serving,' 'worshipping' has a passive sense, and means 'a thing resorted to, served or worshipped.' Although the suffix *ti* in *bhakti*, according to Pāṇini, should otherwise indicate '*bhāva*' or condition, yet it signifies for the purpose of this rule, not

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1 Laksman Sarup (*The Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta, Eng. Transl. and Notes*, Oxford, 1921. p. 126) translates 'the Brāhmaṇas indeed, speak of many divisions' : while Durga explains *bhakti* as *guṇa-kalpanā*. We here follow the rendering of Belvalkar and Ranade (*Hist. of Indian Philosophy*, vol. 2, p. 9). *Bhakti*, as a logical technical term, regularly means 'metaphorical expression' in later philosophical and rhetorical systems.

2 Sarup (*op. cit.* p. 117) translates as 'share' : but Belvalkar and Ranade (*op. cit.*, p. 467-68) more correctly render it as 'bandhu', for the explanation of which term see below.

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'resort,' 'worship' or 'devotion' as an abstract noun, but the thing that is resorted to, served, worshipped or liked.[1] All this would indicate that by the time of Pāṇini, and possibly of Yāska, the idea of loving devotion was already associated with the term *bhakti*, but the word itself signified 'worshipped' or 'loved' in the passive sense, and not 'love' or 'worship' in the abstract. But at the same time it would be uncritical to maintain that this sense was present in the early Vedic passages themselves.

Feeling akin to bhakti in Vedic hymns.

As the linguistic consideration of the terms *śraddhā* and *bhakti* as employed in the Vedic Saṃhitās do not carry us to a definite conclusion, it would perhaps be more profitable to examine the content and spirit of the hymns themselves for any trace of the idea of *bhakti* or of some religious consciousness closely akin to it. Bhandarkar has already referred[2] to certain hymns addressed to Dyaus and Aditi, in which a feeling similar to personal devotion or love is expressed to these deities by invoking them intimately as 'father' or 'mother' and asking them to be as gracious as a parent to the child. Considering that this is probably an abiding feeling of the human heart, we cannot indeed assert that it was entirely absent in Vedic times; but the idea of *bhakti* or loving devotion, centering round some specific god or gods, finds expression not so much in the manifold elaborateness of ritual worship, but in the psychological mood with which praise or worship is offered. Such a mood must have been very ancient in India, and is traceable particularly in some groups of hymns in which the particular deity addressed is conceived in more or less intimate and affectionate terms as a god of grace and benevolence. The later Brāhmaṇic ritual probably destroyed the spirit of these verses by reducing them to somewhat verbal and mechanical formulas; but there can be no doubt that in some of the Ṛg-vedic hymns, more specially in the Varuṇa-hymns, the feeling, expressed as it is in the forms of mythological fancy and verbal mystification, is more or less clearly traceable.

It has been very often remarked that the Vedic poets lacked what may be called deep faith; but the statement requires some important

1 See Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism*, §30.

2 *Op. cit.*, §29.

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qualification. It is true that the praise offered in most hymns implies nothing more than gratitude for benefits received, as well as belief in further acts of generosity. The enumeration of the kind acts of the gods in the past is only one form of expressing this gratitude and belief. The outlook is very often materialistic and the poets love to clothe their utterances in the form of petitions. Nevertheless, the impassioned language in which this praise and prayer are very often expressed shows without doubt that a firm feeling of devotion was not entirely lacking. The gods as a race are, no doubt, conceived as superior, sinless and ethically apart, but the attitude of the worshipper in many cases, passing far beyond a formal acknowledgement of favours bestowed, is intimate and familiar, as Hopkins remarks,[1] to a degree unknown in any other ancient religion. The gods are not only feared but also admired and loved ; and the gods, in their turn, are said to love their worshippers. Even the terrible god Indra is invoked as "father and mother" (viii, 1, 6; viii, 98, 11), and his fatherliness is emphasised in some hymns in which he is invoked in the same way as a son invokes his father (iii, 53, 2). His friendship for the devotee is often mentioned (iv, 17, 17; iv, 23, 5-6; x, 112, 10), and one poet speaks (iv, 68, 11) of this friendship as sweet (*svādu*). Further even than this, his "brotherhood" is often so real and intimate that he is addressed with astonishing familiarity as a brother (iv, 23, 6; iv, 25, 2 etc.) Even Agni, the most ritualistic of the gods, is invoked in similar terms of tender and intimate relationship as father, brother, son, and even mother of men (i, 31, 10; ii, 1, 9; vi, 1, 5; vi, 2, 7), the dearest and nearest of divinities (iii, 3, 4; v, 1, 9; vi, 2, 7), the most kindly friend (i, 67, 1; i, 94, 14; x, 7, 13).

The attitude of the Vedic devotee to his deity.

This intimate mutual relation between the devotee and his deity is further indicated by the idea of the gods as belonging to one family with man. The gods are not only generous and gracious and fond of men, but the much beloved gods are directly and familiarly addressed as friends and relations, and more intimately as father or brother. Agni is invoked as an Aṅgiras, belonging to the Vedic family of that *gotra*-name ; and probably from this sense of relationship some Vedic clans bear the names which were originally epithets of

Idea of friendship and family relationship with the gods.

1 *Ethics of India*, New Haven, 1924, p. 11f.

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the gods, and *vice versa*. Bergaigne[1] is probably right in stating that this is not merely a poetic fancy, but that the terms in which the relationship is expressed, indicate the conception of a real family relationship between the worshipper and the high gods, and Vedic poets, like Vaśiṣṭha, sometimes claim forgiveness and mercy on grounds of friendship and family affection.

Traces of erotic mysticism.

There can be, no doubt, that in most of these hymns of praise there is a note of fervent thanksgiving, but they also indicate an ethical frame of mind, involving a devout as well as impassioned conception of the deity. The reverent yet affectionate manner often verges upon emotional love. Hopkins points out[2] with fine discernment that an expression of erotic mysticism is not lacking in some of these intimate and familiar hymns where the god-seeker (*devayu*) and god-lover (*deva-kāma*) dwells upon his spiritual experience with a somewhat sensuous delight, which is only toned down by the consciousness that his relation with his god is rather one of family relationship. We need not go so far as to hold with the same critic that the "*bhakti* or loving devotion, which some scholars imagine to be only a late development of Hindu religion, is already evident in the *Ṛg-veda*, even in its dangerous trend towards eroticism"; but it is possible to maintain that the terms in which this devotional attitude is expressed are often impassioned and even erotic enough to indicate strong traces of a feeling of intimate and loving devotion. In a hymn (x, 43, 1f.) addressed to Indra, for instance, the poet says: "All the desires of my mind, seeking happiness, unite in extolling thee. As wives embrace their own husbands, even so they embrace the faultless and generous Indra for support. O Indra, my mind, directed towards thee, never turns from thee, and on thee I rest my desire." Another poet cries (iv, 25, 1): "What ardent lover of the god (*uśan deva-kāmaḥ*) has today enjoyed the friendship of Indra?" In a well known hymn, again, the Aśvins are questioned (x, 40, 2) as to where they were by night: "Who draws you to his house, as a widow does her husband's brother to the couch, or a woman does a man?" These traces of erotic expression of a passion for the gods bear unmistakable testimony to the presence of an emotional love and not mere

1 *Religion Védique*, vol. i, p. 35. Cf. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 12. In this is probably to be sought the origin of the Brāhmaṇa doctrine of the sacrificer's community and alliance with the gods.

2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 8, 9.

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devout meditation on the attributes of the deity. The gods were, no doubt, anthropomorphic, but they were sufficiently individualised to be invoked by name and form (*nāmabhī rūpebhiḥ*) and even inspire a sense of affectionate intimacy and familiarity associated with personal devotion.

The Varuṇa hymns.

This attitude is nowhere so clear as in the hymns to Varuṇa. The reason for this is that Varuṇa was conceived in a special sense as the moral sovereign of the universe, who is a punisher of sin and falsehood, but is gracious to the supplicant and the penitent, and who vouchsafes his divine friendship to the ardent devotee; while the attributes of a god like Indra are clearly those of physical superiority and of dominion, his cosmic and ritualistic character being chiefly emphasised.

Ethical conception of Varuṇa, and his connexion with Rta.

Heroic action is characteristic of the soma-drinking and fighting Indra who is conceived specially as a universal warrior; while moral sway is distinctive of the holy and reposeful Varuṇa to whom the guardianship of the moral world is ascribed. If Indra is specially associated with *Satya*, truth, Varuṇa, with his unalterable ordinances (*vratāni*), is connected with *Ṛta*, the moral order; and *Ṛta* is regarded as more than *Satya*.[1] Indra bestows liberal gifts on his worshippers, but Varuṇa punishes them as well as forgives them for sin. Prayer for forgiveness and mercy is a characteristic note of the hymns dedicated to Varuṇa who is one of the most personalised of all the Ṛg-vedic gods, and the feeling expressed in these hymns is very difficult to distinguish from incipient *bhakti*.[2] In this respect attention may be drawn to the Ṛg-vedic hymns ii, 28, v, 85 and vii, 86, 87, 89. Endowed with sovereignty and mystic power (*māyā*)[3] Varuṇa is represented in these hymns not only as

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1 Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 83, 84, 248-49. Cf. *Ṛg-v.*, x, 190.

2 The hymns addressed to the Āditya and Aditi herself may be considered in this connexion, for with Varuṇa and Mitra they form a group of benevolent deities who afford protection against temptation of sin and against disease and suffering, which result from sin. This aspect of Vedic religion, though present in a lesser degree in some other gods, is prominent in this group; for in the case of other gods the ethical connexion is clearly slight and artificial.

3 Macdonell interprets the word *māyā* as 'craft', 'skill', 'divine trickery' and even 'wile', which practically follows the meanings given

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a saviour in times of distress but also as a god of grace and mercy,[1] punisher as well as remitter of sin, whom the devotee invokes with a sincere feeling of dependence and supplication. It is true that Vedic hymnology, as a rule, is not directly concerned with questions of morals or faith, and the idea of sin, which consists chiefly in the transgression of divine ordinances and of which disease is supposed to be the punishment and reminder, may be somewhat physical and external.[2] It should be conceded that what is emphasised is belief in the existence and generosity of the gods and in paying due honours to them. A man should, in the opinion of the Vedic poet, be conscious of his sin and seek forgiveness, but the moral aspect of this consciousness of sin or penitence need not be exaggerated. Nevertheless, even if the spirit of the Varuṇa-hymns do not indicate such single-minded devotion[3] and such ethical frame of mind towards a specific object of worship as is indicated by the term *bhakti*, they still give evidence of a psychological mood of dependence and supplication to a god of grace, in which indeed one must seek the origins of a doctrine of *bhakti*.

Varuṇa as a god of grace.

It is interesting to consider the relation of Varuṇa to his worshipper indicated by these hymns. We have a graphic account here of the intimacy which Vaiśiṣṭha and his family enjoyed with Varuṇa and of how the intimacy was broken through sin. The god is represented to be on a footing of friendship with his worshipper,[4] who communes with him in his celestial abode and sometimes sees him with his mental

The relation of Varuṇa to his worshipper.

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by Böhtlingk and Roth. The word probably covers the abstract supernatural power as well as the concrete deed and proof of it. On this word see Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, p. 159.

1 *sumati, mṛḷīka, suśeva.*

2 On the Vedic idea of sin as a pollution or miasma, see Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-45 (full references) ; Griswold, *Religion of the Ṛg-veda*, Oxford 1928, p. 125 ; Hopkins, *op. cit.*, Ch. ii, also pp. 42f.

3 The Vedic poets are, no doubt, accustomed to the flattery of each deity in turn as the supreme god. This rudimentary henotheism, even if it is regarded as the first step towards pantheism, is not incompatible with the conception of Varuṇa as the supreme moral sovereign, to whom exclusive devotion is due as a god of grace.

4 The very name of Varuṇa's associate deity, Mitra (=a friend), is also significant.

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eye (i, 25, 18 ; vii, 82, 2). In one hymn (vii, 88, 4-6) the poet reflects on his former companionship with his god, when Varuṇa and himself sailed on a ship together in Varuṇa's heaven, and the god made him a seer ; if he sinned against the god, still as his true friend, the god will forgive him. In another hymn (vii, 86),[1] the worshipper asks Varuṇa if it was an old sin which made the god angry with one who is a friend and who is always full of praise and devotion. He pleads that the god's ordinances were transgressed, not through deliberate intent, but through lack of thought and through the sinful nature of man which makes one liable to seduction of one kind or other. He hopes that his penitential psalm will reach Varuṇa and make the heart of his god complaisant, and he vows to offer his service, like a slave, to the merciful, erewhile the angry, deity. He throws himself completely at divine mercy for release from the sins of his fathers, as well as from those committed by himself, just as a calf is released from the rope. In another short but fervent hymn (vii, 89) the devotee pleads passionately for mercy :[2]

"May I not, king Varuṇa, go down to the house of clay. Be gracious, mighty lord, have mercy !"

"Since like one tottering I move, O slinger, like inflated skin, be gracious, mighty lord, have mercy !"

"O thou strong and mighty god, through want of strength I went astray. Be gracious, mighty lord, have mercy !"

"Thirst came upon thy worshipper, even when he stood in the midst of waters.[3] Be gracious, mighty lord, have mercy !"

"Whatever wrong we men commit against the heavenly host, O Varuṇa, whatever law of thine we break through thoughtlessness, for that iniquity chastise us not, O god !"

Forgiveness as an act of grace.

His devotion is all that he can offer to appease the anger of his god, and the poet hopes to soothe Varuṇa by his prayer and praises just as a horse is soothed by kind words (i, 25, 3). It is the grace of the god, obtained through his slave-

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1 The hymn with translation etc. will be conveniently found in Macdonell's *Vedic Reader*, p. 135.

2 For translation of this hymn, see Max Müller, *Hist. of Ancient Sansk. Lit.* (Allahabad Reprint 1926), p. 285 ; Griswold, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

3 This is a reference to the disease of dropsy, which Varuṇa is supposed to inflict on sinners.

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like devotion that makes him the beloved of his deity, guiltless and happy-hearted (vii, 86, 7). Forgiveness is conceived as an act of grace; but it is necessary to note here that the Ṛg-vedic belief in the forgiveness of sin nearly disappears in the later orthodox philosophical theories, as being incompatible with the doctrine of Karma. The belief, however, survives as a religious attitude in heterodox and popular cults, among which Vaiṣṇavism must be counted as one of the most important.

It will be noticed that what is emphasised in this exalted conception of Varuṇa is not his mystic power, nor his cosmic and ritualistic attributes, but his ethical superiority, his acts of grace and his friendly attitude towards the devotee. Oldenberg[1] and others are undoubtedly right in stating that the moral quality of Varuṇa, as also of the Ādityas in general, is of a different kind from that of Indra and other gods of the Vedic pantheon, to whom ethical attributes form, in the words of Keith, rather an outward accretion than an internal principle. It is natural therefore that the ethical and mystic frame of mind in which an attitude of *bhakti* is possible should find expression in these fervent longings of the human heart for direct communion with divine life and for forgiveness and mercy, although its philosophical background may not have been consistent or adequate.

Varuṇa's character in later literature.

In the later cult of sacrifice elaborated in the younger Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas, this aspect of Varuṇa's character steadily disappears, and like other gods he is drawn gradually into the all-embracing net of ritualism. He waned into a kind of inferior Neptune, lording it over pools and waters; and the great conception of *Ṛta* or order was replaced gradually by the pessimism of Karma. With this marked change in his character, as well as in the general religious outlook which produced it, the spirit which inspired the devotional hymns dedicated to him in the *Ṛg-veda* can hardly be traced in later Brāhmaṇic speculation. For these reasons, as well as for the fact that Varuṇa owes a special elevation as a monotheistic god probably through the theological ideas of a particular Vedic clan (Vaśiṣṭha), Varuṇa never became the centre of a monotheistic faith in later times.

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1 *Religion des Veda*, pp.194f, which see also for the idea of *Ṛta*.

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From what has been said above it is clear that the term *bhakti* as a religious technical expression must have come into existence at a later time, but the origin of the idea may be reasonably sought in the religious fervour of some of the devotional hymns even of the *Ṛg-veda*. The term *bhakti* itself is certainly of Indian origin, and there is indeed nothing un-Indian or extra-Indian in the frame of mind which it indicates. We do not come across the word itself till the time of the Upaniṣads; but the attitude of mind which it implies in its ecstatic vision or loving experience of the deity, realised in a more or less ethical or emotional sense, was not altogether absent even in the remote age of the Saṃhitās. It has often been maintained, in accordance with the later theories on the subject, that *bhakti* is essentially a monotheistic attitude of the religious sense:[1] and from this it has been presumed

Late appearance of the term bhakti in Indian religious literature,

but the attitude it implies is present in early forms of belief in an inchoate form.

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1 Grierson, art. "Bhakti-mārga" in *ERE*. The Ṛg-vedic conception of Varuṇa represents the nearest approach to ethical monotheism, which must be distinguished from the speculative monotheism of the Hiraṇyagarbha-Prajāpati hymns. See Griswold, *op. cit.*, pp. 348, 353. Hopkins (*Religions of India*, pp. 67f, 172) may be right in his contention that Varuṇa-worship was not originally monotheistic and that no monotheism can be predicated of the worship of a god who is regularly associated as one of a pair with another god; but in the Vaśiṣṭha family book, if not in other family books of the *Ṛg-veda*, Varuṇa is given a special elevation by the theological conceptions of one of the Ṛg-vedic clans of priests, and his worship here can not be very well regarded as a phase of a perfunctory henotheism, or of an opportunist monotheism, even if Varuṇa himself cannot be strictly regarded as a monotheistic personification. It may also be pointed out that although Vedic henotheism has been characterised by Bloomfield (*op. cit.*, p. 199) as "polytheism grown cold in service and unnice in its distinction" and is thus very far removed from real theism, there is yet some truth in Macnicol's contention (*Indian Theism*, 1915, p. 20) that henotheism may also imply not mere mendacious flattery or blurring of distinctive outlines in the conception of the gods, but also "the worshipper's vivid realisation of the presence and the personality of one particular deity to whom he bows his head." In such an attitude it would not be a mistake to seek the roots of a devout adoration, leading to monotheistic devotionalism.

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that we cannot expect to come across the idea until religious speculation arrives at a monotheistic stage, and that such a stage did not begin till we come to the Upaniṣads. It has also been stated that the spirit of *bhakti* is not realised until the devotee, in a mystic way, realises his fundamental unity with the deity and therefore true *bhakti* implies a monistic view of the world. But an historical examination of the question will make it clear that the practical religious sense which is expressed by the term *bhakti* need not always presuppose a monotheistic attitude or even monistic view of the world, and that there is nothing in the idea which may be inconsistent with a pluralistic, as also with a polytheistic view. Hence it is not surprising to find that such a passionate yearning of the human soul for escape from the ills of life in a rapt and ethical vision of the deity should be present even in the genial, hearty polytheistic nature-worship of the Vedic Aryans, as also in the primitive (and presumably non-Aryan) spirit-worship, hero-worship or ancestor-worship. It is true that philosophical monism or monotheism supplies a fine background and exalts the spirit of *bhakti* to a finer form, but in the earlier hieratic beliefs as also in later popular religious cults, a dualism was more or less involved in the distinction between the devotee and the deity: and the loving adoration of a supreme deity has not been found unaccompanied by a polytheistic feeling of reverence for "other gods." Even the *Bhagavadgītā* (iv, 11; vii, 21-23; xi, 23), the earliest authoritative work on monotheistic *bhakti*, recognises the consciousness that there may be other gods worshipped by other deluded people, who have no idea of what the true god is, but they are nevertheless actuated by the true spirit of *bhakti*, even though it is inadequate. Such views make it clear that rigorous monism or monotheism need not always lie at the root of *bhakti*, nor need it form its historical starting point. In its strictest and highest philosophical sense perhaps *bhakti* implies a complete ecstatic realisation of a personal deity in the individual consciousness; but in a practical and popular sense the spirit of *bhakti* may be divergently, if inadequately, expressed; and as an historical fact, it need not always appear as a strictly monotheistic or monistic religious sense. "The merit of *bhakti*" it has been very aptly remarked[1] "as a popular plebeian

Bhakti need not be always monotheistic or monistic.

Bhakti as an historical fact, divergently expressed.

1 Belvalkar and Ranade, *History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. ii, (Creative Period), Poona, 1927, p. 409.

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religion consists in just this that it needs no metaphysical preparation in its devotees. From the point of view of those who believe in an external and infinitely merciful god it is absurd to suppose that the god would wait until mankind reached a particular metaphysical evolution and learned to clothe the prayer in a grammatically and philosophically accurate form before He actually revealed Himself in answer to man's fervent and sincere appeals for help and guidance." We need not doubt, therefore, that an inchoate but true spirit of *bhakti* was present in the early religious literature of the *Ṛg-veda.* The later monotheistic philosophical attitude is not fully defined until the doctrine of *bhakti* is officially systematised in such works as the *Bhagavadgītā* or the *sūtras* of Śāṇḍilya.

Anticipations of bhakti as a monotheistic religious sense.

The anticipations of this attitude, however, are not absent even in the earlier Upaniṣads. If the Brāhmaṇa ritual did not give direct scope to this feeling, it was paving the way to the symbolic Kratus and Upāsanās of the Āraṇyakas and the Upaniṣads ; and if the rapt communion and contemplation of the Absolute—the *brahmānanda* of which some of the Upaniṣads speak—be not *bhakti* in its real sense, because of the cool intellectualism of this theosophy, an approach is doubtless made to this psychological attitude of yearning for the supreme deity in some of the fervid passages of the Upaniṣads, which give eloquent expression to theistic devotionali sm.

(*To be continued*)

MRINAL DAS GUPTA

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Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India

(*Translated from the German version of A. Schiefner*)

VI

THE BIOGRAPHY OF KING AŚOKA

This is about the time of the young days of King Aśoka. His biography is as follows:—King Nemita with 500 ministers ruled, wielding great power over the lands lying in the north of the country of Campārṇa,[1] belonging to the series of extreme border-lands. He had at the beginning six sons, Lakṣmaṇa, Rathika, Śaṅkhika, Dhanika, Padmaka and Anūpa.[2] Later on a merchant's wife by having intercourse with the king became pregnant. As this child was born of the wife of the merchant on the day of expiry of the period of mourning, which was due to the death of the king's mother, the king named him Aśoka, because he was born on the day when the period of mourning ended. As he grew up, he became very proficient in the sixty sciences, eight crafts,[3] art of writing, calculation etc. And once in the midst of men, the ministers asked a brahmin, who was an astrologer,[4] as to which of the king's sons would get the rulership; in reply he said: "It is he who eats the best food, puts on the best garment and sits in the best place." Thereupon both the prime ministers asked him in secret and he replied that the best food was the rice porridge, the best dress was the rough felt and the best seat was the earth. While the other sons of the king lived in abundance of wealth and riches, Aśoka had only ordinary food and dress, hence they understood that he would become the king. In the meantime many hillmen of Nepal and Khaśa[5] became rebellious.

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1 Perhaps derived from Campā-karṇa. [The derivation suggested by Schiefner does not help as much. The Tib. name is *tsa. mpa. a. rna* which may be equated to Sans. Campāṛṇa (mod. Campāran), a place near the Nepalese Terai.—Tr.]

2 In Tib. dge. va. can, śiṅ. rta. can, duṅ. can, nor. can, padma. can, sor. can.

3 Tib. *b*rtag. pa—Tr.

4 Ger. seher, Tib. ltas. mkhan.—Tr.

5 Tib. kha. śya. Cf. Burnouf, *Introduction*, p. 362, n. 2, besides the form Khāsya in *Lalitavistara*, p. 123 (transl. Foucaux).

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Aśoka was sent with an army to subdue them; he conquered the hill-men without any difficulty, arranged for taxes, hostage and tribute and made them over to the king. The king said: "As I am pleased with your wisdom, power and bravery, I shall give you whatever you desire." He replied: "As here in this place other brothers will encroach upon my rights, may the town of Pāṭaliputra as the dwelling place and all requisites wished for be given to me". When the father had granted this, he made in the town 500 pleasure gardens, surrounded himself with 1000 female musicians and spent day and night in the gratification of desire. As then in the land of Magadha King Camasa died and none of his twelve sons, although chosen, assumed the throne, the minister and Brāhmaṇa Gambhīraśīla carried on the rulership for one year. At that time king Nemita got into enmity with him and there was a great fight on the bank of the Ganges in which the six elder sons of the king took part, but the king died at the time. Apprehending (lit. in the supposition) that if the news of death of the king became known, the people of Magadha would gain in power, both the ministers kept it secret and they themselves carried on the government but when the inhabitants of the city came to know it after seven days, they began to disobey the orders of both the ministers. Remembering what the Brāhmaṇas had prophesied, they sent for Aśoka and made him the ruler. When the six sons of the king had conquered the people of Magadha and taken the six towns, they heard on that day that Aśoka had been installed in the rulership. They refrained from going to the countries north of the Ganges and ruled with their 500 ministers in these six towns, Rājagṛha, etc. of which Aṅga was the sixth.[1] Of the sons of the king the first revered the secret teaching of the Lokāyatikas, the second Mahādeva, the third Viṣṇu, the fourth the secret-teaching of the Vedānta, the fifth the Nirgrantha Piṅgala,[2] and the sixth the Brāhmaṇa Kauśika Brahmacarya; each of them gave to the teaching honoured by him a place of abode. Aśoka believed in the words of those who held in veneration the Dākiṇīs and Rākṣasas of the Bhṛgu family and held Umā besides the Cemetery-mother as divinities.

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1 The six cities are Śrāvastī, Śāketana, Vārāṇasī, Vaiśālī, Campā, Rājagṛha. Of these cities Campā lay in the Anga country. See Lassen I, p. 143, and Csoma in Asiatic Researches, XX, p. 61.

2 The Tibetan Text has gser. can which I consider to be a corruption of gser. skya. = Piṅgala. The last appears in Burnouf, op. cit., p. 360.

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As he gave himself up for one year to the enjoyment of pleasures (kāma), he was called Kāmāśoka. As he got into enmity with his older brothers, he carried on a fight with them for several years and at last killed the six brothers with their 500 ministers, conquered also many towns and ruled over the whole land between the Himālayas and the Vindhyās. He was so very ill-tempered and cruel that before he had inflicted punishment he could neither have his sleep nor take his food. From the morning (lit. commencement of the day) he inflicted punishment such as killing, binding, beating and the rest, and then if his mind obtained peace, he sat for food. Kṣemendrabhadra said that although there were very many stories of the king's warlike deeds, he did not relate them thinking them to be unnecessary, so I too, although various Indian stories have reached my ear, have not written them down here. Guided at the time by Brāhmaṇas with perverted views, Aśoka devoted himself to the offering of living beings. He erected an offering-house particularly at the instruction of Ṛṣi Gokarṇa of the Bhṛgu family, who said that if he could bring an offering by killing 10,000 men, he would be able to extend his dominion, and at the same time he would attain emancipation. While searching for a man who was able to kill 10,000 men, he for some time could not find one. At last he met at Tīrahuti, a man of Caṇḍāla caste whom he ordered to bring into that house all who deserved death, and kill them until the number 10,000 was full. This, as the king himself declared, would be an offering-vow made in favour of Umā.

In this way when he had killed one or two thousand men, he went out of the city of the dead and met a bhikkhu who with the hope of bringing a change in his life, told him various stories of the sufferings of hell which one has to undergo in consequence of killing, without however awakening in him the root of virtue. That hangman thought that he had so long killed men by hanging, now however, after hearing the stories of the bhikkhu, he could likewise kill in a different way, viz., by burning, cutting, lynching and so forth and in these manifold ways he killed 5000 men in the offering-house. For this reason his former name was changed and he came to be known as Caṇḍāśoka[1] or the cruel Aśoka. At that time a disciple of the Arhant Yaśas, who was a learned Śrāmaṇera and lived in contemplation of the Yoga-ways, came by mistake (lit. not knowing the way) into the interior of the offering-

1 See Burnouf, op. cit., p. 365.

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house. As the hangman wanted to slay him with the sword, he asked for reasons. When the hangman had related to him the previous circumstances the Śrāmaṇera begged that he might be killed after 7 days ; in the meanwhile he would not go anywhere and dwell in the offering-house. The hangman agreed to it ; and the Śrāmaṇera saw the offering-place wholly filled up with flesh, blood, bones and intestines, and as a result of this he realised the 16 kinds of truth[1] as well as the impermanence of everything etc., and before the lapse of 7 days he attained the rank of an Arhant and performed supernatural feats. On the day of expiry of the sevenday's respite the hangman thought that as he had not seen any man of such description before this he would arrange also for a sort of death not happened before. He put the Śrāmaṇera in a big cauldron filled with sesame oil, made a fire and sought to burn him, but although the fire burnt day and night, it could not injure his body in the least. The hangman reported the matter to the king who became astonished and went into the offering house to see this. The hangman seized his sword and went up to kill him. On the king's asking the reason of it, he said that the vow, pronounced by the king himself, was that before 10,000 men were killed, all that might come into the house must be put to death. The king replied : "Much more must thou, because thou camest here before me, be killed first." When they were thus quarrelling with one another, the Śrāmanera sent down a rain and produced lightning. He passed through the air and showed other magical feats whereby both the king and the hangman became very faithful, touched his feet and awakened in themselves the seed of knowledge. On his delivering a discourse the king became repentant for his misdeeds and destroyed immediately the offering-house. In order to atone for his sins, he invited the Śrāmaṇera to stay. He, however, said that he was not in a position to offer the remedy for the sins and further said that in the East in Kukkuṭārāma lived the teacher and arahant Yaśodhvaja who was in a position to absolve the king of his sins. Hearing this king sent to the Arahant a message with the request that the Venerable. One may come to Pāṭaliputra and absolve him of his sins and in the event of his not coming he himself would go to him. As the Arahant knew that if the king himself

[1] 16 kinds of truth evidently refer to the 16 kṣaṇas into which the four truths are divided. See La Vallée Poussin's transl. of the *Kośa*, ch. V, Intro.—Tr.

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came, he would hurt many persons, so he himself went to Pāṭaliputra, taught the king the law all day long; in the night after coming to the vihāra he gave instructions to the four classes of his disciples. Since the meeting of the king with Arahant Yaśa, the king became very believing, spent his time, day and night, in virtuous works, and daily supplied food to 30,000 clergymen. At the time when Arahant Yaśa was staying in Magadha and the neighbouring regions, it happened that the king had sent 500 merchants to fetch jewels from the Jewel-island. They got their ship well-equipped, filled the same with various kinds of valuables and returned home. When on this side of the coast they sat for rest, the Nāgas sent a sea-wave and carried away all their goods into the sea. They gradually improved by throwing their lives on the charity of foreigners. As it was said that the merchants would reach Pāṭaliputra after 7 days, and as no one had heard what happened to them, Brāhmaṇas, Parivrājakas and a mass of innumerable men gathered together to see the colour of the jewels and their wonderful qualities. When the king together with the great crowd of men came to the pleasure garden on the 7th day, the merchants appeared with only the upper portion of their bodies covered and looked exhausted and as this was quite contrary to the expectation, the crowd of men dispersed with derision. On the king's questioning the merchants, they narrated the events. "O, Your Majesty, if thou dost not subdue the Nāgas, nobody in future will have the desire to fetch jewels; it is therefore proper, O King, that thou shouldst inflict punishment." Being urged in this manner, the king thought of the matter and questioned in various ways about the means. As the Brāhmaṇas and Parivrājakas had no information, a gifted Arahant with six Abhijñās (Ger. Klarsichten) gave himself up to meditation and came to know that the house-god would teach the means, but in order to show that the king himself had thought over the matter so that people might not have the conviction that he (the king) had sided with the bhikṣus, and that the Tīrthikas might not spread calumny, he (the Arahant) said to the king that there was a means, which the house-god would point out in the same evening. Just at sunrise the house-god hovering in the air said, "O king, show to Buddha great veneration, he will subdue the Nāgas." Thereupon said the gods dwelling on the earth, "Honour the saṅgha of Arhants, they will perform the subjugation." On the following day when the whole crowd of people had assembled, he announced the prophecy of the gods and asked what was to be done. The ministers replied: "Ask the Arhant himself who

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gave you the advice yesterday." When he had stepped in and had been asked, he said that he would devise an effective means. On a copper-plate he wrote, beginning thus: "O Nāgas, hear the command of King Aśoka" and continuing it thus, "Give back to the merchants the jewels kept by you." This plate was thrown into the Ganges and some golden images of the King and of the Nāgas each within a cover made of eight metals (*aṣṭadhātuḥ*, Tib. *snod*—Tr.) were placed on the top of a high rock at a very prominent crossing of the city. On the following day one noticed that the Nāgas had got enraged and thrown the copper-plate by a strong whirlwind at the gate of the palace, the image of the king however, was bent towards the Nāga-images. On the king's asking the Arahant, the latter admonished him saying, that "As yet the (religious) merits of the Nāgas are greater than those of the king, the latter, in order to increase his own merits, must honour the Buddha and the Saṅgha. And when the king showed sevenfold greater veneration than before to the Buddha image and the Caitya, the Arhant betook himself in the twinkling of an eye to the regions of gods and Nāgas and gave the information to all the Arhants. After the king had erected a big house for the entertainment (of bhikṣus) and the Arhant had struck the gong, all Arhants assembled there from Sumeru and its neighbouring places. The king maintained the 60,000 Arhants with all requisites for three months long. At that time the image of the king grew higher and higher every day and in 45 days it attained a height equal to that of the image of the Nāga. Thereupon the image of the Nāga shrunk daily likewise for 45 days and bent itself down at the foot of the king's image. All men, however, were very much astonished at this and saw how great must be the merit of venerating the three *ratnas*. When one had thrown the former copper-plate into the Ganges, a messenger of the Nāga came in human form with the message that the jewels had been conveyed to the bank of the ocean and the merchants might be sent in order to fetch them. When the king was about to follow them, the former Arhant said: 'O king, this is not a great wonder. If thou commandest them (the Nāgas) to bring the jewel on their shoulders in seven days and if this is carried out, it will be a great wonder." As the king acted according to the instruction of the Arhant, the Nāgas in the form of merchants brought the jewel on the expiry of 7 days amidst the gathering of kings and a crowd of countless persons and bowed

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down before the feet of the king. This was a spectacle for the crowd of people. The king also arranged for a great feast. When the king had completed the magic formula of Yakṣa-Yāna[1] there appeared horses as big as elephants, men as high as palm-trees, and even a powerful fourfold (*caturaṅga*—Tr.) army of Yakṣas. With these he brought under his control without harm the lands, etc. lying south of the Vindhyas. He ruled all the provinces of Jambudvīpa in the north of Himālayās, the snowy mountains lying on the other side of the Li country, and extending up to the ocean on the east, south and west and besides 15 small *dvīpas*. Thereupon Arhant Yaśas told him the prophecy made by the Teacher, the fully enlightened Buddha, and encouraged him to decorate the surface of the earth with caityas containing the relics of the Tathāgata. As Buddha-relics became necessary, the king and the arhant Yaśa with a great crowd of men went to Rājagṛha in order to unearth the relics hidden there by Ajataśatru under the ground of the great caitya. But when they had gone three men's depth into the earth, they could not find the spot on account of an iron wheel which was revolving violatently producing fire. Then an old man of the region showed an expedient, (namely) that if one could lead to the spot a stream of water from a mountain situated 3 yojanas west of the same place, the wheel would cease to turn and the fire would disappear. When the earth was again dug, the king saw there on a copper-plate the inscription recording that in future a needy king would bring up the Magadhan portion of relics of the Tathāgata kept there. So the king on account of his pride thought that he was not the same person who would unearth the relics, but it must be some other person. He was on the point of turning back, when on the request of the Arhant Yaśas, the earth was again dug to the depth of seven men's height. Seven coffins, one within another, the first one of which was made of iron, were opened. The middle of the Teacher's skeleton, which had been originally the Magadhan portion increased to a measure of six loads. As the king saw in the four corners of the coffin precious stones which were placed in special offering vessels and which cast light one yojana wide and the worth of each of which could not be measured by the entire riches of the entire kingdom of Aśoka, the pride of the king was broken. He took from there a great quantity

1 In *Mañjuśrīmūlatantra*, leaf 321 appears simply de, nas. gnod. sbyin. śiṅ. rta. grub. (thereupon he perfected himself in Yakṣa-way).

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of relics, put the coffins at the place as before, concealed them and placed also the iron wheel again at its place. Then the mysterious water was led again to its former course, the fire burnt as before and the wheel whirled, whereupon its top was covered. He then issued orders to the men of every region, while he despatched messengers and executors with the help of the highly powerful Yakṣas. He erected Caityas in the eight principal places, an enclosure in Vajrāsana and he built Caityas with the Muni's [i.e., Buddha's—Tr.] relics in all northerly countries lying on this side of the Li country and in all countries of Jambudvīpa. On the same day the 84000[1] caityas were completed. Thereupon he sent orders to all lands that 1000 lights, incense and flower-garlands be offered daily to the caityas. Offering 10,000 gold, silver and vaidūrya pitchers filled with scented water and the five kinds of nectar to the Bodhi tree, he paid his respects to it from a distance with 10,000 incense-pots and lights. For three months he daily supplied with all requisites 60,000[2] Arhants whom he had invited, and who hovered in the air over Pāṭaliputra. He maintained the venerable teachers and ordinary bhikkhus all over the earth. At last he gave to every bhikkhu a robe worth 100,000. On the evening of the same day the king and his retinue, wishing to see the caityas, were carried on the shoulders of the powerful Yakṣas and in seven days they visited the caityas of the (*tri*)*ratnas* of all lands of Jambudvīpa one after another and showed tenfold more honour to them. To the caityas of Buddha and the Śrāvakas he gave gold decorations while he decorated the Bodhi tree specially with all jewels. On the eighth day the king as a result of his meritorious service expressed repeatedly the desire to become a Buddha, the best of men.[3] When he invited the people to have pleasures and rejoicings, many of them thought that these enterprises of the king attended with so much trouble were but of small gain and, as the king in the meanwhile had not yet obtained the highest and complete insight, it was questioned as to whether the king's prayer would be fulfilled. The king then said "Should this prayer of mine be fulfilled, may the great Earth

1 This figure is based on the tradition that Buddha preached 84,000 dhammakkhandhas in 45 years, *Saddhamma Saṅgaha* (J.P.T.S., 1890), p. 65 ; *Mahāvaṃsa*, p. 36.—Tr.

2 Cf. *Mahāvaṃsa*, p. 36.—Tr.

3 This is a general epithet of Buddha, *Narottama*, see Mahāvyut. p. 2.

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quake and may a rain of flowers come down from heaven." Immediately after these words were uttered, the Earth quaked, a rain of flowers came down. At this the men became faithful and the wish was confirmed. On the day when the arrangements for Bhikṣu-maintenance for three months in honour of the consecration of the caityas came to an end, the king gave to many ordinary bhikṣus who had all come there a great feast in the pleasure-garden and showed special attention to the oldest bhikṣu sitting at one extremity of the bench. This bhikṣu was very dull, simple, and unable to quote a single śloka; among the young bhikṣus there were, however, many who knew the tripiṭakas). After the meal-time was over, those sitting at the bottom of the bench asked the old bhikṣu whether he knew the reason why the king was showing him honour. The old bhikṣu replied in the negative. They said, "We know it; as the king wished to hear the law, he would come immediately, and you must teach him the law." At this the old bhikṣu was troubled within his innermost heart. He thought that since his consecration he had not learnt a single śloka in 60 years. If the king on account of that reason only had given him the excellent food, he would have given it to other bhikṣus and looked for an expositor of the law. Now he has eaten the food and does not know what he should begin, and thus he was caught with remorse. The god dwelling in that garden thought that the king should not become unfaithful before that bhikṣu, and appeared in another form before that bhikṣu and said to him that if the king came to him to hear the law, he should tell him, "O great King, if the Earth with its mountains will vanish, how much more should the power of the king? This is to be thought of seriously". In due course the king came and put on him a gold-coloured double garment and sat down to hear the law. When the bhikṣu had spoken as above, the king, as he was very faithful, thought that it must be very true. A shudder came over him and he pondered over its sense. Thereupon the god of the pleasure-garden said to the old bhikṣu that he should not eat the least particle of food offered to him by the faithful. As the bhikṣu prayed for instruction and had concentrated himself to meditation, he obtained in three months the grade of an Arhant and spent the summer in the region of thirty-three gods in the Pārijāta garden. When he came again to Pāṭaliputra in the middle of the monks and the crowds of people, he filled all the regions with perfume, as the garment bestowed by the king was imbued with the Pārijāta perfume. When the other bhikṣus had

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enquired of the cause and he had narrated the events that happened, all were astonished. Then by and by the king also heard it and as he thereby saw the power of the law—that even a very dull-minded bhikṣu can obtain the grade of an Arhant—as also what a garment given by him had achieved and what usefulness would accrue out of other gifts, he arranged again a great feast of five years' duration for 300,000 bhikṣus. In the first part of the forenoon the Arhants, in the second the Venerable Teachers and in the third the ordinary bhikṣus were supplied by him with excellent food and dress. Thereupon the king vowed to give at the end of that time 1000 millions of gold to each of the clergy of Aparāntaka, Kashmir and Tukhara, and gave it in full measure to the clergy of Kashmir and Tukhāra as well as other requisites in equal measure. To the clergy of Aparāntaka, however, when the king had yet to grant 40 millions of gold and requisities, he was attacked by a serious illness. The king's descendant (grandson) Vāsavadatta (nor. lhas. byin = Vasu-deva-datta—Tr.), however, who was the keeper of the gold treasures, disobeyed the king's order and did not give the rest of the gold to the clergy. As at the time many arhants and bhikṣus came to the king, he in order to quench his thirst (of giving) gave them with a believing heart a half handful of myrobalans[1]. The Arhants then cried out in one voice, "O king, the merit of this gift is much greater than the former gift of 960 millions of gold at the time when thou hadst the rulership." A maid-servant overpowerd by the heat of the day fell into slumber and let drop from her hand a fan having a handle of precious jewels and it touched the body of the king. At this he got into rage at the thought that formerly great kings washed his feet but now a low maid-servant showed him disrespect in such a manner, and died. In consequence of this anger he was reborn in Paṭalīputra in a big lake as a Nāga. When the Arhat Yaśa reflected as to where a king so devoted to the religion could be reborn, and saw that he was reborn in that lake as a Nāga. The Arhant came to the bank of the lake, and as the Nāga as a result of his former passions for pleasure had come to the surface of the lake and had seated himself near the Arhant and was about to devour the birds and other excellent creatures, the Arhant asked him to control himself. As he now deemed himself food, he died and was reborn among the gods of Tuṣita heaven. This king spread the Buddha

1 Āmalakī, cf. Hiouen Tsang, II, 428 and Burnouf, op. cit., 428, where the name of the nephew is given differently.

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teaching on all sides through the establishment of monasteries in all lands ruled by him and many seats of learning. As he obtained faith in the Buddha teaching his former name was thenceforward changed and he was called the Dharmāśoka, the Righteous Asoka. As he could not give to the bhikṣus of Aparāntaka more than 960 millions of gold, a clever minister mentioned to the king that there was a means inasmuch as he could give to the clergy his whole kingdom and then it would be 100 koṭis. As the king saw its justness, he gave over the rulership to the clergy. In order to increase the merit ot the king, the clergy carried on the rulership for two days. Then the clergy was given unaccountable gold and property, and the rulership was taken back, and Aśoka's grandson Vigatāśoka[1] was selected for the rulership. In Kṣemendrabhadra's historical work his life history is narrated in full and in the seven Avadānas belonging to the Śrāvaka-piṭaka, viz., (1) in Aśoka Avadāna, (2) in Avadāna of Asoka's conversion (Tib. btul = Vinīta—Tr.), (3) in Avadāna of Naga subjugation (Nāga-vinaya—Tr.) by Aśoka, (4) in Caitya or Stūpa-Avadana, (5) in Avadāna of Utsava (dus-ston—Tr.), (6) in Avadāna of gold gift (Suvarṇopahāra—Tr.) and (7) in Kunāla-Avadāna. Of these the second and the seventh have been translated into Tibetan. Of the other I have seen Indian texts. The Avadāna of a gold-gift and the other stories are found also in the work Desire-creeper (Kalpa-latā evidently referring to Kṣemendra's Avadāna-kalpa-latā). The sixth section : the life history of King Aśoka.

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1 This is perhaps another name of Sampadi. In the Indian Avadānas the brother of Aśoka is called Vītāśoka (see Burnouf, op. cit., pp. 415ff

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The Guṇa-Doctrine in Bharata

It is somewhat remarkable that no writer of the pre-dhvani schools, with the exception Vāmana, offers a general definition of *Guṇa*. All these early writers have thought it sufficient to mention the different *Guṇas* as undefined excellences of poetry, assign a place to them in their systems and merely describe and classify various kinds of such excellences.

Of Vāmana's predecessors, Bharata makes the *guṇas*, along with *doṣas* and *alaṃkāras*, subordinate to *rasa* on the ground that they all constitute the *vācikābhinaya* or *anubhāva* which calls forth *rasa*. He devotes the whole of the sixteenth chapter of his work to the treatment of the different elements that constitute as well as embellish poetry. He uses the term *nāṭakāśraya* in connection with these entities, and it is noteworthy that in some places he distinctly uses the terms *kāvya-guṇas* and *kāvya-doṣas*, which will be clear if we remember that the Nāṭaka in theory constitutes, from the earliest times, the *dṛśya* variety of the Kāvya.

At the commencement of chapter XVI (K.M. text)[1] Bharata discusses in some detail thirty-six varieties of dramatic *lakṣaṇas* with which we are not directly concerned here.[2] Next in context comes the treatment of *alaṃkāras* or figures of poetry, of which four (namely, *upamā*, *rūpaka*, *dīpaka* and *yamaka*) are mentioned, defined and classified. They are followed by the treatment of *nāṭakāśraya doṣas*,

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1 Throughout we shall use the abbreviation K. M. for the Kāvya-mālā and Ch. for the Chaukhāmbā text of the Nāṭya-śāstra.

2 The lakṣaṇas do not separately exist in the treatment of later theorists, excepting the chapter on dramaturgy in Viśvanātha's *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, but the functions and characteristics of some of the lakṣaṇas (as mentioned in the K. M. text) are attributed to guṇas and alaṃkāras by some of the pre-dhvani writers; while later writers like Viśvanātha include some of them under the name of nāṭyālaṃkāra. It is remarkable at the same time that the lakṣaṇas, as mentioned in the Ch. text, are almost the same as those found in Viśvanātha, excepting prāpti and kṣobha which receive the names of jñapti and saṃkṣepa in the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*.

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which are also called *kāvya-doṣas*, and which, like the *guṇas* that come after them, are enumerated as ten in number.

The definition and classification of *lakṣaṇa*, *alaṃkāra*, and *guṇa* are somewhat dogmatic. The fundamental distinction between these three classes of poetic excellences is hardly apparent, and some of the characteristics of *lakṣaṇas* may as well be considered as belonging to *alaṃkāras* and *guṇas*. Apparently an early writer like Bharata does not mean to imply any theoretic distinction between *lakṣaṇas*, *guṇas* and *alaṃkāras*, but accepts and repeats traditional nomenclature, just as in Bhāmaha and partly in Daṇḍin the distinction between *guṇas* and *alaṃkāras* is not very sharply indicated.

Bharata's *doṣas*, however, unlike those of Vāmana and others, constitute a positive entity[1] and the *guṇas* are described as the negations of these faults.[2] In this connection, it may be noted that each of the *guṇas* of Bharata is not, in fact, the negation of a corresponding *doṣa*, although *guṇas* like his *śleṣa* and *prasāda* may be construed, in some of their aspects, as the opposites of *doṣas* like *agūḍha* and *arthāntara*. Perhaps it is not suggested that each of the *guṇas* should be strictly regarded as an opposite of an already defined *doṣa*. For in

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1 Jacobi is probably right in remarking that the doṣas have been treated as positive entities from the commonsense point of view, for it is easier to find out a fault and grasp its function, while an excellence is more conveniently apprehended by considering it as a negation of an easily understood fault. (*Sb. der preuss. Akad.*, xxiv, 1922, p. 223 referred to in S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, vol. ii, p. 14).

2 The K.M. text, after mentioning and defining the doṣas, reads: guṇā viparyayād eṣāṃ mādhuryaudārya-lakṣanāḥ. The reading has the sanction of Abhinavagupta, but it is difficult to see why mādhurya and audārya should be specifically mentioned here; for, as defined by him, they are hardly opposites of any particular doṣa discussed by him. The Ch. text reads: etā eva viparyastā guṇāḥ kāvyeṣu kīrtitāḥ. From Abhinava's comments it is clear, however, that by viparyaya we need not understand 'opposite', for in that case we would have to have recourse to an ingenious way of admitting an imaginary set of faults, exactly opposite of the guṇas mentioned—which is certainly not in harmony with the context. But we should understand by the term viparyaya absence or non-existence. Abhinava distinctly remarks: etad-doṣa vighāta eva guṇo bhavatīty arthaḥ/ kiṃ viśeṣaṇair ityāha—mādhuryaudārya-lakṣaṇam aṅke(?) yeṣām.

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that case it would have been enough if the definition of a *doṣa* were given, and there would have been no need for defining the corresponding *guṇa* separately, as the *guṇa* could be easily deduced from the *doṣa* defined. What is probably meant is that each *guṇa* is to be regarded as the negation of some *doṣa* or other, and not necessarily of those alone which are defined. Thus it is possible to imagine a set of ten *guṇas*, or more accurately *viparyayas*, corresponding to the ten *doṣas*, and these may or may not correspond to the ten *guṇas* formally enumerated by him, i.e.a *guṇa*, in his opinion, is merely of the nature of a *doṣābhāva*. This, perhaps, finds a parallel in the two sets of *doṣas* and *viparyayas* respectively, hinted at by Daṇḍin and explicitly stated by Bhoja,[1] one of which constitutes the formally defined *doṣas* and the other constitutes the *viparyayas* of the defined excellences. It will perhaps be still more reasonable if we agree with Abhinava that *viparyaya* should mean *vighāta* i.e. absence or non-existence. Abhinava, in explaining Bharata's description of the *guṇas*, remarks: *etad-doṣa-vihīnaṃ śruti-sukhaṃ dīpta-rasaṃ ca yadi bhavati tāvatā guṇāntarair alaṃkāraiś ca hīnam api kāvyaṃ lakṣaṇa-yogāvyabhicarītyuktam.*[2] From this it is clear that poetry, in Abhinava's opinion, even without further embellishments, satisfies its definition, provided it be free from the faults mentioned before,and it succeeds in giving pleasure to the reader.

It may be asked that since the *doṣas*, as the very name suggests, constitute factors which should be carefully avoided, how is it that they have been treated by Bharata in a context which deals exclusively with those elements that go to enhance poetic beauty? The reason is not far to seek. We have only to remember that the *doṣas* in Bharata's work precede in context to the *guṇas*; it is enjoined at the outset that the composition should be 'faultless,' so that the reader may stand on a standard basis and prepare himself for the appreciation of poetic excellences that are described immediately afterwards. The post-dhvani writers, too, remark in more than one place: *anyo guṇo'stu vā māstu mahān nirdoṣatā guṇaḥ.*[3] The *Kāma-*

1 Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa Kāvyamālā ed., p. 24. The second set of doṣas which are the negations of corresponding guṇas has been termed ārītimat (guṇānāṃ dṛśyate yatra śleṣādīnāṃ viparyayaḥ). Prakāśavarṣa also follows this procedure.

2 The text in the commentary reads lakṣaṇa-yoga-vyabhicāri which is probably corrupt or due to scribal error.

3 Quoted in Keśavamiśra's *Alaṃkāra-śekhara*, ii. 1.

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dhenu (on Vāmana' *Kāvyālaṃkāra-sūtra-vṛtti* 11/1/1) states that it is admitted on all hands that the *doṣas* give a deterring effect to poetry, but how can they be avoided unless their nature has been fully understood? It is also necessary to remember in this connection that later writers like Bhoja, Prakāśavarṣa and others have divided *guṇas* into three classes, of which one deals especially with *doṣas* that have ceased to be such on account of their not marring the poetic effect under special circumstances. With reference to such *doṣas* Mammaṭa and Viśvanātha, however, use the term *guṇa* by *upacāra* (i.e. secondarily); but in their opinion such *guṇas* do not appear to fall under the category of the technical excellences. It will thus be clear that theorists of all ages have dealt with the *doṣas* and *guṇas* side by side, and have even tried to establish a relation between the two; and readers and aspiring poets had to study both carefully, so that the one might be avoided and the other utilised.

The early writers on poetics apparently regard *doṣas* and *guṇas* as absolute entities,—that is, they are taken by themselves, and not in relation to *rasa* as attributes or absence of attributes, conducing to its development or non-development. Although some of these writers take *guṇa* as *doṣābhāva* and others consider *doṣa* to be *guṇābhāva*, they all agree in this that both these elements constitute entities which can remain independent of any other constituent element of poetry. The term *viparyaya*, which almost all of these early writers use in connection with *guṇas* and *doṣas*, has puzzled commentators and scholars. Our task, however, will be simplified if we take the word to mean *abhāva* or *anyathā-bhāva* according to the tenour and treatment of the writer who uses the term.

From what has been said above it would be an useless attempt to find in the specific *guṇas* of Bharata always a direct negation of the faults previously mentioned by him; for while presenting, in a few cases, the negation of some of the aspects of the *doṣas*, his *guṇas* have often been given independent definitions. These definitions are, however, not always easy to grasp. Bharata's text itself is uncertain, and, as can be expected in an early theoriser his treatment is often unsystematic and confused. The later sources which now exist to enlighten us as to the views of Bharata seem to have lost the spirit of Bharata's treatment. As for instance, Abhinavagupta, on principle, reads the views of Vāmana into the *guṇas* of Bharata. He has tried systematically to attribute to Bharata's treatment the twofold characteristic of each of Vāmana's *guṇas*, both as a *śabda-*

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guṇa and as an *artha-guṇa*. It is possible that Abhinava thinks that Vāmana deduces his two classes of *guṇas*, relating to *śabda* and *artha*, from Bharata's composite definitions which, in his opinion, give indication of this twofold aspect in each *guṇa*. Both Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra, again, who criticise the *guṇa*-doctrines of pre-Dhvani writers adhering, in the main, to the views of Mammaṭa, seem, in spite of minor differences, to have drawn upon one ultimate source which cannot now be traced. The words and expressions used by both coincide *verbatim* in many places. Both refer to the views of Bharata in connection with each of the *guṇas* of Vāmana and Daṇḍin. They do not always quote Bharata but often summarise his views.[1] In their attempt to trace the development of the concept of *guṇa*, Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra apparently indicate that Vāmana establishes his own view by a criticism of Bharata's treatment, and that Vāmana in his own turn has been similarly criticised by Daṇḍin. Thus Abhinava, on one hand, and Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra, on the other, seem to have viewed differently the relation between Bharata and Vāmana, inasmuch as in Abhinava the two theorists are made to represent identical views about the *guṇas*, while in Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra Vāmana is supposed to criticise and oppose Bharata in establishing his own system, only to prepare the way for Daṇḍin. In the latter case, however, we are confronted with chronological difficulties, for here we have to accept the position that Daṇḍin came after Vāmana.

But a perusal of the texts of Daṇḍin and Vāmana does not convince us that each criticised on principle the views of his predecessor. In some places these later writers and commentators have the habit of reading their own views into the works of older theorists like Vāmana and Daṇḍin. We shall try to make this clear as we go on

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1 So long as we had to depend entirely on the K. M. text of this chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the views of Bharata on some of the guṇas as referred to by Maṇikyacandra and Hemacandra appeared strange and could not be reconciled with the readings of the only available text. The definitions of Bharata's samatā, samādhi, ojas, arthavyakti and udāratā as presented by Maṇikyacandra and Hemacandra are different from those found in the K. M. text. The recent publication of the text in Chaukhamba Benares Series has thrown further light on these points and made most of their remarks intelligible.

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with Bharata's *guṇas* and the treatment they received at the hands of theorists who came after him.

We have already said that Bharata describes *guṇas* as negations or absence, or more accurately the abandoning of *doṣas*. He enumerates the *guṇas* thus :

śleṣaḥ prasādaḥ samatā samādhir
mādhuryam ojaḥ pada-saukumāryam/
arthasya ca vyaktir udāratā ca
kāntiś ca kāvyasya guṇā daśaite//[1]

We propose to consider Bharata's conception of each of these *guṇas* in detail :

I. ŚLEṢA is defined in a twofold way in two separate verses: (i) The *guṇa* consists essentially of *śleṣa* or coalescence, and involves a coalescence (*śliṣṭatā*) of words connected with one another (*sambaddhānuparasparam*) through the collection of meanings desired by the poet (*īpsitenārtha-jātena*). (ii) This naturally well-knit (*svataḥ supratibaddham*) coalescence is in appearance clear (*sphuṭaṃ svabhāvataḥ*) but is to be comprehended by means of a subtle discernment (*vicāra-gahanam*).[2]

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1 The K. M. text reads kāvyārtha-guṇā daśaite. This does not seem to be the right reading, for the definitions show that they cannot be regarded merely as artha-guṇas, unless we separate kāvyārtha and take it as "the sense of poetry," which phrasing is really redundant. It is doubtful again if the distinction between śabda- and artha-guṇas, which is not clearly indicated even by Daṇḍin, was at all known to Bharata. Our reading here (kāvyasya guṇāḥ) has the sanction of the Abhinavabhāratī and of the Ch. text.

2 īpsitenārtha-jātena sambaddhānuparasparam/
śliṣṭatā yā padānāṃ hi śleṣa ity abhidhīyate//
vicāra-gahanaṃ yat syāt sphuṭaṃ caiva svabhāvataḥ/
svataḥ supratibaddhaṃ ca śliṣṭaṃ tat parikīrtitam//
(K. M. text, XVI, 93-94).

The Ch. Text reads vicārya-grahaṇaṃ vṛtyā in the first quarter and svataḥ supratibandhaś ca in the third quarter of the second verse. Supratibandhaś ca is a doubtful reading. For vicāra-gahanam Abhinava appears to note an alternative reading, which the printed texts do not give : vicāropahatam, which he explains as vakra(ṃ) ghaṭamānaṃ vety artīaḥ.

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Abhinavagupta explains the first of these verses as: *kavi-samut-prekṣitayā paraspara-sambaddhayā yojanayā sampannaṃ yad īpsitam artha-jātam, tenopalakṣitasyārthasya upapadyamānasya upapadyamānatātmā guṇaḥ śleṣaḥ.* For illustration Abhinava takes the same verse as has been given by Vāmana to illustrate his own *artha-guṇa śleṣa.* In explaining this illustrative verse (*dṛṣṭvaikāsana saṃsthite priyatame*)[1] Abhinava remarks: *atra manorathātīto'py eka-kānta-nāyikā-yugala-hṛdaya-grahaṇa-lakṣaṇārthaḥ.....asambhāvanāspadaṃ na bhavati, tena kuṭilo'py ayaṃ kramo na hṛdaye ulvaṇatvaṃ bhajate, majjati hṛdaye yataḥ sarvasyeti.* The last part of the remark seems to follow and explain Vāmana III,2,4, where the *artha-guṇa śleṣa* has been defined as *ghaṭanā śleṣaḥ* with the remark: *krama-kauṭilyānulvaṇopapatti-yogo ghaṭanā*, where the idea of *upapatti* (or *upapadyamānatā* as Abhinava puts it) of many ideas occur. Again, by Bharata's *supratibaddha* Abhinava is reminded of Vāmana's *śabda-guṇa śleṣa* which has been defined as *masṛṇatvam*; for Ahhinava expressly remarks: *tad eva māsṛṇyam ucyate*, the *masṛṇatā* being, in his opinion, the effect of *sandhi* and the use of *anuprāsa.* Vāmana explains *masṛṇatva* as: *yasmin sati bahuny api padāny ekavad bhāsante*; Abhinava echoes this and says: *padānāṃ śliṣṭatā parasparam.....sambaddha-bandhanatayā anekam eka-padam iva bhāti.*[2] Thus, Abhinava attempts to approximate the twofold definition of *śleṣa* given by Bharata to the *artha-* and *śabda-guṇa śleṣa* defined respectively by Vāmana. Without holding that the approximation is in every respect justifiable, we may say that in the two definitions of *śleṣa* given by Bharata it is not impossible to distinguish with Abhinava two aspects of the *guṇa* relating respectively to *śabda* and *artha*,—the one consisting essentially of a mere smooth arrangement or coalescence of words, and the other emphasising the well-knit diction which makes a suitable meaning clear on the surface by a commingling of ideas.

Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra, on the other hand, take only one aspect of Bharata's treatment remarking: *svabhāva-spaṣṭaṃ vicāra-grahaṇam vacaḥ śliṣṭam iti bharataḥ.* They leave out the idea of Vāmana's *śabda-guṇa* which, Abhinavagupta thinks, is involved in the expressions *śliṣṭatā* and *supratibaddha.* They represent Vāmana as rejecting Bharata's definition on the ground that the qualification

1 This well-known verse is found in some versions of the Amaru-śataka.

2 This passage in the commentary is extremely corrupt.

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svabhāva-spaṣṭa etc. is nothing but the clever use of word and its sense and does not constitute a special arrangement of diction, and hence it is not a *guṇa*. Māṇikyacandra also takes exception to the qualification of *vicāra-gahana* which, in his opinion, is mere dexterity in using suitable word and sense and not an excellence of diction[1] So *śleṣa* must, he thinks, be defined as an *artha-guṇa*, after Vāmana, indicating *maṣṛṇatva* or smoothness.

II. PRASĀDA. Of this excellence Bharata gives only one definition, but apparently it has reference both to *śabda* and *artha*. It consists[2] of a clearness through which the sense, which is not directly stated, appears from the word used[3] from the relation of the easily understood word and sense.[4] Perhaps by this *guṇa* Bharata means, as suggested by Dr. De, some kind of sly hint or secondary sense (*anuktaḥ arthaḥ*), transparent from the word used, which would correspond to such metaphorical meaning as is comprised in the figure *vakrokti* of Vāmana or in the *lakṣaṇā* of later writers ; or it may refer to such indirect thing as is implied in figures like *mudrā* defined by some later rhetoricians. Abhinavagupta, however, regards Bharata's *prasāda* as equivalent to Vāmana's *artha-guṇa* of the same name, for he remarks : *so'rtho vaimalyāśrayo'pi vaimalyam upacārāt*. The *artha* cannot itself be *vaimalya* ; the qualification is used in a metaphorical

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1 vicāra-gahanaṃ gabhīrārtham abhidhānābhidheya-vyavahāra-vaidagdhīyam, na tu gumpha-dharmāḥ, p. 191.

2 athānukto budhair yatra śabdād arthaḥ pratīyate/
sukha-śabdārtha-saṃyogāt prasādaḥ parikīrtyate//
(xvi, 95. K. M. text).

3 We accept the reading śabdād arthaḥ of the K. M. text instead of śabdo'rtho vā of the Ch. text, although the latter is supported by the explanation of Māṇikyacandra and Hemacandra. Our reading appears to have been accepted by Abhinava. We also accept the reading śabdārtha-saṃyogāt (K.M.) instead of śabdārtha-saṃbodhāt (Ch.).

4 We accept the emended reading sukha-śabdārtha-saṃyogāt (K.M.) The actual reading mukha (K.M.) for sukha is apparently a mislection, as Abhinavagupta's reading, as well as the Ch. text, on this point, makes it clear. Abhinava explains : sukhayati na prayatnam apekṣate yaḥ śabdārthaḥ. Jacobi proposes to read mukhya and thinks that Bharata's prasāda corresponds to Daṇḍin's samādhi ; but this is hardly justifiable. See *Sanskrit Poetics*, ii, p. 15, fn 31.

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sense. This certainly corresponds to Vāmana's *artha-guṇa prasāda*, which has been defined as *artha-vaimalyam*.[1]

Māṇikyacandra and Hemacandra, however, remark : *vibhakta-vācya-vācaka-yogāt anuktayor api śabdārthayoḥ pratipattiḥ prasādaḥ*, to which Māṇikyacandra further adds : *prasiddhārtha-padatā iti bhāvaḥ, pada-pūrvikā tad-arthāvagatir iti śabdārthayor grahaṇam.* In this connection Hemacandra cites anonymously from the *Kīcaka-vadha*[2] the illustration

yasyāhur ati-gambhīra-jalada-pratimaṃ galam/
sa vaḥ karotu niḥsaṅgam udayaṃ prati maṅgalam//

Here, the qualifying words *yasya jalada-pratima°* are so well-known (*prasiddhārtha-padatā*) that it at once makes clear that Śiva is here meant. Hence he remarks : *seyaṃ viśeṣaṇādhārā viśeṣyāṇām uktiḥ*, for here we have a mention of the *viśeṣya* Śiva by the very qualifying *viśeṣaṇa* itself, viz, *yasya jalada-pratima°*.

III. SAMATĀ or evenness, consisting of expressions which are not redundant or difficult to understand and which do not contain an excess of *cūrṇa-padas*.[3] Vāmana explains *cūrṇa-pada* as *adīrgha-samāsa* and *anuddhata-pada*, short compounds and soft vocables ; while Bharata defines it as :

anibaddha-pada-cchandas tathā cāniyatākṣaram/
arthāpekṣākṣara-yutaṃ jñeyaṃ cūrṇa-padaṃ budhaiḥ//[4]

which also emphasises the composition of short compounds and the use of letters depending on nothing but the sense.

Abhinava makes Bharata's *samatā* equivalent to the *śabda-guṇa samatā* of Vāmana, remarking : *śabdānāṃ samatvāt samatā·····dīrgha-samāso'py atyanta-samāsaś ca viṣamatā, tad viparyayeṇa samatā, upakrānta-mārgāparityāga-rūpetyuktaṃ bhavati.* This is an approximation to Vāmana's *śabda-guṇa samatā* defined as *mārgābhedaḥ* and explained as *yena mārgeṇopakramas tasyātyāgaḥ.* Then again,

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1 Abhinava, as usual, approximates this definition also to Vāmana's śabda-guṇa prasāda remarking : ..... ata eva śaithilyātmā śabda-guṇaḥ prasādaḥ, but our manuscript is so corrupt here that it is difficult to follow what arguments lead him to this conclusion.

2 Ed. S. K. De, i, 3.

3 nāticūrṇa-padair yuktā na ca vyarthābhidhāyibhiḥ/
na durbodhā taiś ca kṛtā samatvāt samatā matā// (K. M. text).

4 K. M. text, xviii, 51, p. 195.

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Abhinava reads *durbodhanaiḥ* in place of *na durbodhā* of the K. M. text, and attempts to find in Bharata's *samatā* the idea of Vāmana's *artha-guṇa samatā* as well. Commenting on *vyarthābhidhāyibhiḥ* in Bharata's definition he remarks : *niṣprayojanam arthaṃ ye'bhidadhati śabdānāṃ na tv etad vaimalyam iti prasādena nirastam etat.* Therefore he proceeds to explain, referring to the next *pāda* of the definitive verse: *na hi sarvathā niṣprayojanatā, api tu sad api prayojanaṃ durbodham, tad āha durbodhanair iti.* After this he goes on to say : *abhidhīyate asmai ityabhidhānaṃ prayojanam.* It appears that the reading of the third *pāda* of the verse (XVI, 96, K. M. text—*na durbodhā taiś ca kṛtā*), which Abhinava now explains, is metrically defective. From the *pratīka* of words commented upon, Abhinava, however, seems to read the two words *durbodhanaiḥ* and *abhidhānam* (=*prayojanaṃ*) in this part of the text ; but no possible combination of these can regularise the metre. Is it possible that Abhinava gives here the still metrically irregular reading : *durbodhanaiś cābhidhānam* ? or does it read better as : *durbodhair abhidhānaiś ca* ? In this connection, Abhinava cites the verse *cyuta-sumanasaḥ kundāḥ puṣpodgameṣ-valasā drumāḥ,* quoted by Vāmana as an illustration of *vaiṣamya* or *prakrama-bheda.* This verse is a description of *ṛtu-sandhi,* and as such the mention, in the second line, of *malaya-māruta,* which belongs peculiarly to the spring, is out of harmony in the context. Yet its mention is not absolutely redundant since it helps to awaken *vipralambha śṛṅgāra.* Abhinava goes on remarking : *kintu prakramaṃ sphuṭaṃ na puṣṇātīti viṣamatā.* This (particularly the word *sphuṭam*) explains the term *durbodhanaiḥ* or *durbodhaiḥ* in Bharata's definition. The *prakrama-bheda* here can be avoided if we replace the second foot of the verse by *manasi ca giraṃ badhnantīme kiranti na kokilāḥ* and then the verse would be an instance of *avaiṣamya* or *samatā* as an *artha-guṇa.* All this of course, follows Vāmana's explanation in his Vṛtti to III,2,5.

Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra, however read : *paraspara-vibhūṣaṇa-guṇālaṃkārāḥ samam iti bharataḥ,* which corresponds to Bharata's definition of *samantā* as found in the Chaukhamba text.[1]

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1 anyonya-sadṛśaṃ yatra tathā hy anyonya-bhūṣaṇam /
alaṃkāra-guṇās caiva samāsāt samatā yathā //

Obviously the readings samāsāt and yathā are mislections here. They should be samatvāt and matā as in the K. M. text.

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They indicate that Daṇḍin rejects this definition on the ground that *guṇas* and *alaṃkāras*, which are themselves *bhinnādhikaraṇa* cannot adorn each other. This is certainly not the view of Daṇḍin, but the commentators read their own view here in accepting the *alaṃkāras* as related to the *kāvya-śarīra* and the *guṇas* to *kāvyātmā*. In Daṇḍin's work, however, these entities are not *bhinnādhāra*, since they both adorn the *kāvya-śarīra*.

IV. SAMĀDHI is that special embellishment by which the peculiar or distinguishing sense (*arthaya viśeṣaḥ*) is understood by men of critical discernment.[1] Abhinavagupta remarks in this connection: *yasyārthasya abhiyuktaiḥ pratibhānātiśayavadbhir viśeṣo'pūrvaḥ sollikhita* (?) *upalabhyate sa samāhita-manaḥ-sampādya-viśeṣatvād artho viśiṣṭaḥ samādhiḥ*. This explanatlon closely follows Vāmana's *vṛtti*: *samādhi-karaṇatvāt samādhiḥ* on III,2,7, in connection with the definition of *samādhi* as an *artha-guṇa*. In the second line of Bharata's verse on *samādhi* Abhinava apparently reads *prakīrtitaḥ*(=*parītaḥ*) and not *prakīrtyate*, and takes the relative *tena* as referring to the word *samādhi*: *samādhi-śabdasya yo'rthaḥ parihāra-lakṣaṇas tena yaḥ prakīrtitaḥ parītaḥ samantād ākrāntyā uccāraṇe(ṇa)-sampannaḥ, sa ca samādhiḥ/ ākrāntyoccāraṇe ārohāvaroha-krama eva*. This explanation *ārohāvaroha-krama*, depending on *uccāraṇa*, is meant to make the definition correspond to that of Vāmana's *ārohāvarohakramaḥ samādhiḥ* (III,1,13).

Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra explain Bharata's definition of this *guṇa* simply as: *arthasya guṇântara-samādhānāt-samādhiḥ*: but the two texts of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* which we at present possess do not lend any support to this definition.[2] Of course it is somehow possible

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1 abhiyuktair viśeṣas tu yo'rthasyaivopalabhyate/
tena cārthena sampannaḥ samādhiḥ parikīrtyate//

2 Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra's explanation speaks of superimposition (samādhāna) of some special or distinguishing quality on the sense, and really corresponds to Daṇḍin's *samādhi*, which consists of the transference of the qualities or actions of one thing to another, that is, metaphorical expression generally. Dr. De was apparently relying on the commentaries of Māṇikyacandra and Hemacandra when he took Bharata's *samādhi* to be "superimposition of something special or distinguishing in the sense". The Ch. text reads the definition as:

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to arrive at this position from the definition of *samādhi* given in the K. M. text, but it cannot be taken in any sense as the direct summarisation of any of the definitions found in the printed texts. Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra think that Vāmana does not accept the definition of Bharata as referred to by them, since it is nothing but a special case of *atiśayokti.*

V. MĀDHURYA consists of sweetness, where a sentence heard many times or repeated again and again does not produce weariness or disgust.[1] The text of Abhinava's commentary on this passage is corrupt in many places, but it is clear that he reads *śrutam* for *kṛtam* and *vākyam* for *kāvyam* of the K. M. text. This reading is supported by the Ch. text, as well as by the remarks of Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra on this point. It is clear that Abhinavagupta here, as elsewhere, reads the views of Vāmana into Bharata and presents *mādhurya* from two view-points, viz., as a *śabda-guṇa* and as an *artha-guṇa.* He remarks: *yad yasmādd hetor vākyaṃ śrutaṃ saṃśaya-viparyayayor* (?) *āspadaṃ na bhavati tan mādhuryam| drāghīyasi samāse tau* (=*saṃśaya-viparyayau*) *avaśyaṃ bhavata iti tad-viraha eva mādhuryaṃ śabda-guṇaḥ.* This is undoubtedly an elucidation of Vāmana's *pṛthak-padatva*, which has been explained in the *vṛtti* as *samāsa-dairghya-nivṛtti.* In Abhinava's opinion Bharata's *mādhurya* is also an *artha-guṇa* consisting of *ukti-vaicitrya,* as defined by Vāmana. Thus: *punaḥ punar apy uktam arthajātaṃ yad yasmādd hetor avagītam avagāhanena vairasyena* (?) *tad vacana-vaicitryātmakam mādhuryam artha-guṇaḥ.....vacanāntarābhidheyatayā hi sa evārtho vicitro bhavati.*[2]

Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra think that the definition given by Bharata is too wide, for it would include even the harsh utterances of a beloved person which do not produce disgust. It is for this, in their opinion, that Vāmana defines the *śabda-guṇa* as *pṛthak-padatva*, which too has been later on discarded as too narrow a definition.

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upamāsviyahistānām (?) arthānāṃ yatnatas tathā/
prāptānāṃ cāti-saṃyogaḥ samādbiḥ parikīrtyate//

which is certainly a corrupt text and does not give us any solution here.

1 bahuśo yat kṛtaṃ kāvyam uktaṃ vāpi punaḥ punaḥ/
nodvejayati tasmādd hi tan mādhuryam udāhṛtam//

2 The text of the commentary is extremely corrupt and incorrect here. Perhaps Abhinava meant to explain it thus: ..... yasmāddhetor avagāhanena vairasyena yojayati.

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VI. OJAS: (i) Strength, where the composition is characterised by the use of varied striking and dignified compound words, having letters agreeable to one another.[1] (K. M. text). (ii) This excellence occurs where there is richness of word and its sense and where a low or censured object becomes an object of exaltation.[2] (Ch. text).

Abhinava accepts the first definition, reading *sānurāgaiḥ* for the obviously corrupt *sā tu svaraiḥ* of the K. M. text, and explaining *sānurāga* as *yatra varṇair varṇāntaram apekṣyate tatra sānurāgatvam.* He takes the example quoted by Vāmana to illustrate *ojas* as a *śabda-guṇa* (*vilulita-makarandā mañjarīr nartayanti*) and remarks in this connection: *atra ra iti śabdo nda-śabdaṃ sva-gurutvāyāpekṣate..... etad eva gāḍhatvam ucyate.* But if the reading is altered to *vilulita-madhu-dhārā mañjarīr lolayanti*, it would be no instance of *gāḍha-bandhatva,* since the letters *dhā* and *lo* are by themselves *guru*; hence they are *jātyapekṣa* or dependent on themselves, and unlike the letters *ra* and *na* in the former reading they have no *sānurāgatva.* That is why this second reading would not be an instance of *gāḍhatva* or *ojas.* Abhinava further remarks: *niviḍāvaya vatayaiva samāsena saṃkṣepena yuktāni padāni yatrārtha-bhūyān iti saṃkṣepo nāmārtha-guṇa ojah..... ekam api vastu udārair bahubhih padair upanibadhyate vistārātmakam apy ojo 'rtha-guṇaḥ.* This explanation of the elements of *samāsa* and *vistāra* is certainly after Vāmana's remark in connection with the *artha-guṇa ojas* defined as *arthasya prauḍhiḥ*, and agrees with the memorial verse which Vāmana quotes:

padārthe vākya-racanaṃ vākyārthe ca padābhidhā/
prauḍhir vyāsa-samāsau ca sābhiprāyatvam asya tu//

Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra accept the second definition of Bharata's *ojas* found in the Ch. text. Hemacandra paraphrases the verse thus: *avagītasya hīnasya vā śabdārtha-sampadā yad udāttatvaṃ niṣiñcanti kavayas tad oja iti bharataḥ.* In other words, this excellence consists in imparting loftiness to an object which is low or treat-

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1 samāsavadbhir vividhair vicitraiś ca padair yutam/
sā tu svarair udāraiś ca tad ojaḥ parikīrtyate// (K. M. text.)

2 avagītāvihīno 'pi syād udāttāvabhāvakaḥ/
yatra śabdārtha-sampattis tad ojaḥ parikīrtitam// (Ch. text)

The first line is probably corrupt. From the remarks of Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra (though Māṇikyacandra's text itself is a bit corrupt here) the reading would apparently be avagīto 'pi hīno 'pi.

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ed with contempt ; that is, glorification of the inglorious. They criticise it remarking that this cannot be a special excellence, since even the depreciation of a noble object may as well constitute a case of *ojas*, and Māṇikyacandra distinctly remarks : *ahīnānavagītasyāpakarṣaṇenaujaso'pi guṇasya prāpteḥ*. Hemacandra refers to the view of one Maṅgala, who is reported to have criticised to the same effect, and adds that poets have got three sorts of liberty in their treatment of a subject. Sometimes they extol an insignificant object, sometimes they depreciate an elevated character, and in other cases they see the thing as it is (with the poet's eye) and describe its true nature. Hence such a characteristic would not, in his opinion, constitute a special *guṇa*.

VII. SAUKUMĀRYA consists of an agreeable sense which results from agreeably employed words and from well connected euphonic combinations.[1] Abhinava, as usual, equates this with Vāmana's *saukumārya*, both as a *śabda-guṇa* and an *artha-guṇa*. The phrase *sukha-prayojya śabda* brings in the idea of Daṇḍin's *aniṣṭhurākṣara-prāyatā* and of Vāmana's *ajaraṭhatva* or *komalatva*. Again, the *apāruṣya* of Vāmana, which consists chiefly of the avoidance of disagreeable or inauspicious statements, is said to be implied in Bharata's *sukumārārtha* or agreeable sense.

Māṇikyacandra and Hemacandra still see a difference between Bharata and Vāmana, for they remark : *sukha-śabdārthaṃ saukumāryam iti bharataḥ, sukha-śabdam eva iti tu vāmanaḥ*.

VIII. ARTHAVYAKTI. Explicitness, (i) in which the meaning is apprehended as soon as the word is employed[2] (Ch. text); (ii) which describes the nature of things as they appear in the world by means of well-known predicates[3] (K. M. text). It is clear that

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1 sukha-prayojyair yac chabdair yuktaṃ su-śliṣṭa-sandhibhiḥ/
sukumārārtha-saṃyuktaṃ saukumāryaṃ tad ucyate// (Ch. text).
This reading is accepted by Abhinavagupta. The K. M. text reads mukhya-prayojyair yacchandaiḥ (?) or mukhya-prayojyaiś chandobhiḥ as a more correct alternative reading in the footnote.

2 yasyārthānupraveśena manasā parikalpyate/
anantaraṃ prayogasya sārthavyaktir udāhṛtā//

3 suprasiddhā dhātunā tu (?) loka-karma-vyavasthitā/
yā kriyā kriyate kāvye sārthavyaktir udāhṛtā//
Should not loka-karm° be loka-dharma° ?

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the first of these definitions corresponds to Vāmana's *śabda-guṇa arthavyakti*, which is explained by him as *jhaṭityartha-pratipatti-hetutva*, while the second would approximate to his *artha-guṇa* of the same name, which has been defined as *vastu-svabhāva-sphuṭatva*. The Kāvyamālā text here is obviously corrupt. Abhinava reads *suprasiddhābhidhāyinā* in place of *suprasiddhā dhātunā tu*, which is unintelligible. This phrase he explains as *suprasiddham abhidhānam abhidhā-vyāpāro yasyāṃ kāvya-kriyāyāṃ sā arthavyaktiḥ śabda-guṇaḥ*. In his opinion, therefore, this excellence occurs where the expressed sense containing well-known and well understood predicates, prevails, and therefore it is a *śabda-guṇa*. Abhinava considers it also as an *artha-guṇa*; but his remarks in this connection are not sufficiently clear. The verse *pṛṣṭheṣu śaṅkha-śakala-cchaviṣu cchadānām*, which he cites as an illustration is taken from Vāmana where it is given as an example of *vastu-svabhāva-spuṭatva*, i.e., of his *artha-guṇa arthavyakti*.

Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra, however, attribute quite a different definition to Bharata, remarking : *yasminn a-tathā-sthito'pi tathā-sthita evārthaḥ pratibhāti so'rthavyaktir gunaḥ iti bharataḥ*. This definition hardly corresponds to those found in the printed texts. They consider that this *guṇa* of Bharata is only a special aspect of *prasāda*, and that therefore Vāmana rejected it.

IX. UDĀRA *or* UDĀTTA. (i) An exaltedness which is marked by superhuman and other varied feelings and by the erotic (*śṛṅgāra*) and the marvellous (*adbhuta*).[1] (iii) An excellence which characterises a composition by the presence of diversified or charming sense (*citrārthaiḥ*) and of well-spoken words (*sūktaiḥ*), which have more than one particular sense and which are marked by elegance (*sausṭhava-saṃyutaiḥ*).[2]

Abhinavagupta, who accepts the first definition, explains the excellence thus : *yatra mānuṣocitam api divyatayā, akaruṇādi-yuktam api śṛṅgāreṇa, avismaya-sthānam apy adbhutena yuktaṃ varṇyate tad-gatair vā vibhāvānubhāvādibhiḥ, tad udāram, tatra audāryam artha-guṇaḥ*. In other words, the excellence consists in describing what is not divine as divine, what is not marvellous as marvellous, what is hardly

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1 divya-bhāva-parītaṃ yacchṛṅgārādbhuta-yojitam/
aneka-bhāva-saṃyuktam udāraṃ tat prakīrtitam// (K. M. text).

2 anekārtha-viśeṣair yat sūktaiḥ sausṭhava-saṃyutaiḥ/
upetam ati-citrārthaiḥ udāttaṃ tac ca kīrtyate// (Ch. text).

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tender as full of erotic sentiment, either by the delineation of these sentiments of the erotic and the marvellous or by the *vibhāvas* and *anubhāvas* thereof. This, he goes on to say, has been called *agrāmyatva* by others (*etad eva cāgrāmyatvam anyair uktam*) and explains *agrāmyatva* as follows: *grāmyaṃ hi vastu yathā-sthitam ayojita-racanā-viśeṣaṃ prasiddhi-mātra-pramāṇam ucyate, tato'nyad agrāmyam.* In his opinion, therefore, this aspect of *udāra* corresponds to Vāmana's *artha-guṇa udāratā*, which the latter defines as *agrāmyatva*. Abhinava means, perhaps, as his citation of Vāmana's illustration on this point shews, that what is *grāmya* or vulgar must not be entertained in poetry. The illustrative verse from Vāmana is free from vulgar effects, which have been removed by a careful depiction of such feelings and sentiments. It is interesting to note, however, that the reference to feelings and sentiments in this *guṇa* of Bharata approximates it partly to Vāmana's *artha-guṇa kānti*. "The implication of *adbhuta rasa*," as Dr. De points out, "and the characteristic that it deals with *divya-bhāva* indicate probably certain *utkarṣavān dharma*, causing wonder, such as Daṇḍin's *udāra* would contain." The use of the expression *aneka-bhāva-saṃyukta* leads Abhinava further, by a great deal of forced interpretation, to read the idea of Vāmana's *śabda-guṇa udāratā* (*vikaṭatva*) into Bharata's definition, remarking: *tatra hi tulya-jāta śṛṅga-liṅgādi-bhedena itthambhūto nartakī-sanniveśaḥ, bharate tad uktaṃ vikaṭatvaṃ narīnṛtyamānatvam iti.*

Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra remark with reference to Bharata's *udāra*: *bahubhiḥ sūkṣmaiś ca viśeṣaiḥ sametam udāram iti bharataḥ*, which is somewhat akin to the second definition given above from the Chaukhamba text, with the difference that they apparently read *sūkṣmaiḥ* for *sūktaiḥ* of the printed text. They think that Vāmana rejects this definition of Bharata on the gronnd that it does not constitute a special *guṇa*; it is only an *ullekhavān arthaḥ* or a meaning of a descriptive or allusive nature.

X. KĀNTI or loveliness which delights the mind and the ear, or which is realised by the meaning conveyed by graceful gestures[1] (*līlādi*) [K.M. text].

Abhinava apparently accepts this reading of the K.M. text and

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1 yan manaḥ-śrotra-viṣayam āhlādayati hīnduvat/
līlādyarthôpapannāṃ yā tāṃ kāntiṃ kavayo viduḥ// (K.M. text).

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explains *līlādi* as *līlādi-ceṣṭā* : but the reading in the Ch. text[1] is somewhat different. According to this latter text, the *guṇa kānti* would consist of a composition of words (*śabda-bandha*) which by its special device (*prayogeṇa*) appeals to the mind and the ear and causes calmness or limpidity (*prasāda-janaka*). Abhinavagupta thinks that the delight is the outcome of the conspicuous presence of *rasas* like the erotic, and as such Bharata's definition corresponds to that of Vāmana's *artha-guṇa kānti*, which is defined as *dīpta-rasatva* and explained by Abhinava as : *vibhāvādīnāṃ dīptatvam iti yāvat*. Abhinava, moreover, thinks that this *guṇa* also corresponds to Vāmana's *śabda-guṇa kānti*, which is defined as brilliancy or *aujjvalya*, without which a composition would be merely reproductive and stale (*yad-abhāve purāṇa-cchāyetyucyate*).

Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra think that Vāmana does not accept the definition given by Bharata because the *guṇa mādhurya* too has been defined as pleasing the ear and the mind. Hence, in their opinion, Vāmana defines *kānti* differently.

It will be seen from this enumeration of Bharata's *guṇas*, both by themselves and with reference to the interpretation of later writers, that in spite of the attempts made by Abhinavagupta and others, a great deal of obscurity still remains, and it is difficult to understand what Bharata sometimes means exactly by a particular *guṇa*.[2] The conception is often not very definite, and individual *guṇas* are not kept strictly apart from one another or saved from overlapping. Nor is his enumeration exhaustive and his distinctions convincing. It would be perhaps too much to expect such strictly accurate theoretical definition and classification in an early writer like Bharata. On such definitions and classifications even later writers have not always been clear and consistent, and wide divergence of opinion has prevailed over the question in the history of Sanskrit poetics. One need not be surprised, therefore, that Bharata's *guṇas*, even if they agree in nomenclature and somtimes in substance, do not really correspond to those of his immediate successors. Nevertheless, with the exception of Bhāmaha, the scheme of ten *guṇas*, outlined by

---

1 yo manaḥ-śrotra-viṣayaḥ prasāda-janako bhavet/
śabda-bandhaḥ prayogeṇa sa kānta iti bhaṇyate// (Ch. text).

2 The obscurity is partly due to the uncertain nature of the text and partly to the inchoate conceptions natural to an early theoriser on the subject.

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Bharata, is conventionally adhered to by all later writers, until we come to the Dhvani school; and in some cases even the conception of his *guṇa* is substantially accepted.

It would also be clear from the above detailed consideration of of Bharata's *guṇas* that Abhinava attempts throughout to approximate Bharata's *guṇas* to those of Vāmana, and, consequently splits up each of Bharata's *guṇas* into a *śabda-guṇa* and an *artha-guṇa*. To attain this specific end, his interpretation naturally becomes strained and far-fetched in more than one place. Whenever he thinks it difficult to make out the point he wants to emphasise from Bharata's text he unhesitatingly modifies or interprets the reading of the text so as to get his point somehow established. As illustrations of Bharata's *guṇas* Abhinava selects exactly the same verses as are given by Vāmana for the same purpose, and explains them in the light of Vāmana's definition and interpretation. Judging from such cases, it would be evident that Abhinava's extraordinary treatment of Bharata's *guṇas* would not very materially help the critical reader in the way of comprehending the original views of Bharata himself.

Although it is not possible to accept Abhinava's system of splitting up each of Bharata's *guṇas* into a *śabda-guṇa* and an *artha-guṇa*, corresponding to those of Vāmana, it would not be wrong to hold that Vāmana might have received the hint of his twofold classification of the *guṇas* from Bharata's treatment. There is no evidence to shew that Vāmana's latter distinction between *śabda-guṇa* and *artha-guṇa* was at all known to Bharata, but taking his definitions as they stand in both the editions of his text, it would seem that most of Bharata's *guṇas* are of the nature of what Vāmana would call *artha-guṇa*, while some of them can be well interpreted as comprehending aspects of a *śabda-guṇa* as well. Thus, some of his *guṇas* refer to *śabda*, some to *artha*, while others to both these elements. If we depend upon the Kāvyamālā text, Bharata's Śleṣa, Samatā, and Sukumāratā seem to possess a twofold function on the very face of the definitions given, and cannot in any way be mistaken. This could not have been lost on Vāmana, who perhaps developed the ideas further, probably in accordance with a tradition obtaining in his Rīti school and divided systematically each of his *guṇas* into that of *śabda* and *artha* respectively. As a result of such an elaborate procedure, he had to give a thoroughly new shape to all the *guṇas* of Bharata, which, though outwardly the same in name and number, received new and different connotations at his hands and are in reality doubled in number.

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With this assumption and restriction there would be no difficulty in accepting generally the view represented by Māṇikyacandra and Hemacandra that the successors of Bharata established their own systems by criticising and improving upon Bharata's conception of the *guṇas*, but treating them in connection with the later theory of Rīti, of which there is no trace in Bharata's work. At the same time, we must not be led away by every detail of the views represented by Māṇikyacandra and Hemacandra, for these are often extremely coloured by the ideas of the post-dhvani period; and some of the opinions that they pass under Bharata's name in their works are not to be found at all in the texts of Bharata which we now possess.[1]

PRAKAS CHANDRA LAHIRI

---

1 The text of Abhinavagupta's commentary on Bharata Ch. xvi has been quoted from a copy of the manuscript in the possession of my teacher Dr. S. K. De, who kindly lent it for my use. Dr. De, whose expert knowledge of the subject needs no mention, guided these investigations throughout, looked over the first draft of this essay and spared no pains in helping me in various ways,—for which I acknowledge my deep obligations to him. But for the opinions expressed I am alone responsible.

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Antiquities of Assam

The ancient temples, sculptures, images, inscriptions, and coins, offering a fruitful field of research to the antiquarians, show that Assam attained a high degree of perfection in art and architecture along with other provinces of India. The ancient name of Assam is Kāmarūpa, and it is so called in the Epics, Purāṇas and Tantras. Its capital was Prāgjyotiṣpura or the city of Eastern light. In the pre-historic period Narakāsura, Bhagadatta, Bāṇa and other mythical kings ruled here. The period from the 7th century to the 13th century witnessed powerful sovereigns like Bhāskara Varma, Harzar Varma and Sankal. Bhāskara Varma was invited by the emperor Śīlāditya to attend the great assembly at Kanauj. Harṣa marched to Kanauj in state along the south bank of Ganges, "while Bhāskar Varma, who seems to have been the most important of the attendant Rājās, kept pace with him on the opposite bank: he had with him 500 elephants clad in armour. Kanauj was reached in the spring of 644 A.C. after a journey of 90 days. Processions were brought out daily at which an image of Buddha was carried; the canopy was borne by Harṣa himself, attired as God Śukra, while Bhāskara clad as Brahma waved a white Cauri. This went on for many days." It was Kumāra Bhāskara who invited the great Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang to Kāmarūpa. Hiuen Tsang's account throws a flood of light on that period of Assam history which otherwise would have remained in oblivion. In the 13th century the Ahoms, a tribe of Mongolian stock, came to Assam. They reigned for 400 years and made remarkable progress in art, architecture, religion, literature, etc. During the halcyon days of the Ahom rule (Rudra Singha, Gadādhar Singha, Śiva Singha), many roads were constructed, temples erected, tanks excavated and beautiful structures raised. Assam was invaded 18 times by the Muhammadans, but owing to the strength of the government, no expedition could continue long. Even the expedition supported by Mughal artillery sent to the province the latter time suffered a defeat at "Saraighat" at the hands of "Lachit Barphukan." Since then the Mughals abandoned the project of subjugating Assam for good. The Burmese invaded the country at a time when civil dispute had weakened the government. The depredations caused by the Burmese were so vehement that the inhabitants, being

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unable to tolerate their oppression, deserted their own habitations and fled to the neighbouring territories for self-protection. At this juncture (1826), the British came in and restored peace. The influence of the Koch and Cachari dynasties was also very great. The Koch king Nara Nārāyaṇa in Kamatapur was the Vikramāditya of Assam. His court-poet Puruṣottama Vidyāvāgīśa, the Sanskrit grammarian, compiled a new treatise named *Ratnamālā Vyākaraṇa* which became more popular in Kamrup than the Pāṇini. Malladev of that dynasty rebuilt the temple of Kāmākṣyā ; Chilarai, his younger brother, defeated the *padsah* of Gaur. The Cachari dynasty too had established itself in Dimapur and Mibong leaving brick-built fortifications and stone pillars as a sign of its remarkable achievements. Thus Assam, passing through the successive periods of peace and prosperity, trouble and warfares, frequent natural calamities like earthquakes, has still remnants of her past glories.

Assam temples are generally built on the tops of hills, near a tank or river, or at the junction of two or more rivers. The images in the temples are generally made of stone, bronze, silver and other precious metals. The only image made of wood hitherto discovered is the idol of "Jagannātha" in the broken temple at Mitani, a village 4 miles from the Khetri Ry. Station of the A.B.Ry. in Kamrup district. Images of Viṣṇu, Maheśvara, Ganeśa, and many other images of the Vaiṣṇava and Śākta sects are scattered throughout the province.

Assam architecture and sculpture may be roughly divided according to two periods: (i) Pre-Ahom and (ii) Ahom.

In the first period fall the all-stone structures of the Kāmākṣyā and Umānanda temples (before these were re-built) and the stone city belonging to Bāṇarājā of Śonitapura.

To the second period belong all the brick-built structures, temples, stone and brass images and other decorations in carved stones.

Assamese art and architecture reached a high degree of perfection and may well bear comparison with those of North and South India.

The basalt image of [illegible] found in the Bamuni hill, Tezpur, the stone gateway of Jiaḍury [illegible] E. Nowgong, etc. are masterpieces of [illegible] carvings. In the Ahom period the royal auditorium was called *Salang*, which was usually 120 cubits long. The structure and the wood-work decorations of the palace were so striking that the Muhammadan writer Sahabuddin, who accompanied Mirza Jaya in his expedition to Assam in 1662, writes "My pen fails to describe in

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detail the other arts and rare inventions employed in decorating the wood-work of the palace. Probably nowhere else in the whole world can wooden houses be built with such decoration and figure-carving as by the people of this country."

Now we shall deal with some hitherto unknown inscriptions and images.

Stone inscriptions

Stone inscriptions in Assam may be classified into two groups:

(1) Pre-Ahom inscriptions, *i.e.*, those belonging to the period prior to the 13th century, *i.e.*, the coming of the Ahoms into Assam.

(2) Inscriptions of the Ahom period, *i.e.*, the inscriptions posterior to the 13th century (during the reign of the Ahoms).

We have hitherto discovered three pre-Ahom inscriptions, *viz.*,

(1) The Tezpur Rock inscription, 510 Gupta era, *i.e.*, 829-30.

(2) The inscription on the Viṣṇu image of stone found at Deopani (near Dimapur Ry. Station) and deciphered by Mr. K. N. Dikshit.

(3) The inscription on a rock in the vicinity of Kanai Boroshi in North Gauhati, 1127 Śaka, *i.e.*, 1205 A.C. (the period of Bakhtyar Khilji's invasion).

Of the Ahom period we have inscriptions which refer to the construction of temples, excavation of tanks and celebration of certain memorable incidents of history. Inscriptions on "Vigraha" are not also wanting. During the Ahom rule, whenever a temple was erected, the date and the particulars of the king were inscribed on a slab of stone, 3 cubits in length and 1½ cubits in breadth with decorations on the border. Every inscription began with the word *svasti* and ended with the date which was invariably inscribed not in numerical figures but in a form like गगणगुणगुणेन्दुशाके (*i.e.*, 1660). The language of the inscriptions is Sanskrit inscribed in old Assamese character. Inscriptions purely in Assamese character and language are also available though their number is few. Letters of the inscriptions are cut deep into certain planes and sometimes they are elevated. The Assamese word for stone inscription is "Śilar Phali." 'Phali' comes from the Sanskrit 'Phalak'. It is also called "Gadya", the technical term used by the people for the text contained in inscriptions attached to temples. The moveable or the portable image of Umānanda in Gauhati bears an inscription in Sanskrit stating the time and the maker. A stone pillar like the Liṅga image of Śiva bears an inscription which speaks about the Ahom victory over the Muham-

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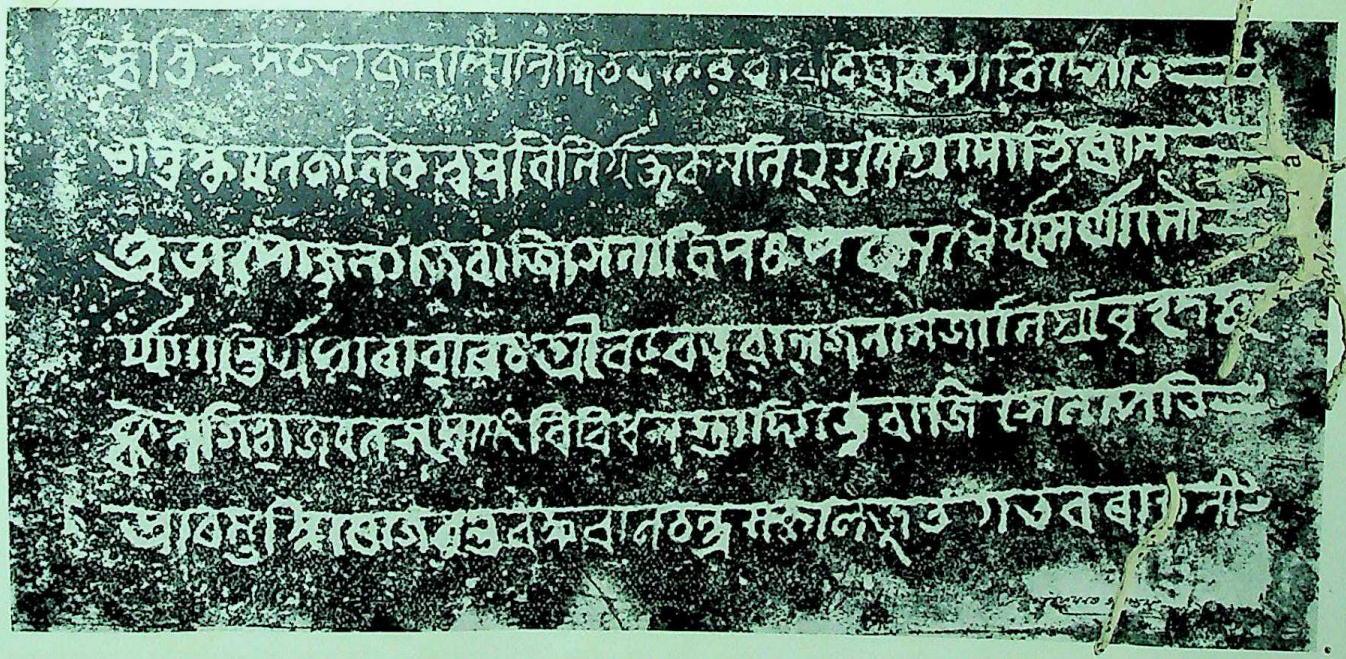

JAYA STAMBHA OR VICTORY PILLAR

K. A. S.

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madans and fixes the boundary between the Ahom dominion and the Muhammadan territory. Thus Assam contains numerous inscriptions (as a specimen, see the attached plate).

Images of Stone and Bronze

The temple images in Assam are generally made of stone, bronze, silver with ornaments of gold and precious gems. They are worshipped in temples on tops of mountains, on the river bank or tank and in the midst of a place where good and great men live. Broadly speaking, images may be divided into two groups: (1) Acala or fixed images, and (2) Cala or moveable images. The immoveable image is called Mūla Vigraha and the moveable image is called Calanta Vigraha. Every temple has generally two sets of images. The Calanta mūrti or the moveable image is brought out of the temple on the occasion of festivals. The Mūla Vigraha is invariably large and heavy and firmly fixed in the pediment. Images are worshipped in standing, sitting and reclining position, but the last position is not allowed except in the case of Viṣṇu.

On the walls of the temples, rocks and gateways are seen the carvings of different Hindu images. Generally, Daśāvatāra or the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, *viz.*, Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasiṃha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāghavarāma, Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa, Kalkī, the different forms of Āditya or Sungod, Viśvakarmā, sages etc., are found depicted, but no regular worship is offered to them like the idol inside the temple on the altar.

The objects of worship, contained in the Assam temples, are Śālagrāmas, Liṅga forms of Maheśvara, different manifestations of Viṣṇu, Devīs, *i.e.*, the supreme diety as a female principle, Gaṇapati, the remover of obstacles, and other minor gods.

Navagrahas or Nine Planets

Citrācala or Navagraha hill is to the east of the town of Gauhati. There are nine planet figures of stone set up on a pediment in a zodiacal circle. Sūrya, Candra, Maṅgala, Budha, Bṛhaspati, Śukra, Śani, Rāhu and Ketu constitute the nine grahas or planets. According to the Śāstras these planets are represented as follows:

[illegible] great chariot has one wheel and is drawn by seven [illegible]es, he has a lotus in each hand, wears an armour and has a shield over his breast, has beautiful straight hair, and is surrounded by halo of light.

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Candra is represented in white colour, clothed in white garment, surrounded by a halo, and adorned with ornaments and garland of all sorts of flowers.

Maṅgala is represented in fire-like red colour, clothed in red garments, seated upon Siṃhāsana, with three arms bearing Gadā, Śūla, Śakti weapons and as one in an Abhaya or Varadā pose.

Budha is represented in yellow colour, clothed in yellow garment with three arms bearing Khaḍga, Khetaka, Gadā and one in Varadā pose.

Bṛhaspati is represented in yellow colour, clothed in golden yellow garments with three arms bearing Kamaṇḍalu, Akṣamāla, Daṇḍa and one in Varadā pose. Sometimes this planet is represented with two arms having a Pustaka and an Akṣamāla.

Śukra is represented in white colour, clothed in white garments, having four arms and bearing the same weapons as Bṛhaspati. Just like him it is sometimes represented with two hands bearing Nidhi (treasure) and a Pustaka.

Śani is represented in black colour, clothed in black garments, small in stature and somewhat lame in one leg. He has two arms bearing a Daṇḍa and an Akṣamāla and sometimes one in Varadā pose.

Rāhu is represented on a Siṃhāsana or a silver chariot drawn by eight horses. According to some it possesses four arms, three of which bear Khaḍga, Khetaka, Śūla and one in Varadā pose and sometimes he possesses two arms carrying a book and a woollen blanket.

Ketu is represented in dark colour having two arms in Abhaya pose and a Gadā, and sometimes on a chariot drawn by ten horses.

But all these planet figures are in the Liṅga forms with pieces of of cloth of different colour wrapping the Liṅgas. Regular worship is carried on still by the votaries. A stone inscription records that under the orders of the king Rājeśvar Singha, Tarun Duarah, commander-in-chief of the royal army stationed at Gauhati, built the temple called Navaratna on the Citrācal hill and consecrated the Navagrahas in 1674 Śaka era.

Devī or Goddess

The Śākta sect of the Hindus worship Devīs. But the other followers, namely, Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas, also worship Devīs, as Śakti,

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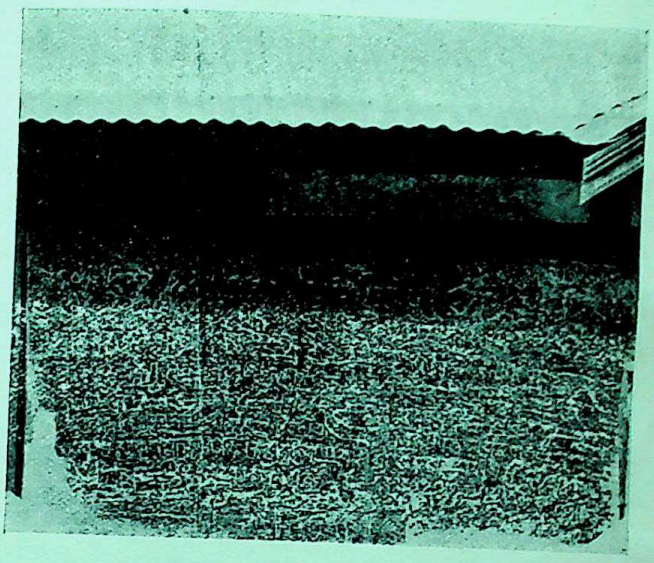
II



TEJPUR ROCK INSCRIPTION K. A. S.

IMAGES OF STONE AND BRONZE K. A. S.

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according to them, is the personification of universal

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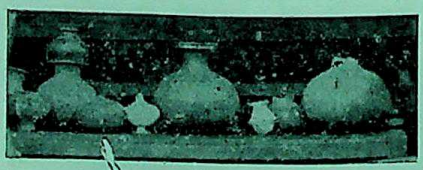
ŚAṄKARADEVA K. A. S.



RELICS OF POTTERY K. A. S.

I.H.Q., June, 1930

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according to them, is the personification of universal energy. "Without the co-operation of this goddess, the absolute Brahman of itself can achieve nothing." In Assam the Mahāpuruṣia, *i.e.*, the followers of the religion established by Mahāpuruṣa Śaṅkar Dev, is never allowed to worship Śakti according to the strict injunctions of the religion. The images of the goddesses, worshipped in Assam, are Durgā, Kālī, Caṇḍī, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī. In the Ahom period "Durgotsav" was not in vogue amongst the people, but when the Ahom king became Hindu, the Brāhmaṇical influence introduced the pūjā in the Rāj family and consequently amongst certain high class people. Falgotsav was more widely celebrated than Durgotsav, which, however, has widely spread at the present time more for the sake of enjoyment.

Relics of Ancient Pottery

In re-excavating a tank in the Assam Valley, a large quantity of ancient earthen pottery was found in 1916 by Sir Jogendranath Barua, M.A., B.L., Additional Judge. These relics are generally earthen pots, bowls, plates and jars of different size and shape. Some of the articles, chiefly the pitchers and pots, are glazed, smooth and of peculiar colour, which appear to be still fresh. Potteries of this particular quality are not found in Assam at present. Mr. K. N. Dikshit, the archæologist, after careful examination, expressed his opinion "that they were older than specimens of ancient pottery discovered in other parts of India." On our visit to the Museum at Taxila in the Punjab, in November 1928, we saw innumerable specimens of ancient potteries found in the Taxila excavation and other specimens of this clay work preserved in the Museum of Lahore, Delhi, Calcutta and Dacca. As far as we could judge nowhere did we find such fragments of pottery, so glazed and so smooth, as those kept in the premises of the K.A.S., Gauhati.

Temple of Jagannātha

In a village called Mitani, not very far from the Khetri Station of the A. B. Ry., there is a broken temple of Jagannātha where the wooden image of Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā are worshipped. The great earthquake of 1897 destroyed its brick-built temple. Four wheels of stone are still visible, and they were used in *Ratha* (chariot) of the Mahāprabhu. As far as we know this is the single instance

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of the temple of Jagannātha, containing the image made of wood in Assam just like "Lāru Brahma" in Puri.

Umānanda Pukhuri

This is a tank just below the bungalow of the Civil Surgeon near the Cutchery compound of Gauhati. The temple of Umānanda is at a short distance in the middle of the Brahmaputra. Still people call this tank as Umānanda Pukhuri. Formerly it was the practice with the Ahom rulers to excavate a tank and consecrate it to a temple. The temple of Umānanda was built by Gadādhar Singha in 1616 Śaka era. Probably as it was customary to consecrate a tank to a temple, this "Umānanda Pukhuri" was perhaps originally made with the same purpose though there was no demand for water. Near the tank was the compound occupied by the Barphukan and the present Cutchery Ghat was called "Barphukan's Pakighat" before the coming of the British. The Umānanda tank probably contains articles of antiquity in its bed as during the Burmese invasion people threw their properties into the water. As Gauhati was the most important seat during the Ahom rule and as there was much warfare, it is probable that the silt bed of the tank contains numerous articles of antiquity. On its banks are still visible several iron cannons.

Hazari Pukhuri

There is a large tank in Tezpur, the size of which is described by the people of the locality in this way: If a man stands on one extremity of the tank on the north and another stands on the opposite extremity on the south, then the two will be hardly visible to each other and even if they shout, their voice would be indistinctly audible to each other. Its banks are paved with big slabs of stone though they are in a ruined state at places. Mr. Gait writes "a little more than a mile to the west (of the Tezpur town) is an old silted-up tank called the Hazari Pukhuri which is ascribed to the time of Bāṇa." From the Tezpur rock inscription it will appear, that there reigned a king named Harzar Varman in 510 Gupta era, *i.e.*, 829-30 A.C. The tank was probably excavated during the rule of this king and it was named after the name of the king Harzar. So it is apparent that from "Harzar Puṣkariṇī" people call it "Hajari Pukhuri."

In the neighbourhood of the above tank there is another tank which goes by the name of "Kum Bhanda", the prime minister of Bāṇa Rājā.

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PARAPHERNALIA OF THE AHOM KINGS

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Paraphernalia of the Ahom King

The Ahoms came into Assam in the 13th century. Candra Kānta Singha was the last reigning king in Assam and his reign commenced in 1810 and ended in 1818. His son was Ghana Kānta Singha, and his grandson Kesav Kānta Singha lived and died at Gauhati. The late Rāṇī Māhindrīdevī of this royal family and the daughters of Kesav Kānta Singha presented to the K.A.S. of Gauhati a large collection of the paraphernalia of the Ahom kings consisting of the following articles:—a royal ivory sceptre, the royal headdress, coats, cloaks, trousers, wrappers, Dragon cloth, Kepkara Gunapatti for head with Tai characters, Hengdan, Jari Chouga, Mirzai, Kingkhap-Bukuchola, Jari Chadar, Gomcheng Bukuchola, Tangali, China chola, Burma cloth, Tas cloth, Ban-kara-khania or embroidered wrapper, China chola, etc.

These remnants of tattered finery testify to the excellence of the national custume of the Hindu king and the height that the textile industry reached in those so-called degenerate days of hand-spinning.

Weapons of War

Weapons used in war during the Ahom period, prior to 1532 A.C., were swords, spears, bows and arrows. The king used a sword called "hengda" with golden handle. The guards on their duty used another kind of long sword called "langkai." The shield used by the soldiers was made of rhinoceros' skin. In the J.A.S.B., 1872, p. 55, it is mentioned from Padshahnamah that "the soldiers used bows and arrows and matchlocks. Shahabuddin who accompanied Mirzumla in his expedition to Assam in 1662 writes that 'they (Assamese) cast excellent matchlocks and bachadar artillery, and show great skill in this craft. They make first-rate gun powder, of which they procure the materials from the imperial dominions. The weapons of War are matchlocks, cannon, arrows with and without iron heads, short swords, spears, and long and cross bows." Assamese fire-arms had seven types *viz.*, (i) Toa, (ii) Jumur, (iii) Gathia Jumur, (iv) Kechai, (v) Pahalangi, (vi) Pathar Kalai, and (vii) Kamayan. In Tavernier's travels in India (vol. iii, page 522) it is said "that these (Assamese) were the people that formerly invented guns and powder which spread itself from Pegu and from Pegu to China from which the invention has been attributed to the Chinese."

Mr. Robinson was the first European who made an attempt to

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give a systematic account of the Assam ruins. Captain Walsh, Mr. Wastemacott, Mr. Hamney, Mr. J. P. Wade were some other foreign scholars whose name also deserve mention. Assam is called "a country of exceptional interest, a museum of nationalism, one of the few countries in India whose inhabitants beat back the tide of Mughal conquest."

SARBESWAR SARMA KATAKI

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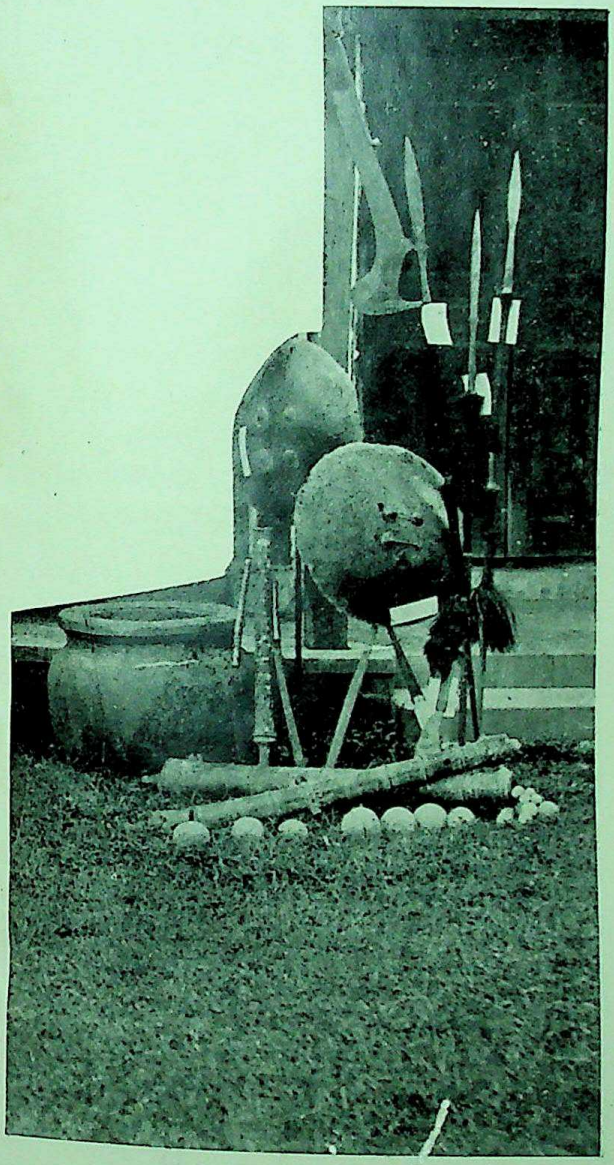

WEAPONS OF WAR K. A. S.

H.Q., June, 1930.

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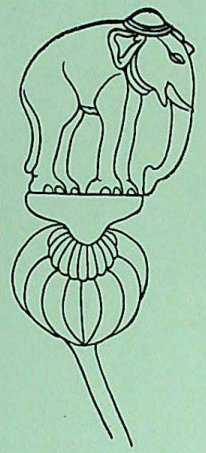
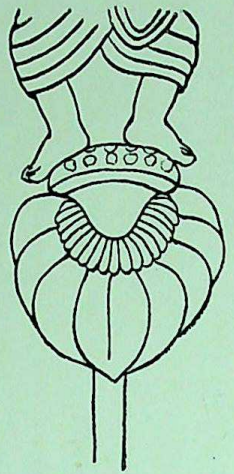
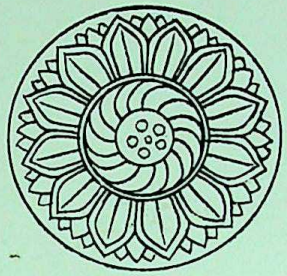


I. BHARHUT



II. BHARHUT



III. PĀṬALIPUTRA

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MISCELLANY

Origin of the Lotus- (so-called Bell-) Capital

Mr. Mitra discusses the question of the origin of the Lotus-(so-called Bell-) Capital in *I.H.Q.*, V, pp. 693ff, in connection with a very interesting example from Bhuvaneśvara. I should assign this example to about 100-150 B.C. ; its ornamental tendencies are comparable with those seen in the pilaster capitals of the Jaggayyapeṭa *pākāra*,[1] and considering the proximity of Kaliṅga and Veṅgī, this is not surprising.

The problem of the origin of the type may be considered from two points of view : (1) that of morphology, and (2) that of significance. As regards (1) I have already shown elsewhere[2] that the lotus capital and the lotus pedestal or seat (*padma-pīṭha*, *padmāsana*) represent one and the same form as seen (a) in the round, and (b) in profile, serving in both cases as a support, while (c) the same expanded lotus flower seen from above is represented in innumerable medallions of the early railing pillars and cross-bars. These three aspects of the lotus are mutually explanatory. Naturally, the stalk can be seen only in the full round or profile views ; in the full round instance, it is represented by the shaft of the column. Beyond this, in each case, three elements are recognizable, viz., the reverted petals (*patra*), the circle of stamens (*kiñjalka* or *keśara*), and the flat-topped pericarp (*karṇikā*), which last, in a *padma-pīṭha* or *padmāsana*, forms the actual support of a standing or seated human or animal figure.[3] In the case of the bell-capital, the bell, torus and abacus are respectively the petals, stamens, and pericarp; the accompanying Figures 1 and 2, taken from Bharhut railing pillar chamfer reliefs, will make this sufficiently evident. At first sight, the "cable-moulded" design of the torus of the bell-capital presents a slight difficulty, since one would expect the stamens to be

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1 Burgess, *Buddhist stūpas of Amarāvatī and Jaggayyapeṭa*, Pl. LIII, figs. 14-16, and Pl. LIV, figs. 2 and 3.

2 *Early Indian Iconography, II. Śrī-Lakṣmī*, in Eastern Art, I, pp. 178, 179. The *padma-pīṭha* is found first in connection with Śrī-Lakṣmī, early in the second century B. C., and may well be much older.

3 In the *Mānasāra*, xxxii, 111, 112, 117, the upper element of a pedestal (*pīṭhaka*) is specifically designated *karṇikā*.

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represented by a vertically ribbed, rather than a spiral, moulding; but here the lotus medallions come to our assistance, for there exist numerous examples, one of which, from the Pāṭaliputra railing, is illustrated in Fig. 3, in which the stamens are spirally arranged, and this arrangement seen in profile would yield precisely our "cable moulding."

(2) Now as to the significance of the motif. Obviously, the lotus support in the round (bell-capital), and represented in relief (*padmapīṭha*) present us with one and the same problem, that of the use of the open lotus flower as a support. Incidentally, the lotus petal mouldings of the basement courses of architectural constructions (though I cannot think of an early example) provide us with another instance of the use of an expanded lotus flower in the same sense. Early literary sources will be found to yield a satisfactory explanation of the use of the lotus as support. In connection with the oldest Indian cosmology, that of water, we meet at once with the idea that water is the source and support of all things, particularly the source of life, and the support of the earth. "The lotus means the waters" (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, vii, 4, 1, 8); "thou art the back of the waters" (*ib.* and *Yajur Veda*, iv, 1, 3 and 2, 8); "this earth lies spread on the waters" (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, ib.*); "growing to might as the lotus flower, do thou (earth) extend in width with the measure of heaven" (*Yajur Veda, ib.*).[1] Here the original symbolic significance of the lotus, as representing the waters, which support the earth, is very clearly stated, and there is no need to invoke the later mystical ideas about a world lotus and *maṇḍalas*.

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1 There are more "Vedic" elements in early Indian art than has yet been realised. To take another example: the inverted vessel is already used as a rain-cloud symbol in the *Ṛg-veda* (v, 85, 3-4), and appears as such, held in the trunks, of the *dig-gajas* of the *abhiṣeka* of Śrī-Lakṣmī, in the second century B.C.

Hardly anything could be less likely than that the archæologist should chance to hit upon the very first representation ever made of a given motif or formula; and when at a given moment (when permanent material first came into use, and therefore a permanent record was for the first time possible) he finds a given motif wide-spread and abundantly represented, he may feel sure that he is already far from the time of its beginnings.

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The fact that these late Vedic sources are older than the extant lotus capitals and pedestals presents no difficulty, for actually there is no reason to suppose that motifs of this kind were first introduced into India in the Maurya period, but there is every probability to the contrary. We shall never understand the history of Indian art by taking for granted that it first came into existence when we first have tangible proof of it ; we might almost as well try to date Indian literature by the dates of the earliest extant manuscripts.

Whatever resemblances may be recognizable as between early Indian and contemporary western Asiatic art, characteristic and idiomatic differences are equally obvious. Further, the resemblances are usually much more evident as between early Indian art and Assyrian art of about 800-1200 B. C., than as between early Indian art and contemporary Achaemenid art.[1] Nobody doubts that a pre-Maurya art and architecture existed ; if they were not a good deal like Maurya and Śuṅga art, what were they like, and why have they left no trace? All these considerations make it only reasonable to suppose that the first fixation of Indian art in permanent materials records not a beginning, but a particular stage of a traditional development ; we can far better explain the actual facts by regarding the Indian and the western Asiatic forms as cognate, than by regarding the former as Maurya borrowings from the latter, modified, in the very act of borrowing, by Indian "originality."

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

1 Amongst such resemblances may be mentioned the battlement motif; formulæ for clouds (see my *A royal Gesture and some other Motifs*, in the Feestbundel of the K. Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschapen, 1929), mountains (*see my Notes on Indian Coins and Symbols*, Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, N.F.IV, Heft 4, 1929), and water; the double volute capital; and elements of the "animal style".

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514 Digambara Jaina Stūpas at Mathurā

The antiquities at Mathurā has proved beyond doubt that there were Jaina stūpas and temples at that place and Smith presumed that the Jainas performed their Pūjā in them till the 13th or 14th century, because some of the Jaina images found there belong to these centuries.[1] But seldom it is thought that there were no less than 514 Jaina Stūpas there. It was actually so at the time of Akbar. We have a witness to this fact, who says that at that time, one Digambara Jain, Sāhū Ṭodar of Garga gotra, expert in mint work[2] and resident of Bhaṭāniākol, went to Mathurā on piligrimage and finding the Stūpas in want of repairs, he got them rebuilt and consecrated them with great eclat. This fact is borne out from the account of this Sāhū Ṭodar, as given by his protégé Kavi Rāj-Mall, in his work "Jambū-svāmi-caritra," which was completed in Saṃvat 1632 and is now brought to light from the dark room of the Jaina Bhaṇḍār, Delhi, by the renowned Jain Pandit Śrī Jugol Kisorji Mukhtar.[3] Indeed the scholars are indebted to the said Mukthar Saheb for this precious information.

Perhaps the exact number of 514 of the Stūpas might be doubted, but for this it should be noted that according to the Digambara Jaina tradition, Jambūsvāmin, the last *Kevalin*, came to Mathurā and lived there for a time and he ordained a notorious thief *Vidyuccara* as a Jain *Muni*, with his 500 followers. Now once so happened that this *Saṅgha* of 501 *munis* came to Mathurā and encamped in the *Mahodyāna* outside, where they were murdered brutally by some antagonist of Jainism. Thereupon the pious Jains got the 501 stūpas built on the site in the sacred memory of this *Saṅgha*. Besides these, the remaining 13 *stūpas* were those of *Jambūkumārsvāmn* and his followers. The following *ślokas* of the said "Jambūsvāmi-caritra" describe the above fact in this way :—

"अथैकदा महापुर्यां मथुरायां कृतोद्यमः ।
तस्य पर्य्यन्तभूभागे दृष्टा स्थानं मनोहरम् ।
तत्रापश्यत्स धर्मात्मा निःसहीस्थानमुत्तमम् ।
ततो विद्युच्चरो नाम्ना मुनिः स्यात्तदनुग्रहात् ।
यावायै सिद्धचैत्तस्य चैत्यानामगमत्सुखम् ॥ ७९ ॥
महर्षिभिः समासीनं पूतं सिद्धास्पदोपमम् ॥ ८० ॥
अन्त्यकेवलिनो जम्बूस्वामिनो मध्यमादिमम् ॥ ८१ ॥
अतस्तस्यैव पादान्ते स्थापितः पूर्वसूरिभिः ॥ ८२ ॥

1 Jaina Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā, pp. 1-13.

2 'स भाति नाना टकसारदक्षकः'

3 *Anetkānt*, Delhi, vol. I, pp. 138-140.

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ततः कोऽपि महासत्वा दुःखसंसारभीरवः ।
संनिधानं तयोः प्राप्य पदं साम्यं समं दधुः ॥ ८३ ॥

ततो धूतमहामोहा अखंडव्रतधारिणः ।
स्वायुरन्ते यथास्थानं जग्मुस्तेभ्यो नमो नमः ॥ ८४ ॥

ततः स्थानानि तेषां हि तयोः पार्श्वे सुयुक्तितः ।
स्थापितानि यथान्याये प्रमाणनयकोविदैः ॥ ८६ ॥

क्वचित्पञ्च क्वचिच्चाष्टौ क्वचिद्दश ततः परं ।
क्वचिद्विंशतिरेवं स्यात् स्तूपानां च यथायथम् ॥ ८७ ॥

तत्रापि चिरकालत्वे द्रव्याणां परिणामतः ।
स्तूपानां कृतकत्वाच्च जीर्णता स्यादबाधिता ॥ ८८ ॥

तां दृष्ट्वा सधर्मात्मा नव्यमुद्धर्तुमुत्सुकः ।
स्याद्यथा जीर्णपत्राणि वसंतः समयो नवः ॥ ८९ ॥

मनो व्यापारयामास धर्मकार्येषु बुद्धिमान् ।
तावद्धर्मफलास्तिक्यं श्रद्दधानोऽवधानवान् ॥ ९० ॥

* * * * *

ज्ञातधर्मफलः सोऽयं स्तूपान्यभिनवत्वतः ।
कारयामास पुण्यार्थं यशः केन निवार्यते ॥ ११३ ॥

यशःकृते धनं तेनुः केचिद्धर्मकृतेऽर्थतः ।
तद्द्वयार्थमसौ दधे यथा स्वादु महौषधम् ॥ ११४ ॥

शीघ्रं शुभदिने लग्ने मंगलद्रव्यपूर्वकम् ।
सोत्साहः स समारम्भं कृतवान् पुण्यवानिह ॥ ११५ ॥

ततोऽप्येकाग्रचित्तेन सावधानतयाऽनिशम् ।
महोदारतया शश्वन्नित्ये पूर्णानि पुण्यभाक् ॥ ११६ ॥

शतानां पंच चार्धैकं शुद्धं चाधिवयोदशम् ।
स्तूपानां तत्समीपे च द्वादशद्वारिकादिकम् ॥ ११७ ॥

संवत्सरे गताब्दानां शतानां षोडशं क्रमात् ।
शुद्धैस्त्रिंशद्भिरब्दैश्च साधिकं दधति स्फुटम् ॥ ११८ ॥

शुभे ज्येष्ठे महामासे शुक्ले पक्षे महोदये ।
द्वादश्यां बुधवारे स्याद्घटीनां च नवोपरि ॥ ११९ ॥

परमाश्चर्यपदं पूतं स्थानं तीर्थसमप्रभम् ।
शुभं रुक्मगिरेः साक्षात् कूटं लक्षमिवोच्छ्रितम् ॥ १२० ॥

पूजया च यथाशक्ति सूरिमंत्रैः प्रतिष्ठितम् ।
चतुर्विधमहासंघं समाहूयाव धीमता ॥ १२१ ॥"

KAMTA PRASAD JAIN

A Note on Kīcaka-vadha

There is one little misunderstanding in Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti's review of my edition of the *Kīcaka-vadha*, which I would like to remove. It is not in any way connected with his opinion, but with a matter of fact. On p. 194 (*IHQ*, vi, no. 1, March, 1930) Mr. Chakravarti seems to think that the marginal gloss found in one of the manuscripts of the text has been incorporated into "the body of the text" (? body of the commentary of Janārdanasena ?), and suggests that it should have been placed within brackets. Obviously this is a mistake. The marginal gloss has not been incorporated into the body of the text or the commentary. It has been, where necessary, reproduced in the English notes at the end of the text and indicated by the abbreviation MGA. This has been mentioned in my introduction at p. xviii.

I shal be glad if Mr. Chakravarti give me some detailed information about the manuscript of a commentary on the work, which, he says, exists in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

S. K. DE

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A further Note on the Śvetāmbara and Digambara Sects of the Jains

In the September issue of the "Indian Antiquary" for 1929, Mr. Puran Chand Nahar, a learned Śvetāmbara Jain, has expressed his opinion about the two sects of the Jains. He supports the greater antiquity of the Śvetāmbara sect than that of the Digambara. But unfortunately, his opinions are not based on reliable references. Therefore it is necessary to examine his conclusions in the light of historical facts. He seems to lay great stress on the following points to prove the antiquity of the Śvetāmbara sect :—

1. That the 'idea of nudity or remote antiquity and the idea of the dressed or a later period' is not tenable, because, taking the period of the Vedas, no Prakrit literature is found existing before the Vedas; which ought to be, as the Prakrit or natural language is taken to be older than the Sanskrit or corrected language. And because the Śvetāmbara Jains hold that all the predecessors of Mahāvīra Tīrthaṅkara wore clothes, the idea of nudity was preached by the last Tīrthaṅkara for the first time.

2. That the ancient Jain images bear no trace of any particular sect; but they belong to the undivided Jain Saṅgha. Besides this, a good number of such images, in the sitting posture, bear no trace of nudity.

3. That the inferior status assigned to woman in the Digambara sect, by denying her the possibility of full spiritual emancipation, is of later origin. "For, such narrow dogmas had their birth in times when a strong reaction had already set in against the broadminded democratic religion of Buddha and Mahāvīra....."

4. That those, who advocated the most conservative ideas became known as the Digambaras, "and in order to establish the new theory, these Digambaras had to discard the whole of the then existing Jain Canon," which is respected and recognised by the Śvetāmbara sect alone, who maintain the same old principles as those taught by Mahāvīra.

5. That Mathurā antiquities speak for the originality of the Śvetāmbara sect.

6. And that Digambaras hold the conservative opinion contrary to that of the Śvetāmbaras *viz.*, that only a Digambara Jain following Digambara doctrine can attain *Nirvāṇa*. This is against the original teaching of Mahāvīra. It is owing to this conservatism that they did not flourish during the Muhammadan period.

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1. Now let us examine these points one by one. As for the first point, we should not forget that it was not only in the times of Mahāvīra that nudity of ascetics was prevalent in the country, but on the contrary it was treated with great reverence before Mahāvira[1] as also in the Vedic period. "The wind girdled Bacchantes *Munayo Vātavasanas*) are mentioned in the *Ṛk-Saṃhitā* (X, 136, 2) and the learned Prof. Albrecht Weber took it for the greater antiquity of the Digambaras, who, according to his view, were the Indian "Gymnosophists of the time of Alexander the Great."[2]

Besides, it should be noted that almost all the Brāhmaṇical Sanskrit works notice the Jain monks as *naked* recluses.[3] From the '*Padma Purāṇa*,' this fact is evident ; it describes a Jain muni of the time of *Rāja Veṇa*, who flourished in the Vedic period and was no doubt a Jain convert,[4] as a naked Saint :—

'नग्नरूपो महाकायः सितमुण्डो महाप्रभः ।
मार्ज्जनीं शिखिपक्षाणां कक्षायां स हि धारयन् ।'
—भूमिखण्ड, अ॰ ६५

In the ancient and authentic literature of the Buddhists, too, the Jains (Niganṭhas) are described as naked monks.[5] These references are not only in connection with the *Niganṭha samaṇas* of the Order of Mahāvīra ; but indirectly they name the pre-Mahāvīra *Niganṭha Samaṇas*, as naked monks as well. For, it is said in the "Mahāvagga"[6] that :—

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1 Indian Antiquary, vol. IX, p. 162.

2 Ibid., July 1901, vol. 30.

3 Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Bk. 3, Ch. 18, vs. 2-10 ; Vedānta Sūtras, II. 2, 33-36 ; Daśa-Kumāra-Carita 2; Varāhamihira-Saṃhitā, 19, 61 and 45, 58; Mahābhārata, 3, 26, 27 ; Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, Bhūṣaṇa Ṭīkā, 14, 22 ; Bhāgavata, 5.4, 5.6.

4 Jaina Gazette, vol. XIV, pp. 87-96 and JBORS, xii, p. 224.

5 Jātakamālā, S. B. B., vol. I, p. 145 ; Visākhāvatthu, Dhammapadaṭṭha-kathā, P. T. S., vol. I, pt. 2, p. 384 ; Dialogues of the Buddha, vol. III, p. 14 ; Divyāvadāna p. 165 ; Mahāvagga, 8, 15 ; 1, 38 ; Cullavagga, 8, 88, 3 ; Saṃyuta Nikāya, 2, 3, 10, 7. etc.

6 Vinaya Texts, S.B.E., vol. XIII, p. 223. I have established this theory in my book "Bhagavān Mahāvīra Aur Mahātmā Buddha."

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"At that time the Bhikkhus conferred the *Upasampadā* ordination on persons that had neither alms-bowl nor robes. They went out for alms naked and 'received (alms) with their hands. People were annoyed, murmured and became angry, saying "like the *Titthiyas*, etc."—1.70.3

These *Titthiyas* were, no doubt, the non-Buddhistic monks belonged to orders older than those of Mahāvīra and Buddha.[1] The description as given above, agrees exactly with that of a Digambara Jain monk, as described in their Śāstras. Hence there is little doubt about their being the naked monks of the school of Lord Pārśva, the immediate predecessor of Mahāvīra. Moreover, I am tempted to believe the Digambara Śāstras on the ground that their narrations are in agreement with those passages in the Buddhist Tripiṭaka and other secular literature, which refer to the Jains.[2] For instance, the rules of conduct for the *Śramaṇas* (Jain monks) given in the "*Kassapa-Sīhanāda Sutta*" agree with those given in the Digambara Jain literature for their monks. The very first rule of the Jain Muni, which requires him to go about naked, is mentioned in the Buddhist works.

Thus the literary evidences make us believe that the nakedness of the Jain monks was the original practice and not a subsequent innovation started by Mahāvīra. Such an idea is itself against the tradition of the Śvetāmbara Jains themselves, for, it is said in their authentic and canonical books that Lord Ṛṣabhadeva, the first Tīrthaṅkara, also passed his life, as a naked saint[3] It means that nudity was first introduced in the Jain Church by Lord Ṛṣabhadeva. This is exactly what the Digambaras say. But they do not say that along with the discarding of clothes the first Tīrthaṅkara also preached and allowed the Jain saints to put them on. He, no doubt, did allow the *Kṣullakas* to wear one and even two garments, but the *Kṣullakas* were only householders observing the vows and were called "*Ekaśāṭaka*" in the Digambara *Śāstras*.[5] This division of the

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1 Historical Gleanings, pp. 11-12.

2 Indian Historical Quarterly, vol. II, pp. 698-710.

3 Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni, Anno III, 1927, pp. 4-8. and Jaina Hostel Magazine, VI, No. 2, pp. 8-21.

4 Kalpa Sūtra, JS., SBE., pt. I, p. 285.

5 त्यक्तागारस्य सद्दृष्टेः प्रशांतस्य गृहीशिनः। प्राग्दीक्षा पथिकात्कालादेकशाटकधारिणः ॥ ६८ ॥ १५८ ॥'—आदिपुराणम्

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Digambaras is supported by the Buddhistic references, since in them too, the clothed *Nirgranthas* are styled as "*sāvakā gihī odāta-vasanā*"[1] and "*Nigaṇṭhā Ekasāṭakā*".[2] We find a clear mention of the naked Jain munis and clothed Jain *sāvakas* in the Buddhist literature and hence the mere mention of the naked munis in the Śvetāmbara books cannot justify the division of the Jain *munis* into naked and clothed classes.

It is therefore clear that the practice of observing nudity by ascetics goes back to a remote antiquity.

As to the existence of a Prakrit literature prior to the Vedic Sanskrit, nothing can be said safely since no literature of that period is available. Still we hear from scholars that assuredly there was a different and older literature existing besides the Vedas.[3] Hence the fact does not alter our position in the least.

2. The second point bears reference to the ancient Jain images. Only certain of the images found at Mathurā and Khaṇḍagiri Udayagiri (Orissa) can only be taken safely as belonging to the pre-Christian era and these are found to be nude.[4] Those Jain images of Mathurā, which name the *gacchas, gaṇas*, etc., as found in the Śvetāmbara '*Kalpasūtra*' are also nude, like those found in the Digambara Jain temples of that place.[5] It leaves no shadow of doubt as to the ancient shape of the Jain images. They, of course, were naked and it was not the case with them that they should either bear any sign of robes or of nudity as the Śvetāmbaras say.[6] As to the images in the sitting posture, which bear no male sign, particular stress cannot be laid upon them, since even to this day many a Digambara Jain image are found in this very shape. On the contrary, if any of them had

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1 Dīgha Nikāya, vol. III, pp. 117-118.

2 Aṅguttara Nikāya, vol. III, p. 383.

3 I.H.Q., vol. III, pp. 307-309.

4 Smith, Jaina and other Antiquities of Mathura. Many a Digambara Jain temple abound with such naked images, which can be assigned to early or pre-Christian eras. There is an image of Ṛṣabhadeva at Kunthalgiri, which bears the date of Saṃvat 1919 and another of Pārśvanātha at Patna of Saṃvat 184. Kampilla, Pabhosa and other Jain temples possess naked images of pre-Christian era.

5 Smith, Jain. Anti. of Mathura, p. 24.

6 पुव्विं जिणा पणिमाणं नगिणत्ते नेवि अ पल्लवओ। तेण नागोटणं भेजो अएसि संभूओ॥—प्रवचनपरीचा।

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a trace of drapery, the point surely would have been indisputable. But in the present condition, it does not support the Śvetāmbara view, but is in line with the Digambara one.

3. As to the third point, *viz.*, inferior status of women in religion, Buddha was reluctant to give a place to women in his *Saṅgha*, and when such a thing was forced upon him, he expressed regret for it and said, the life of the *Saṅgha* was shortened now.[1] The Buddhists, like the Digambaras, hold that only a man can become a Buddha.[2] On the other hand, the Śvetāmbaras themselves make Mahāvīra say, that "women are known as the causes of all sinful acts."[3] In the Vedas we read that boys were welcomed (RV. iii, 16,5) and girls cursed (AV. viii, 6,25). And the climax is reached when it is said in the Śat. Br. (iv, 4, 2, 13) that (women) own neither themselves nor an inheritance (नात्मनर्यं शते न दायस्य). Everywhere her inferiority is manifest in these works.[4] Therefore it is not safe to accept the verdict that inferiority assigned to the women is of later origin and therefore the point does not affect the Digambara antiquity in the least.

The Śvetāmbara books, too, are not without such condemnation, for, we find the *Arahant Labdhi* along with many other was denied to woman in their "*Pravacana sāroddhāra*" (Prakaraṇa-ratnākara, vol. III, Bhimsā Maṇika edition of Bombay, pp. 544, 545). Hence the Digambaras were not alone liable to the attack.

4. As regards the fourth point, it may be said that the real Jain canon has been lost owing to the shortness of memory of the *Ṛṣis* and the tradition now receives clear support from the ancient inscription of the Jain emperor Ail Khāravela.[5] Hence the extant *Aṅga-granthas* of the Svetāmbaras cannot be regarded as the very original ones. As Prof. Keith says: "The language of the Jain Canon (Śvetāmbara Jain Aṅgas) is far later than the time of the Nandas, and if the language could be changed, then the content also was far from secure; indeed Jain tradition reveals its early losses, and we have no right to hold that the present canon in subsequence or detail goes back to the 4th century B.C."[6]

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1 Vinaya Texts, SBE., Mahāvagga, x. 1.6. p. 325.
2 Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, pp. 101-108.
3 Acārāṅga Sūtra, JS., SBE., pt. I, p. 41.
4 Cambridge History of India, p. 292.
5 Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, XIII, p. 236.
6 Sir Ashutosh Memorial Volume, p. 21.

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5. The Mathurā antiquities are only about a century older than the date on which the Jain Saṅgha was divided into two sects, and they rightly show the signs of the Śvetāmbara origin at the time. The inscription of the Śvetāmbara *gaṇas*, etc., inscribed on the Digambara or naked images bears testimony to this fact and shows that the Śvetāmbaras were the dissenters from the original Saṅgha and took pains to connect themselves with hoary antiquity. The Mathurā antiquities show a topsy-turvy condition of the Jain Saṅgha of the time, which was but natural for a Saṅgha, which was divided just within a hundred years of their existence. Hence it does not carry the age of the Śvetāmbara sect beyond the 1st century B. C. But the mention of the loss of the Jain Canon, in conformity with the Digambaras' belief, is found in the *Hāthīgumphā* inscription of the 2nd. century B.C. The fact that only naked images were installed at that time, and the fact that these naked images were under the sole management of the Digambara sect, prove the greater antiquity of the Digambaras than the Śvetāmbaras. The coincidence of the rules of conduct of the Jain *munis*, as laid down in the Digambara *Śāstras*, with those given in the Buddhist literature takes us back to the 4th century B.C. at the latest.[1]

6. The Digambara *Śāstras* do not plead such conservatism as may go against the very teaching of Lord *Mahāvīra*. Their earliest *Ācārya Śrī Kuṇḍakuṇḍa* frankly says that "Jinendra preached the doctrine, the root of which is Right Faith, to all the followers." And it is not reserved for any particular sect or class of man.[2] But the present conservatism of the Digambaras, which took root during the mediæval period, when Paurāṇic Hinduism had its sway in India and particularly in South India, where the Digambaras flourished, is a borrowed element. And it is far from truth that Digambara Jains did not flourish at all during the Muhammadan period. The pages of the history of these times of South India and the enormous collection of the Jain images in the Digambara temples, which were consecrated during that period, tell a very different tale. If the Digambaras were not a flourishing community like the Śvetāmbaras under the Muhammadan rule, was it possible for Digambara pontiffs to approach the Muhammadan sovereigns, like Alauddin and Aurangzeb, and preach to them the Jain doctrines ?[3]

KAMTA PRASAD JAIN

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1 Indian Historical Quarterly, vol. II, p. 698-710.

2 दंसणमूलो धम्मो उवइट्ठो जिणवरेहिं सिस्साणं ।

3 Studies in the South Indian Jainism, pt. II, p. 132.

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A Note on Haritaḥ Āyasaḥ

The commentary of Skandasvāmin offers a new explanation of the expression "*Haritaḥ āyasaḥ*" etc. in Ṛks x, 96, 3, 4, 8 of the Ṛg-veda. In Ṛk x, 96, 3, we have "Vajraḥ haritaḥ āyasaḥ" which has been ordinarily explained as Indra's *Vajra* being of *harita* colour and made of *Ayas*. Moreover in Ṛk x,96,4 we have Indra's person coloured as haritaḥ, and he himself is of *Ayas* i.e. as if made of *Ayas* itself. Thus the identification of Ayas with 'harita' is quite apparent. Griffiths translates *haritaḥ*[1] in Ṛk x,96,3, as 'golden hued' and 'golden coloured' and also 'yellow.' Ludwig does it as 'tawny' i.e. 'copper-coloured' (thus favouring the conception of Ayas to be like copper) commenting—"perhaps with reference to the effect of anger in the face." Again Griffiths translates *haritaḥ* in Ṛk x, 96, 4, and 8 as 'golden yellow' as well as 'tawny-hued'.[2] Here Indra's harita beard and harita hairs Griffiths translates as 'yellow' and haribhiḥ vājibhiḥ as 'tawny coursers'.[3] Most of the Vedic scholars have done the same. So we see that haritaḥ is translated by Vedic scholars as 'tawny or copper-coloured' and 'yellow or golden.'

In the first place we have in Yāska's *Nirukta* 'haritaḥ ādityasya'[4] by which the colour of the rising sun has been described as harit. The reddish hue of the rising sun at once leads every scholar to explain harita as 'tawny or copper coloured,' whence it becomes easy to identify Ayas with copper. But such a conception, as we believe, introduces into the Vedic literature an error which we will presently see. Again among the synonyms for 'hiraṇya' or gold, Yāska puts ayas.[5] So it is easy to identify harita with ayas and conceive it to be of yellow or golden colour. But this also is an apparent error as we shall presently explain.

Now let us deal with the first point, viz. the explanation of the expression "haritaḥ ādityasya." Skandasvāmin explains it as "haritavarṇaraśmayaḥ prātarādityasya," i.e. identifying harita with the colour of the morning sun. Along with 'haritaḥ ādityasya' we have another expression in Yāska's *Nirukta* as "Śyāvāḥ Savituḥ,"[6] explained by the *Nirukta* commentators a 'dhūsarāruṇo varṇaḥ,' i.e.

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1 Griffiths, Rk. X, 96,3,
2 Griffiths, Rk., X. 96,4.
3 *Ibid.*
4 *Nir.* Nigh., 1, 15.
5 *Ibid.*, I, 2.
6 *Ibid.*, I, 15.

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the tawny colour of sun-rise.[1] Skandasvāmin explains this as the Sun becomes Śyāva or Śyāma,' at its rise ("savituḥ kāle śyāmavarṇā bhavanti). That "haritaḥ ādityasya" is thus quite distinct from "śyāvāḥ savituḥ" is clearly apparent, the former meaning the colour of the morning sun, while the latter signifying its colour just before and at its rise. Thus we have "śyāva"="dhūsarāruṇavarṇa" or tawny hued, while "haritaḥ"="prātarādityasya," becomes clearly identified with the colour of the morning sun. Now let us clear up this distinction by explaining what do we mean by "prātaḥ" and "aruṇaḥ" respectively.

The term 'prātar' comes from the root 'ata', which means "ata sātatyagamane", i.e. coming in full form, in reference to the Vedic text (Ṛk 1, 30, 4)—"Ayam u te samatasi". The term even in later times means "nirantara prāpaṇe", i.e. 'recieving or getting fully'.[2] Thus 'prātaḥ' (pra+ata+ar—de) means [pra=utkarsaḥ, elevation] "samyak āgataḥ prāpto vā", i.e. fully appeared. Hence it signifies the time when the Sun is quite up in the horizon and fully appeared, i.e., when it is in full brilliance, whence we derive its meaning 'morning'.

Again according to the Hindu traditional conception prātaḥ or morning is "Sūryodayāvadhitrimhūrtakālaḥ',—yathā "prātaḥ kālo muhūrtāṃ trīn saṅgavas tāvad eva tu"[3] i.e. three muhūrtas after the complete appearance of the Sun. Now what is a 'muhūrta'? "Muhūrta=dvādaśakṣaṇaparimitaḥ kālaḥ"[4] or "Ghaṭikādvayam,"[5] i.e. 48 minutes, ('Ghaṭikā'=24 minutes, 'kṣaṇa'=4 minutes, 'Muhūrta' =4×12 or 24×2=48′), Therefore, 'prātaḥ' means 3×48′=144′, i.e. 2 hrs 24 mi. from the complete appearance of the sun, i.e. after sunrise.

Again 'Aruṇaḥ' [Ṛ+unan, ghe] comes from the root √Ṛ=prāpaṇe, i.e. getting, appearing, which does not signify the complete appearance as does 'prātaḥ' with the prefix 'pra'. The lexicographers explain 'Aruṇaḥ' thus :—'Aruṇaḥ'—'dhūsaraḥ', 'avyaktarāgaḥ,' 'īsadraktavarṇaḥ,'[6] 'Sandhyārāgaḥ,' 'Kapilavarṇaḥ';[7] 'Sa tu sūryodayāt pūrvam muhūrttadvayakālaḥ, yathā catasro ghaṭikāḥ prātararuṇodaya ucyate ; yatīnāṃ snānakālo'yam gaṅgāmbhaḥsadṛśaḥ smṛtaḥ."[8] Thus

1 Aruṇa=dawn, which is tawny.
2 Vide *Śabdakalpadruma.*
3 *Ibid.*, also Tithitattva.
4 *Amarakośa.*
5 *Rājanirghaṇṭa.*
6 *Amarakośa.*
7 *Medinī.*
8 *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa.*

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according to Hindu conception and tradition and the theological doctrine, 'Aruṇa' (which is the bathing time of the yatis) means 4 ghaṭikās i.e. 4 × 24 = 96′ or 1 hr. 36 mi. before the complete appearance of the Sun. Thus by prātaḥ we have the time 2 hrs. 24 mi. after the disperse of 'Aruṇa,' the duration of which is 1 hr. 36 mi. before the time known as prātaḥ. From this it must be understood that in sunrise we have first 'Aruṇa' for 1 hr. 36 mi. and then 'prātaḥ' following it with a duration of 2 hrs. 24 mi., the time after this being called the day.[1]

So 'haritaḥ,' according to the explanation rendered by one of the oldest commentators on the Vedic literature, viz., Skandasvāmin, as "Haridvarṇā raśmayaḥ prātaḥ ādityasya," signifies the colour of the morning sun, i.e., of the sun from its complete appearance in the sky in the east (after the disperse of dawn) up to 2 hrs. 24 mi., which is distinguished from "Śyāva," "dhūsarāruṇavarṇa" or the tawny copper colour of the dawn, having for its duration up to 1 hr. 36 mi., i.e., just up to the approach of prātaḥ or the complete appearance of the Sun.

An examination of the actual phenomenon of sunrise explains and confirms the idea more vividly. Every one is quite familiar with it. On observing the phenomenon day to day we find that just at the gradual break of dawn there appears faint light in the sky clearing up the nightly gloom. Then the east side is seen glowing. The hue at first faintly reddish gets brighter and brighter and the sun's orb all red around makes its appearance.[2] Soon the reddish hue becomes more brilliant and then it disperses altogether, the Sun looking bright and brilliant itself (like damask steel) with not a tinge of reddish hue around it and shines now fully. Now

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1 The whole of this argument, which we have derived from the dictionaries and the abhidhānas of the middle ages, is still quite applicable to our Vedic interpretations of this particular type. Since in the rising of the Sun there could not be contemplated any difference between that happened during the Vedic times and in the later ages. Further the Hindu ritualistic conceptions of ablutions which derive their authority from the Vedas have not undergone even up to this day any change whatsoever. So it is traditionally followed even up to the present times.

2 Zimmer is somewhat correct up to this point only, but falls into an error by identifying this colour with haritaḥ āyasaḥ as will be clearly seen from our argument.

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according to the Hindus, the time from the appearance of the faintest streak of light or dispelling of darkness just at the break of dawn, up to the complete dispersion of the reddish hues around the Sun, is called 'Aruṇodaya,' and the length of this time has been reckoned to be 1 hr. 36 mi. up to the full appearance of the Sun. Just after this and following it immediately, we have the 'prātaḥ' time, i.e., the time when the Sun appears in full brilliance and its duration is reckoned to be 2 hrs. 24 mi. from the complete disappearance of all reddish hue around the Sun. After this 2 hrs. 24 mi. the Sun becomes very strong and can no longer be called 'the morning sun', as just then the day breaks in. Thus after the passing away of night, we have first 'dawn' (1 hr. 36 mi.), next we have 'morn' (2 hrs. 24 mi.), then follows the 'day.' Thus the Hindu Almanac gives the time for the sunrise on Tuesday the 27th February 1917 as at 6 hrs. 28' 52" A.M.[1] Now what happened to our observations this day was that the Sun at this time, was just quite free from the reddish hues of dawn all round it and appeared to us in full brilliance, like a polished iron or steel disc, faintly bluish with dazzling brilliance as that of a damask blade.[2] Repeated observations have confirmed our experience and the same effect would be upon every observer also. Thus from our own actual experience of sunrise we can boldly identify the colour of the 'morning sun' with that of the polished iron or steel. Hence we can now understand the reason of Yāska's putting the term haraḥ along with those signifying brightness (Nir. Ngh. I, 17). The term haritaḥ is derived from it meaning 'tejaḥ' or 'brilliance' (Nir. Ngh. I, 15).

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1 This point is highly and most particularly important, for a child born just before sunrise or even at dawn, will be considered according to Hindu Astrology, to have been born on the previous date, and its horoscope will be cast according to the planetary positions of that date though with proper reference to the particular moment of its birth.

2 Quite in conformity with the appearance of the polished steel made from Indian Wootz, the method of manufacture of which article is similar to that of Ayas described in Ṛk X, 72,2. (vide 'Iron and Steel in the Ṛg-vedic Age'—(by the Author), I.H.Q., vol. V. no. 3).

Also cf. Dr. Pearson's opinion on 'Indian Wootz.' (Phil Trans. Royal Society, England, vol. 85, 1795, pp. 343f.)—"It vies with the finest steel in its polish."

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Thus satisfied by a pure phenomenal evidence, one can easily see what the Ṛg-vedic bard meant by identifying Indra's person, hairs, beard with haritaḥ, i.e., all in brilliance, which again can never be tawny or copper-coloured or golden or yellow, according to the symbolic representation of Hinduism. For 'Indra' in the Ṛg-veda is not the Paurāṇic Indra but the Sole God—'Brahman' (Ṛk X, 81, 3)[1] identified with the Nārāyaṇa of later conception, and the Sātvikī or the very pure form (of brilliance) of the Hindus' Sole God can never be represented by Rājasikī or passionate one (of reddish hue).[2] So even from such a point of view the idea of tawny or copper-coloured 'Indra' altogether fails.

Further we have to discuss one more argument on 'haritaḥ' introduced by Ludwig who conceiving 'Indra' to be in an attitude of rage as in Ṛk X, 96,3, hurling his thunderbolt, rendered the explanation of haritaḥ as "tawny with rage." But admitting Indra to be angry in Ṛk X, 96,3, while in the act of hurling his thunderbolt, he cannot be called to be in rage, in calm and serene moments also (unless he is conceived to be in a chronic state of anger always), when in Ṛk X, 96, 8, we find him drinking the 'Soma' juice and going upon his coursers to the place of sacrifices and relieving the distress of the people worshipping him. Thus Ludwig's argument too becomes quite untenable.

Again 'Indra' is said to be of 'Ayaḥ' in Ṛk X, 96, 8. Griffiths was obliged to translate it as "the Iron one," also Wilson as "Iron-hearted," as the "copper one" or the "copper-hearted" would give a quite opposite sense; copper being considered to be a softer metal than iron.

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1 Cf. Ṛg., X, 81, 3—"Viśvataś cakṣur uta viśvatomukho viśvatobāhur uta viśvataspāt. saṃ bāhubhyāṃ dhamati sam patatrair dyāvābhūmī janayan deva ekaḥ."

"He who hath eyes on all sides round about him, a mouth on all sides, arms and feet on all sides. He the Sole God, producing earth and heaven weldeth them with his arms as wings together."

2 The complexion of the various deities, according to the Hindu Śāstras is drawn purely with reference to the Guṇas—viz., Sāttvikī (pure)—Blue or bluish white or brilliant white; Rājasikī (passionate)—Reddish or brilliant red, or tawny; Tāmasikī—(dark), black.

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That the idea of brilliance is firmly and rigidly connected with haritaḥ is clearly seen from Ṛk X, 96, 4, where Indra's vajra, which has been said in the previous Ṛk as made of ayaḥ and haritaḥ, is also spoken of here as haritaḥ and looking brilliant like 'the morning Sun'; and this idea is fully confirmed by the use of 'hari' in Ṛk X, 96, 8, meaning dispeller of gloom (harati tamaḥ.—Nir. Ngh. I, 15). Thus the Ṛks referred to above in which the expression 'haritaḥ' occurs, may be explained as—"Indra's person, hair, beard, heart are all forms of brilliance, i.e., tamoharaḥ or dispeller of gloom," and not as Griffiths translates "* * * * * golden hued, golden coloured (i.e. of yellow beard, yellow hair etc.). In Indra are set fast all forms of golden (yellow) hue etc." Thus "Vajra haritaḥ āyasaḥ (Ṛk X, 96, 3)" means as Sāyaṇa explains thunder-bolt brilliant as polished steel.

Thus from the argument rendered above it may be safely concluded that the Ṛg-vedic 'Ayaḥ' gives a clear preference to the conception of 'iron and steel' to anything else, which proves the existence of 'iron and steel' in that far remote period of antiquity.

MANINDRA NATH BANERJEE

The Sandhābhāṣā and Sandhāvacana

Prof. Vidhuśekhara Śāstrī in an article published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (1928, pp. 287ff.) has tried to determine the exact meaning of the expression *Sandhābhāṣā*. He has collected a large number of facts which justifies us in rejecting the old interpretation suggested by Mahāmahopādhyāya H. P. Śāstrī as "the twilight language" (*āloāndhārī bhāṣā*). There can be no doubt that the proper reading of the expression is *Sandhābhāṣā*, and not *Sandhyā-bhāṣā*, though it occurs in a large number of badly copied Nepalese manuscripts. The large number of texts quoted by Prof. Vidhuśekhar Śāstrī has enabled him to interpret it as *ābhiprāyika vacana* or *neyārtha vacana*, i.e., "intentional speech." This interpretation is in agreement with the Chinese translation of the word as "secret, hidden," and thus "that of which the sense is to be made clear" (= *neyārtha*). *Ābhiprāyika* means that "it is intended to imply or suggest something different from what is expressed by the words." (V. S. Śāstrī, *loc. cit.* pp. 293-294).

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I leave it undecided for the present whether the expression *Sandhāvacana* was used in the ancient texts like the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* to emphasise on any deeper meaning of the particular texts in connection of which it is used. But there is no doubt that it was used as a symbolical language for "meaning something different from what is expressed by the words" in the later Buddhist texts belonging to the *Vajrayāna* and the *Sahajayāna*. It is evident even from the *Caryācaryaviniścaya* published by Mm. H. P. Śāstrī. The expressions like "*nagara bāhirē ḍombī tohori kuḍiā*" (p. 19), "*ālīē kālīē vāṭa rundhelā*" (p. 14), "*Kakkolapriyabola-melakatayānanda sphūrat-kundarāḥ| Sadyaḥ śodhita śālilālitākarāḥ kāliñjarāś cakriṇaḥ||* (comm. p. 33) etc. cannot convey any meaning, if interpreted literally. We have, therefore, to assume that there is some hidden meaning in them.

The *Hevajratantra*, a canonical text of the Vajrayāna, not yet much studied, contains a chapter on the *Sandhābhāṣā*. It gives the clues to the interpretation of many symbolical words (*Sandhāvacana*) used in the *Vajrayāna* and *Sahajayāna* literature. It is difficult to determine the age of the *Hevajratantra* at present but it must have been compiled before the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. when it was translated into Chinese by Fa-hu (Tokio edition, xxvii, 3). There is also a Tibetan translation of the text. The great importance of the text in the *Vajrayāna* literature may prove that it probably belonged to the very early days of the *Vajrayāna* (7th-8th centuries A.D.).

The 13th Chapter[1] of the *Hevajra* deals with the *Sandhābhāṣā*—(*Hevajra-sarvatantranidāna-sandhābhāṣā nāma paṭalaḥ*). In this Chapter *Sandhābhāṣā* is characterised as the *mahāsamaya* (=Chinese *ta san-mei-ye*, great *Samaya*) of the *yogīs*, and also as "the great language" (*mahābhāṣaṃ*) and is "full of the meaning of doctrines" (*Samaya saṅketa vistaraṃ*). The Chinese translation of the text is a faithful one. The

1 This corresponds to the 3rd Chapter of the 2nd *Kalpa* of the Sanskrit manuscripts. The Sanskrit mss. of the text are divided into two *Kalpas*, of 10 Chapters each. In Chinese translation, however, the numbering of the Chapters is continuous; thus the 3rd Chapter of *Kalpa* II=Chapter 13; I have consulted three mss. of the *Hevajra-tantra*,—the ms. in the Nepal Darbar Library (D.), that in the possession of Prof. G. Tucci who kindly lent it to me (T) and the last one in my possession (P).

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word *Sandhābhāṣā* is rendered as *fang pien shuo.** *Fang-pien* means *aupāyikam* (*Mahāvyutpatti*, Sakaki, 6339). Rosenberg (Vocabulary p. 222) interprets *fang pien shuo* as °*aupacārikaḥ*. *Fang-pien* is used here as an equivalent of *Samaya*, i.e., special doctrine of the school represented by the *Hevajra-tantra*. The doctrine is summarised in one stanza which occurs in the beginning of the *tantra* for explaining the word *Hevajra*—"

Hekāreṇa mahākaruṇā vajraṃ prajñā ca bhaṇyate/
Prajñopāyātmakaṃ tantraṃ tanme nigaditaṃ śṛnu//

This is the fundamental doctrine of the *Vajrayāna* as has been explained in such works as the *Prajñopāyaviniścaya-siddhi* of Anaṅgavajra, recently published by Dr. B. Bhattacharyya in the Gækwad's Oriental Series.

The passage which deals with the *Sandhābhāṣā* has been established from a collation of the three different manuscripts, and the Chinese translation :—

[D. fol. 9^a-9^b ; P. 26^b-27^b]

भगवान्नाह—

वचेऽहं वज्रगर्भोऽयं शृणुत्वमेकचेतसा ।
सन्धाभाषं महाभाषं समयसङ्केतविस्तरं ॥
मदनं मद्यं वलं मांसं मलयजं मीलनं तथा ।
गतिखिटः1 शवः2 श्वावः3 अस्थ्याभरणं4 निरंशुकं5 ॥
आगतिः प्रेचणं प्रोक्तं क्रपीटं6 डमरूकं7 मतं ।
अभव्यं दुर्द्दुरं8 भव्यं कालिञ्जरं मतं ॥
अस्पर्शं डिण्डिमं9 प्रोक्तं कपालं पद्म भाञ्जनं ।
भक्तं तृप्तिकरं ज्ञेयं व्यञ्जनं मालतीस्रनं ॥
गूथं चतुष्समं प्रोक्तं मूत्रं कस्तूरिका स्मृताः ।
स्वयम्भू सिल्लकं ज्ञेयं शुक्रं कर्पूरकं मतं ॥
महामांसमालिजं प्रोक्तं द्वीन्द्रिययोगं कुन्दुरु10 ।
वज्रं वोलमिति11 ख्यातं पद्मकक्कोलकं12 मतं ॥

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* For the difficulty in printing I have to omit the Chinese characters all through. The reader can refer to the original text.

1 T. खैटः, P. खेटाः
2 सर्व्वः
3 T. श्वया P. श्वाय
4 P. अस्थो°
5 P. निरत्सुकः
6 D. क्रपीनं, T. क्रपीटं, P. क्रपीटां
7 D. दमरुका, T. डमरुकं, P. डमरुकः
8 T. दुन्दरं, P. दुन्दुरं, D. कालिंञ्जलं
9 D. डण्डिमं, T. दिण्डिमं, P. तिण्डिम.
10 T. कुंदरी
11 T. वोलकं
12 कर्क्कोलकं

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कुलं पञ्चविधं ख्यातं वर्णभेदेन भेदितं ।
सन्धाभाषा एतास्युः बुद्धाश्च पञ्च कौलिकाः ॥
डोम्बी वज्रकुलीख्याता नटी पद्मकुली तथा ।
श्वपची1 रत्नकुली चैव द्विजा तायागती2 मता ॥
रजकी कर्म्मकुली चैव एतामुद्राः सुसिद्धिदाः ।
आसा शुक्रं भवेत् वज्रं पूजयित्वा पिबेत् व्रती ॥
वज्रगर्भमहासत्व यन्मया कथितं त्वयि ।
तत्सर्व्वं सादरं ग्राह्यं सन्धाभाषं महद्भूतं ॥
योऽभिषिक्तोऽत्र हेवज्र न वदेत् संधाभाषया ।
समयविद्रोहनं तस्य जायते नात्र संशयः ॥
इत्युपद्रव चौरैश्च ग्रहज्वल विबुद्धोऽपि ।
म्रियतेऽसौ यदि बुद्धोऽपि सन्धाभाषं न भाषयेत् ॥
स्वसमयविदां प्राप्य यदि न भाषयेदिदं वचः ।
तदाक्षोभं प्रकुर्व्वन्ति योगिन्य श्चतुष्पीठजाः ॥
हेवज्रे सर्व्वतन्त्रनिदान संधाभाषा नाम पटलः तृतीयः ।

The words used in the *Sandhābhāṣā* are according to the preceding text the following[3] :—

madana (ch. *mo-nien*) = madya ; ch. *kuo she* "fruit-provision" ?
vala[4] (ch. *mi-lo*) = māṃsa ; ch. *keou tchao* "search-extract" ?
kheṭa (ch. *k'o-tcha*) = gati ; ch. *kiu*, "to go"
prekṣaṇa (ch. *pi-li-k'o-nan*) = āgati ; ch. *lai*, "to come"
asthyābharaṇa (ch. *a-sa-tie-p'o-lo-nan*)
= niraṃśuka ; ch. *tchou-pao* "ratna" ?
ḍamaruka (ch. *man-nou-lou* ?) = kṛpīṭa ; ch. *kou-yin*, "drum"
durdura (ch. *nou-lo-nou-lo*) = abhavya ; ch. *pouo-tö-jen*—
a man of bad qualities
kāliñjara (ch. *ko-leng-jo-lo*) = bhavya ; ch. *shen-jen* "good man"

---

1 D. श्वपची, T. चन्डाली, P. श्वपचि 2 D. तायागती, P. तथागता

Instead of the reading सन्धा (*Sandhā*) we have *Saṃdhyā* or *Sandhyā*, in all the texts. I have, however, accepted the correct reading of the word.

3 The Chinese transcription of the words are indicated within brackets. The Chinese translation of the word is given at the end— For the Chinese see Tokio XXVII. 3. p. 74*a* 3-10.

4 The Chinese translation omits two words of the original "*Malayajaṃ nīlanaṃ*" and *śavaḥ śrāvaḥ*."

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diṇḍima (ch. *ning-ni-mou*) = aśparśa ; ch. *wou-tch'ou* "not-strike"
kapāla (ch. *kie-po-lo*) = padmabhājana ; ch. *lien-houa-k'i* "lotus-vase"
tṛptikara (ch. *ti-wang ?-po-to*) = bhakta ; ch. *yin-che* "food"
mālatīndhana (ch. *mo-lo-ting* = vyāñjana ; ch. ts'ai-che "vegetable food"
gūtha (ch. *yuan-touo*) = catussama ; ch. *sseu p'ing teng* "four-equal"
mūtra (ch. *mou-to-lo*) = kasturikā ; ch. *miao-hiang*, "good-smell"
silhaka (ch. *si-lo-kan*) = svyambhū ; ch. *tseu-jen-sheng*, "self-born"
śūkra (ch. *shou-kie-lo*) = karpūraka ; ch. *tsao-tso* "create-do" ?
mahāmāṃsa (ch. *mouo-so*) = ālija ? ch. *pao-she* "white colour."
ch. *yu*[1] = ch. *siang-ying*, "yoga, yukta."
bola (ch. *mouo-lo-kan*) = vajra ; *kin-kwang*, "vajra."
kakkolaka (ch. *kou-lo-kan*) = padma ; ch. *lien-houa*, "lotus"
[kulaṃ (ch. *kou-lien*) = ch. *pou-lei*, "class"
varṇa (ch. *pouo-lo-na*) = ch. *yu fen pie wou fen pie* i.e. "bhedābheda"][2]
ḍombī (ch. *nou-mi*) = Vajrakulī ; ch. *kin kang pou*, "vajra-class"
naṭī (ch. *na-ti*) = Padmakulī ; ch. *lien houa pou*, "padma-class"
caṇḍālī (ch. *tsan-na-li*) = Ratnakulī ; ch. *pao pou*, "ratna-class"
dvijā (ch. *nei-jo-to* ? = tāthāgatī, ch. *jou lai pou*, "tathāgata-class"
rajakī (ch. *lan-jo-kin*) = karmakulī, ch. *kie-mo-pou* "karma-class"
[Mudrā (ch. *mu-to-lo*) = ? *miao tcheng*, "well-achieve" i.e., *susiddhidāḥ*][3]

These are, however, not all the words of the *Sandhāvacana* class, as we have many others mentioned in different places, either in the commentaries on the *Dohās* or in the *Hevajratantra*. I will only mention a few of them here—

āli, kāli—these two words literally mean "vowels" and consonants," see Bacot, *La Grammaire de Thonmi Sambhoṭa*, p. 1 ; *āli kāli candra-sūrya prajñopāya—Hevajra* (Chap. I) ; *lokajñānena... lokābhāsena ca—Caryācaryaviniścaya* (comm. p. 15) ;

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1 This seems to be an incomplete and faulty transcription of the original *kunduru*.

2 Evidently the translator made a confusion here. The original text means that there are five classes differentiated by the colours. For the five *kulas* of the Buddhas see.

3 *Miao-tcheng* in the Chinese text is wrongly taken as an equivalent of the word *mudrā* but it is not so. The original says that the five *mudrās*, *ḍombī*, *naṭī*, *caṇḍālī*, *dvijā* and *rajakī* conduce to perfect *siddhi*.

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lalanā, rasanā, avadhūti,—these are the names of three principal of the thirty-two arteries (*lalanā prajñāsvabhāvena rasanopāya saṃsthitā/ avadhūti madhyadeśe tu grāhyagrāhakavarjitā// Hevajra* (Ch. I).

Some of these technical words—*bodhicitta, samarasa, karin, giri, evaṃkāra*, etc. have been explained by M. Shahidullah with the help of the commentary in his *Les Chants Mystiques* (Paris, 1928, pp. 9-10).

In the Chapter (*paṭala*) which follows the preceding one (*Piṇḍārthonāma paṭalaḥ*, Chap. 4 of Part II of our mss. of the *Hevajra*= Chap. 14 of the Chinese translation, Tokio, XXVII, 3, p. 74*a*) the Lord explains some doctrines in the *Sandhābhāṣā*. The passage is faithfully transcribed in the Chinese translation (*Ibid.*, p. 75*a* 11-13). We will first give the original text as collected from the three different manuscripts already mentioned and then Chinese transcription, as given in the translation :—

कोल्लइरे ठिअ वोला सुम्मुणिरे कक्कोला ।
घण किविड़ हो वाज्जइ करुणेकि अइ न रोला ।।

तहि वल खज्जइ गाढ़े मअणा पिजिअइ ।
हले कालिञ्जर पणिअइ दुट्ठु रु वज्जिअइ ॥

चउसम कस्तुरि सिल्ला कर्प्पूर लाइअइ ।
मालइ इन्धन सालितहि भरु खाइअइ ॥

प्रेङ्खण खेट करन्ते सुद्धासुद्ध ण माणिअइ ।
निरंसुअ अङ्ग चड़ाविअइ जसरावि पणिअइ ॥

मलअज कुन्दुरुवटइ, डिण्डिम तहिँ ण वजिअइ ॥[1]

---

1 D. कल्लइले, T. कोल्लयिरे ; D. किपिट्टि, P. किपिट ; D. वाज्जइ T. वाज्जइ ; P. वेज्जइ ; D. अइन लोला, T. अनरोला, D.P. वल, T. वलु, Chinese चल ; T. खोज्जइ ; D.P. पिजिअइ, T. पिज्जइ

D. हरे ; D. कालिञ्जल ; D. पणेअइ ; P.T. दुन्दुर ; D. वज्र न अइ, P. वजिअइ : D. omits कर्प्पूर T. कर्प्पूरक; E. इजइ, T. ईअई, P. लाइअइ । D. मालती इन्धन, T. मालिइन्धन; D. सारिनहि F. सालिअतहि, P. सालितहि ; D. प्रखन, प्रेखन, P. प्रेखुन, Chinese प्रेङ्खण ; D. खेरेन्न ; T. खट्ट ; P. खेट ; D.T. शुद्धाशुद्ध ; D. न मनेइ, T. न मुणिअइ, P. न मासिअइ ; D. निरंशुकं ; P. निरंसुह, D. अग, D. चड़ावीतहि T. चअवीसुइ, P. चड़ावितहि ; D जसनार्विपणीअइ, T. जसराव-पणिअइ, P. जसरावि ; D. मलजे, T. मलयाजं D. वाटइ, T. वाट्टेइ P. वतइ ; D. लहि, T. जहिं, P. तहि, वज्जिअइ, T. वजिअइ, P. वजीअइ—

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Chinese transcription (p. 74*a*. 17-20).

kaī-lo-yi-li ch'e-a moū-lô mou-ni-li kô-koū-lo/
kiu ki-pi-cha hoū wei-jo-yi kie-lou-ni-ki a-yi-loū-lô//
ta-hi tso-lo k'ie jo-yi ngô-ch'e mo-ye-nā pi-jo-a-yi/
ho-lei kô-leng-jo-lo po-ni-a-yi *nei-nou*-lou wei-*eul*-a-yi//
tso-wu-san-mo kie-cheu-li si-lo + hô kie-pou-lou lô-yi-a-yi/
mô-lo yi yin-ta-na so-lei ta-hi p'o-lou hô-yi-a-yi//
pi + leng-kie-na k'ie-cha k'ie-leng-ti shou-ta nou jo-ni-a-yi/
ni-lien-shou ying-ye tso-*nā*-wei-a-yi
tan-hi ji-sa-lô p'ou-a-wei po-ni-a-yi/
mo-lei-yi-ji *kong-nou*-lou wei-cha-yi
ning-ni-mo to-hing wei-jo-a-yi//[1]

Most of the words in the above passage belong to the *Sandhābhāṣā*. The other words are in their *Apabhraṃśa* forms—*ṭhia* = to stay, from *sthā*; *bājjai* "to beat (the drum)" form *vādya*; *khajjai* "to eat" from *khāda*; *pijiai* "to drink" from *piva* (?); *paṇiai*, "to bow into" from *pra-ṇama*; *bajjiai* "to abandon" from *varja*; *laiai* "to take"; *khaiai*, *karante*, *māṇiai*, *caḍābiai*, *paniai*, *baṭai* etc. also are to be explained as *Apabhraṃśa* forms which we find in the *Dohās*. The *Sandhāvacanas* in the passage are :—

kakkola = *padma* "lotus"
kibiḍa from *kṛpīṭa* = *ḍamaruka* i.e., "drum"
bala = *māṃsa* "meat"
maana from *madana* = *madya* "wine"
kāliñjara = *bhavya*
duddura = *abhavya*
causama from *catussama* = *gūtha*
silha from *silhaka* = *svayambhū*
karppura = *śukra*
mālai indhana = *vyāñjana*
preṅkhana = *āgati*
kheṭa = *gati*,
niraṃsua = *asthyābharaṇa*

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1 *nei*, *nou*, *na*, *ning*, *ni* stand for ancient *ndei*, *ndou*, *nda* etc. *eul* for *ji*; there is often confusion between *mo*, and *wei* for the Chinese characters are similar. The vowels are lengthened according to the indication in Chinese. The combination of two consanants has been represented by the *plus* sign.

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malayaja = mīlana "union," this word, as we have seen is omitted in the Chinese translation. The meaning is the same as that of *kunduru* which means *dvindriya-saṃyoga.*

dinḍima = aśparśa.

I do not, however pretend to say that by the substitution of these equivalents we can arrive at a clear meaning ; the meaning will still remain obscure. That obscurity can only be removed when interpreted in the light of the Vajrayāna doctrines. Unfortunately our knowledge of the *Vajrayāna* is stil very meagre.

P. C. BAGCHI

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REVIEWS

SOCIAL LIFE IN ANCIENT INDIA: Studies in Vātsyāyana's Kāma-sūtra, by Haran Chandra Chakladar, Lecturer in Anthropology and Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University. Greater India Society Publication No. 3 (Calcutta), 1929.

The Greater India Society is to be congratulated on their enterprise in collecting together and publishing in a revised form these valuable and searching studies in Vātsyāyana's *Kāma-sūtra*, originally contributed by the author to various periodical publications. Scholars have often utilised this remarkable work of Vātsyāyana for its side-lights on social life in ancient India in the early centuries of the Christian era; but no systematic investigation into the interesting materials available in the work as a whole has hitherto been undertaken. Apart from its treatment of the theory and practice of love, Vātsyāyana's famous work is important in many respects, but it is somewhat surprising that it has engaged so little attention of the serious student. Apart from translations of the work in English, French and German, Peterson, in two papers published as early as 1891-92, gave some account, with translations, of two out of 64 sections of this work, dealing with marriage and courtship, and Schmidt utilised the sections on sexual matters in his *Indische Erotik*; but the other no less interesting aspects of the work have not yet been systematically studied. All students of social and literary history of ancient India will therefore be grateful to Mr. Chakladar for his critical, connected and elaborate treatment of the data furnished by this important work.

The first chapter of these studies, in which the learned professor discusses the preliminary but important question of the date of the *Kāma-sūtra*, is by far the most interesting to the student of literary history. After a careful review of the literary and historical data contained in the work itself, Mr. Chakladar comes to the definite conclusion that "the Kāmasūtra was composed about the middle of the 3rd century A.C." Whether we accept this dating depends chiefly upon the view we take of the chronological relation of the *Kāma-sūtra* to a number of works and authors, like the Gṛhya and Dharma Sūtras of Āpastamba, the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, Kālidāsa and Subandhu, about whose dates themselves a great deal of uncertainty

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still exists. It is not possible for us to enter into details: but we may be allowed to remark that, while much can be made of the so-called historical data, the literary data adduced by the author of these studies are somewhat indefinite and questionable. Nevertheless, the cumulative effect of the evidence collected by his patient research certainly points to the great probability of his suggested date, although it must be confessed that one and each of his arguments, taken by itself, can be easily challenged. But, unfortunately, this has been the usual fate of almost all attempts to reach precision in regard to the unsolved dates of most of the great Sanskrit works and authors. It is not our intention to make light of the author's patient endeavour to arrive at a precise date; but precision in such matters is well-nigh impossible. While we doubt if an exact dating of the *Kāma-sūtra* such as the author makes is possible with the present data, we still agree with him that the *milieu* which he has suggested for Vātsyāyana is fair and admissible. And this result in itself is indeed not negligible.

The other chapters of these studies deal with some amount of fulness with the somewhat controversial subject of the geography of ancient India, as can be gleaned from Vātsyāyana and as can be corroborated and supplemented by information derived from other sources. The rest of the studies attempts in a very lucid and interesting manner to give as complete an account as possible of the social life of the period to which Vātsyāyana belongs, under the headings "Caste and Occupations," "Arts and Crafts," "Marriage and Courtship," "Life of the Nāgaraka," "The Position of Women," with a separate note on the profession of the courtesan. It is possible that Vātsyāyana's work presents a somewhat idealised picture, and the life of the Nāgaraka that it depicts need not have been either a prolonged idyll or a prolonged debauch, but there is at the same time much reality in the general picture of Indian society which this interesting secular document of a practical nature presents. Mr. Chakladar makes a minute and comprehensive study of this highly fascinating subject; and with a remarkable gift of lucid exposition he reconstructs the picture of the Vātsyāyana period, not only for the benefit of the serious student but also for the interest of the general reader.

S. K. DE

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LORD HASTINGS AND THE INDIAN STATES by M. S. Mehta, Ph. D. (Taraporevala, 1930).

The study of the relations of the Indian states with the Government of India is a vast and difficult subject. Dr. Mehta acknowledges this by taking up for investigation a limited period. He is thereby enabled to present to the world the results of a thorough study of almost every available material on the subject. It is only when a series of similar monographs have been written that we can allow this much talked of subject to rest.

The author does well in choosing the period of the rule of the Marquis of Hastings because, though the British dominions in India did not reach their present frontiers until forty years later, it was during his administration that the foundations of British political supremacy were laid on a firm basis. He starts with a review of the political situation in India when Lord Moira took up the reins of office. Lord Moira, on arrival in India, found that the "Ring-fence" policy of his predecessors could not be followed "after having taken one-half of the powers of India under our protection, and made the other half our enemies." Indeed, before coming to India, Moira had condemned schemes of conquest. The need of meeting the Pindari danger, however, was responsible for a complete change of opinion. "It was not sufficient to suppress the Pindaris. Their reorganisation must be prevented. Their support must be cut off." To do this, in his opinion, would lead him to hostilities with the Maratha states. From this he was led to consider the revision of existing relations with the states advisable. Moira started with a plan for a league of all the states with the British Government as its head. They were to be internally free, but deprived of the functions of external sovereignty. But without an appeal to arms such a league was impracticable. The Council, however, did not support Moira in his plans. Moira's views received further shaping when he came into touch with Metcalfe and assumed a distinctly military outlook and anti-Maratha spirit. The Marathas were now ranked along with the Pindaris as constituting two great dangers, and the governor-general had no hesitation to embark immediately on war. While from the point of view of Moira this policy had its justification, Dr. Mehta points out that it was not demanded by the need of preserving the British power, first because there was no serious rival to the British in the field, and secondly, because the task of extermination of the Pindaris was not so indissolubly connected with the subjugation of the indepen-

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dent princes. Moira's attitude towards Sindhia was influenced by jealousy of his independence. If he had secured the co-operation of Sindhia, the task of suppressing the Pindaris would have been comparatively simplified. But in spite of the opposition of his Council, the Board of Control and the Directors, Moira persisted in his aggressive imperialist policy. Moira's attitude was that if the Marathas possessed neither the power nor the inclination to suppress the Pindaris, they must either submit to be considered as accomplices of the freebooters, or must place their resources at the disposal of a power which will direct them to their proper object. Such a policy as expressed in the diplomatic and military activities of the British alarmed the Marathas, with the result that the Pindari campaign developed into a general war which facilitated the realisation by Moira of his ambition of making the English the paramount power in India. Dr. Mehta examines carefully the position of the Indian states which arises as a result of the events of 1817-18. Such a discussion is extremely important because British political sovereignty over India, with the exception of the Punjab, dates from the time of Lord Hastings. All the states were completely deprived of external sovereignty. But how far were they in full enjoyment of internal sovereignty? To answer this question Dr. Mehta examines the amount of interference exercised by the Company's government in the internal matters of the states. He comes to the conclusion that in these matters "the states exercised a large measure of sovereign functions, belonging to them by original right. But in the discharge of those duties, they were in practice increasingly at the mercy of the British power." He, therefore, considers them only as "semi-sovereign states."

Dr. Mehta has tackled the huge mass of records in the India Office with great ability, and both from the point of view of the abundant new matter on the subject brought to light, and the manner of presentation, the work is a distinct contribution to the store of historical knowledge.

A. D.

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THE MAHABHARATA, for the first time critically edited by Vishnu S. Sukthankar with the co-operation of other scholars. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1928-9. *Fascicule* 2, 3 and 4.

We had the pleasure of reviewing in these pages the first fascicule of the first critical edition of the great epic and of expressing our satisfaction with the sound beginning that was made of a truly colossal but supremely important task. The second, third and fourth fascicules have in the meantime appeared, the third bringing the text of the Ādiparvan down to the end of the Āstīka sub-parvan and the fourth almost entirely occupied with the Sambhava sub-parvan. The instalments have been small and the publication necessarily slow; but the work bears ample testimony to the careful critical scholarship of the editor and his collaborators, who certainly deserve congratulation for the great and conscientious endeavour they are making for producing, under the circumstances, a fairly reliable text. It is a matter of satisfaction that the sound critical method with which the work was begun is being kept up steadily, and that the editorial board is sparing no pains for utilising every possible manuscript, source and tradition.

In the second fascicule additional collations from three Newari, as well as one dated Bengali manuscript (from the Dacca University Library), are given. The third fascicule is remarkable for the collation (from adhyāya 26) of an old and unique birch-bark Śāradā manuscript of the Ādiparvan, which has been utilised for the first time in editing the Mahābhārata text: but unfortunately this only genuine extant representative of the old Kashmirian version of the text is incomplete and fragmentary. The editor, in a prefatory note to fascicule 3, has described the version of the text and value of this unique manuscript, and has drawn attention to its close alliance to his India Office Codex K, which appears to be a late Devanāgarī transcript of the Ādiparvan from a Kashimirian Śārada Codex similar to the one now utilised. As the Śāradā Codex utilised is incomplete and gives the Ādiparvan only in fragments, it is a matter of good fortune that the India Office Codex, which is now established as being derived from a similar source, presents a complete text of the Ādiparvan. One would readily realise the value of the fact, when one considers the extreme scarcity of old Śāradā manuscripts, as well as the great value of the Kashmirian version (which the labours of the editors of the critical text have now successfully established) in the reconstruction of the text.

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One notable result may be mentioned here in this connexion. The total number of *ślokas* in the reconstituted text of the Ādiparvan is reduced to 7,984 from the usually inflated figures of about nine or eleven thousand in different printed editions. Among other considerations which justify this reduction, the evidence of the Kashmirian version is also important for this remarkable conclusion.

The fourth fascicule, which is just published, is highly interesting to the textual critic, who is confronted here not only with the question of the very large interpolations in the Southern recension, especially in the Śakuntalā episode (which is twice as long in this recension as in the Northern version), but also with the problem of the striking divergence between the Northern and Southern recensions in regard to the adhyāya-groupings. The greater reliability of the Northern recension, which in the main agrees with the entire Indian tradition, is vindicated, and there is nothing to prevent one from agreeing with the editor's succint and clear statement of the arguments for and against on this point.

It is premature now to pass a final judgment upon the reconstituted text, and a minute study of the elaborate *apparatus criticus* is a matter which requires a great deal of time and patience. We have however examined some portions of the reconstructed text, and have no hesitation in conceding that with the materials at the disposal of the editor nothing better could have been achieved in the way of editing the difficult text. The weighing of divergent readings, the value of different manuscripts and recensions, and the setting forth of the final results of the manuscript evidence with succintness and clarity require not only a high degree of philological training, but also a clear and sound notion of text-criticism and sobriety of judgment. The fascicules so far published give ample evidence of the presence of these qualifications in the editors. A very small part of the text has so far been published, but the success of the publication has established, beyond doubt, not only the possibility but also the great necessity and value of such a critical edition. So far as one can judge without going into details, the results are throughout striking as well as sound and successful to a remarkable degree; and all lovers of Sanskrit studies will follow with great interest the labours of Dr. Sukthankar and his colleagues in what promises to mark a new epoch in oriental studies, and remove the reproach on Indian scholarship that there is as yet no scientific edition of the great epic. We understand that the promoters of this undertaking

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are faced with financial difficulties; we therefore make an earnest appeal to the Indian public and to all lovers of oriental studies to extend their generous help to the successful compilation of this work of national importance.

S. K. DE

THE DIVINE MASTER by Sewaram Singh: Published by R. S. Gulab Singh and Sons, Lahore, 1930. 317 pp.

About twenty years ago, the present writer published a work entitled "A critical Study of the Life and Teachings of Sri Guru Nanak Dev." During the period that has elapsed since then, fresh materials have been accessible to the author and so instead of publishing a second edition of his previous work, as originally contemplated by him, he has rewritten the life of Guru Nanak. The contents of the book, the style of writing and even the very title reveal that the author took up his pen more as a devotee of Guru Nanak than as a critical student of history, sifting evidences to ascertain the dates and facts connected with the life of the great teacher. The life of a saint, if it is to be inspiring, should come from the pens of such writers whose souls are imbued with the teaching of the Master and whose hearts rejoice at the delineation of the incidents of his life. Much of the charm of the life of a saint is lost when it is laid on the dissection table of a research student. So in spite of all its shortcomings from the historical standpoint, we welcome the book and congratulate its author on the production, written *con amore* as it is. One of the best features of the book is that the author has so nicely interspersed his writings with quotations from the original texts that one feels as if he is reading the biography of a saint firsthand.

It is interesting to read the author's account of the expressions of divine mission in Guru Nanak even when he was a mere boy, e.g., in his games of silence (p. 20), his failure to tend cattle, his notion of charity as a lucrative business, his refusal to learn from the schoolmaster who does not know God (p. 24), his opposition to the brāhmanic ceremonies of *upanayana*, *sutaka* (p. 46), *śrāddha* (p. 222), etc.

The writer has at times tried to draw comparisons between Nanak and other teachers but it is unfortunate that he has depended on writings which cannot claim even secondhand authority. There are some similarities between the missions of Buddha and Nanak,

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e.g., opinions about the brotherhood of humanity, and levelling of social distinctions, revolt against the existing false and evil practices, and these naturally led both of them to enunciate some principles identical in tenor. It is striking that even some of the incidents mentioned in this work appear to be a reflection of those of the life of Buddha. In the *Lalitavistara*, we read of the shadow of a tree not moving from Buddha's body when he was a mere boy meditating in a field and of his refusal to read with a school-master who knew much less than himself. Many of Guru Nanak's teachings are such that they may well be attributed to Buddha.

The story of Nanak's watering his distant fields at Kartarpore from Hardwar reminds us of the Buddhist story of Maṭṭhakuṇḍalī in the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* (I, p. 30) where a father, who was mourning for his dead son, was consoled by a god, who assumed the form of a boy crying for the moon. The latter pointed out to the former that he was more reasonable in asking for a thing which is visible than the gentleman who was crying for an object which is invisible.

Coincidences are not at all rare between the events in the lives of different teachers of the world. Many such coincidences between Buddha, Christ and Kṛṣṇa have puzzled not a few writers of the present day. The truth being one, the extremely rare beings that come into the world with an insight into the Truth cannot but think, act and teach in the same way. It is their disciples who without properly understanding the spirit of their teachings, evolve sets of principles, and establish new schools of thought, and thus draw lines of separation within one humanity. Like Buddha, Nanak was opposed to extreme austerities or to the eating of meat. Both these teachers insisted on the complete eradication of egoism and the purification of body and mind. Both disliked philosophical speculations. Buddha wanted his followers to dismiss from their minds the notion of an Almighty Personal God and condemned the dependence of man on a higher power for salvation, while Nanak and the Vaiṣṇava teachers of the mediæval period thought that the best and the easiest way of salvation is one's complete resignation to the will of God and the establishment of a communion between him and God through prayer and meditation. Nanak looks like a Vaiṣṇava when he says that he is waiting for the bridegroom to whom he will be wedded at his death (p. 224), and that it is through humility and love and *Jap* of God's name that one attains salvation.

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The keynote of Nanak's teachings like those of other religious teachers of India is the destruction of tṛṣṇā for worldly things, but its distinction lies in the fact that it does not discourage household life and accords a place to women in his church. The constitution of his monastic order, the selection of heads, and so forth are of great interest to the students of the Sikh religion. The anecdotes regarding his interview with the followers of different faiths convincing them of the truth of his views are thought provoking. The account of his travels, e.g., his visit to Ceylon or Stamboul requires corroboration by evidences other than those used by the author; so also are the conversions of Macchendra Nath, submission of Baber to his admonitions and such other events. In any case, these deficiencies do not lessen the merit of the book, the chief object of which is to give an inspiring account of the life and teaching of a great religious teacher of India—a task which the author has well accomplished.

N. DUTT

VEDĀNTA-SYAMANTAKA of Rādhādāmodara, being a treatise on Bengal Vaiṣṇava Philosophy, edited with introduction etc., by Umesh Chandra Bhattacharjee, Lecturer in Philosophy, University of Dacca. The Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore, 1930.

This unassuming little volume of some thirty pages of ably edited Sanskrit text is highly interesting, not only to the student of general Indian philosophy but also to the student of popular religious cults of India, among which Vaiṣṇavism must be counted as one of the most important. This work pretends by its title to be a treatise on Vedānta, but it is in substance an *apologia* of a certain phase of the Vaiṣṇava faith. It is meant really to supply a philosophical background to that special development of the Vaiṣṇava faith, known as Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, by attempting a somewhat dogmatic reconciliation of the fundamental position of the faith with the general teachings of the Vedānta, and, in a less degree, of the Sāṃkhya system. In a sense the text presents a particular type or development of Vedānta thought, which the editor chooses to characterise as "The Bengal School of Vedānta," but the real object of the author is to find a support and authority for his Vaiṣṇava doctrine of the worship of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, in the orthodox philosophical systems, chiefly in the Upaniṣads and the Vedānta.

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Although Rādhādāmodara does not entirely reject Sāṃkhya ideas, the editor is undoubtedly right in classifying him with Jīva Gosvāmin, rather than with Vijñānabhikṣu, for refusing to clothe the sectarian tenets of his school in a Sāṃkhya garb. In some other respects also, as the editor has shewn in his learned preface, Rādhādāmodara shows points of contact as well as difference with Jīva Gosvāmin. Like Jīva Gosvāmin he accepts *śabda* as the sole authentic *pramāṇa*; but unlike Jīva he interprets *śabda* more liberally as embracing the whole of *śruti*, and not merely the *purāṇas* and the *smṛtis*. But in practice the author reduces *śabda* generally to dogmatism, and the procedure that he adopts is naturally not argumentation so much, as citing of authorities of all kinds. Of the five *prameyas*, which Rādhādāmodara next takes up in five short sections (called *kiraṇas*), the most important and interesting are the first two—Īśvara and Jīva, in which he takes up a definitely theistic and dualistic attitude, prompted by his devotionalism. His Īśvara is by no means the Vedāntin's Īśvara, and he goes even to the length of accepting a plurality of Jīvas, putting little store by the *abheda* or the *adhyāsa* theories. He next deals with Prakṛti, but his treatment generally follows the Sāṃkhya theory, and as such is devoid of interest; while his discussion of Kāla and Karma which are taken up next can hardly be regarded as possessing much value or originality, either from the philosophical or from the doctrinal point of view. Rādhādāmodara puts emphasis indeed on *bhakti*, but it is remarkable that he insists also upon knowledge and would regard *bhakti* itself as a form of knowledge.

The text has been edited from two manuscripts, one of which belongs to the Dacca University Library and the other to the Benares Sanskrit College. In the brief but well written introduction the editor discusses the authorship of the work and gives a fairly full analysis of the main features of its doctrines. The introduction, in which the editor does not make too much of his author, nor of his own work as an editor, is very modest in tone, but it is very complete, clever and accurate. There is an appendix, in which great pains are taken to trace the numerous quotations from *śruti*, *smṛti*, *purāṇa* and other texts. Inspite of a few misprints the printing is good and clear. The work will certainly form a notable addition to the very few well edited Vaiṣṇava texts of the Bengal School.

S. K. DE

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The MĪMĀMSĀNYĀYAPRAKĀŚA or ĀPADEVĪ: A treatise on the Mīmāṃsā system by Āpadeva—Translated into English with an introduction, transliterated Sanskrit Text, and glossarial index, by Franklin Edgerton, Salisbury Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in Yale University. Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press.

It was a general impression among Indian scholars that the interests of Indologists in Europe and America were concentrated on Vedic Philology and Indian Archæology; and coming down to classical Sanskrit, their pre-occupation with the literary, philological and historico-chronological aspects of Indian culture was thought to be too absorbing to admit of their attention being effectively diverted to the philosophical achievements of ancient and medieval India. Barring a few outstanding Indianists, who addressed themselves to attacking the citadel of Indian philosophy, but whose trophies consisted merely in the conquest of the bare fundamentals of one or two systems, it must be admitted that the impression of inadequacy of attention on the part of Western scholars, so far as this particular field was concerned, was not without a foundation. It is therefore we welcome the present publication.

The Mīmāṃsā system is admittedly one of the most abstruse of Indian systems of thought; and on account of its emphasis on dry-as-dust details of technical scholasticism and its lack of metaphysical interest, this system has fallen into comparative neglect even in the land of its birth. The swift disappearance of Vedic ritualism has most probably contributed to the present decadence of interest in the Mīmāṃsā system, which was, however, one of the most powerful disciplines even down to medieval times. But though it may have outlived its practical usefulness in the national religious life of present-day India and though it may possess little or no speculative interest for its own sake, the importance of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā as a theoretical study can neither be ignored nor gainsaid. It is a truism to say that the Vedānta is the most widely studied system at the present day and its preponderating speculative interest, combined with its crusade against ritualism either as an independent vehicle of emancipation or as an integral part of spiritual illumination, has contributed more than anything else to the downfall of the Karmamīmāṃsā, which drew its vitality from ritualistic activism. But it is undeniable that the Mīmāṃsā has very essentially influenced the Vedāntic methodology, and a thorough mastery of even Śaṅkara's Vedānta

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requires a firm grounding in the fundamentals of the Karmamīmāṃsā. Not to speak of the epistemology of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā which has been wholesale adopted by Śaṅkara's followers with slight modifications, the rules of interpretation of Upaniṣadic texts have been bodily transplanted from the former. The repudiation of organic relationship between the two Mīmāṃsās is rather formal and Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya is replete with Mīmāṃsā maxims and the entire host of post-Śaṅkaran writers have freely drawn upon the Mīmāṃsā literature for weapons of offence and defence alike. It is indeed as impossible to gain mastery over Śaṅkara's Vedānta without a thorough Mīmāṃsā training as it is to master modern European Philosophy without a preliminary knowledge of science. So in this respect the importance of the Mīmāṃsā is indisputable. The influence on the Vedānta is mentioned by us only as a typical instance. The Mīmāṃsā has got to be studied on its own account for its linguistic speculations and in this matter its influence on the schools of Nyāya and Vyākaraṇa is too pronounced to be denied. Of course, the latter systems occupy themselves for the most part with traversing the Mīmāṃsā doctrines, but that does not take away from their indebtedness. Our present author has done a signal service to the cause of scholarship by drawing the pointed attention of scholars to the rich harvest of linguistic speculations in the Mīmāṃsā field, which only waits to be garnered by assiduous votaries of learning. The Mīmāṃsā is nothing if it is not a science of exegesis, and the principles of interpretation, that it has evolved, have been borrowed without reserve by other systems of thought, notably by the science of law and jurisprudence. The importance of the Karmamīmāṃsā, therefore, both as a propædeutic discipline and as an independent system of thought, cannot be underrated and its neglect on the contrary will spell dilettantism, which is the very negation of all true scholarship.

The Mīmāṃsā-nyāya-prakāśa is one of the most difficult works in the whole range of Sanskrit philosophical literature and in point of intrinsic worth it stands on the same level with the Vedāntaparibhāṣā of Dharmarājādhvarīndra. It is the most reliable introduction to the Mīmāṃsā system and no student of Mīmāṃsā can afford to ignore it. It was indeed a matter of hardship for students that it had no suitable commentary. The Bhāṭṭālaṅkāra of the author's own son is rather an independent treatise and does not at all care to elucidate the text. It is, therefore, of little use to students. But within recent years a masterly commentary was written on the text by Prof. Chin-

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naswami Sastri of Benares Hindu University and this has proved a veritable boon to the student-folk. Prof. Edgerton has followed this learned commentary in his translation of the text and in the notes he has appended.

Prof. Edgerton's work gives a correct text and an excellent English translation, which will be understood even without reference to the text. So even those who possess only a smattering of Sanskrit will benefit by it. The translation is reliable and faithful. The footnotes supply the sources of the topics of discussion and other necessary informations, calculated to facilitate the understanding of the text. All technical words occurring in the text have been put together in a glossarial index and their meanings have been explained in English. The learned introduction and the summary statement of the contents of the work will help the student to understand the subject-matter at a sweep. The Vedic references and quotations have been traced to their sources and where they could not be bodily affiliated to the original texts, approximate sources and context have been conjecturally indicated. A noteworthy feature of the work is its division into appropriate sections with suitable headings. We have compared the translation with the text very carefully and we confess that we have been satisfied with its accuracy.

Before bringing this review to a close we wish to draw the attention of the learned author to one or two minor points, where we fail to see eye to eye with him. Sec. 60 avarodha—'contradiction' or 'annulment' does not seem to represent the correct value of the word. It rather denotes the meaning of 'limitation' or 'restriction'. 'Utpattiśiṣṭa-dadhyavarodhāt' means 'as it is limited or restricted to the sour milk prescribed in the originative injunction'. P. 174.350. Viśeṣāpekṣiṇaḥ=requiring specific cases (of application). 'A special exception' would rather give a wrong impression. As regards *ārādupakāraka*, Pt. Chinnaswami paraphrases ārāt by *sākṣāt* (directly). In the sec. 183, *ārādupakāraka* has been rendered by Prof. Edgerton as 'directly contributing actions'. The Professor further observes on p. 281, "The word '*ārāt*' here means instantly, not distantly as it is erroneously taken by G. Jha, The Prabhākara School, 181, and Keith, Karmamīmāṅsā, p. 88." The *ārādupakārakas* are those subsidiary actions, which do not assist or benefit the material and the like, which are the constituent factors of a sacrifice. They are supposed directly to contribute to the fruition of the grand unseen result (*paramāpūrva*), which is the objective of the whole ceremony. They

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are thus distinguished from the *sannipatyopakārakas*, which directly assist the constituents of a sacrifice. An *ārādupakāraka* has thus no medium (dvāra) on which it can function; it only contributes to the grand result. But as this grand unseen result eventuates after the completion of the whole sacrifice and is thus separated by a distance of time from the supplementary unseen results, produced by the *sannipatyopakārakas*, the subsidiaries (*ārādupakārakas*), which only contribute to the fruition of the grand unseen result, are said to be 'distantly beneficial.' And this interpretation is corroborated by the Vedāntakalpataru, '*ārād dūre phalāpūrvasiddhāv upakāraśca, tasya hetubhūtāni*' (p. 53. Vedāntakalpataru under the Bhāmatī, Br.-Sū. Bhāṣya, 1.1.1 N.S.Edn.). Mallinātha too observes '*sannipatya sannikṛṣya avyavadhānata iti yāvat—ārād dūrād vyavadhānata iti yāvat.* (Ekāvalītarala, p. 4., K. P. Trivedi's edn.). Dr. Jha's interpretation is, therefore, not wrong and it only emphasises another side, which follows as a corollary from the circumstance of its direct assistance to the main action, which fructifies after the entire ceremony is over.

SATKARI MOOKERJEE

SHREEGOPAL BASU MALLIK LECTURES ON VEDANTA PHILOSOPHY, delivered (December, 1925) by S. K. Belvalkar M.A., PH. D., under the auspices of the University of Calcutta. Part I: Lectures 1-6. Poona: Bilvakuñja Publishing House, 1929. Pp. xv+240.

One might complain, on reading these Lectures, that their title is misleading. There is more of philological than philosophical matter in them, and the Lecturer appears to be more concerned with textual and historical questions than with the exposition of Vedānta philosophy. One might naturally feel that the work is that of a Sanskritist rather than that of a philosopher. But the Lecturer makes ample apology for his procedure. His aim is more to write a history of Vedāntic speculation than merely give a résumé or criticism of the contents or viewpoints of Vedānta philosophy, about which there is already no dearth of lucid and learned accounts. His task is more chronological than logical; and in tracing the historical development of the particular philosophical system it has been necessary for him to discuss at the outset the difficult but important textual and historical questions, which have not so far engaged as much attention of the competent scholars as they deserve. In matters concerning Indian Philosophy the

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Sanskritist cannot very well be separated from the philosopher. It is, on the other hand, not possible for any one to ignore the philosophical content in tracing the historical development of a discipline, and our Lecturer has certainly not done so; but every writer must be judged by the limitation which he chooses to impose upon his task, and we have no right to be disappointed if he has not gone beyond it. The Lectures proceed much on the same lines as those adopted by the Lecturer in the second volume of his more extensive joint-work on the History of Indian Philosophy (Creative Period), and the value of the procedure, which involves a departure from the usual method followed in recent writings on Indian Philosophy, will be found amply justified by its striking results.

It is indeed well that the Lecturer has thought it proper not to add one more volume to the already large but necessarily stereotyped bulk of expository literature on Vedānta. Such a volume with its freshness or soundness of scholarship would have been welcome from the pen of Dr. Belvalkar; but it was probably a wiser decision which made him depart from the beaten track. To the orthodox student of Vedānta this will hardly make an appeal, but this consistent and painstaking application of the stricter critical and historical method to a subject to which it has not yet been systematically applied has also its great value. It is not expected that all will agree with all the suggestions and conclusions of the Lecturer, and many of the theories require more working out in detail; but there cannot be any doubt that the endeavour has resulted in a very refreshing and stimulating volume. Although at times written somewhat enthusiastically and without the philosophic restraint of a technical scholar, there is yet much in it that demands close and scholarly consideration; and the historical contribution, by which the Lecturer wants chiefly to be judged, must be regarded as the most important and valuable part of the work.

It is not possible nor necessary to enter here into all the questions raised by these lectures, and some of them are highly controversial in character. The Lecturer's scheme of a meticulous splitting up the Upaniṣads into smaller units and arranging them elaborately in chronological stratification is, for instance, a suggestion which deserves close and careful scrutiny and discussion, especially as this arrangement cannot always be accomplished from an entirely objective point of view, but necessarily involves some amount of subjective valuation. Whatever view may be entertained regarding the value of his con-

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clusions on this topic, there cannot, however, be any doubt as to the importance of the line of investigation suggested by him, and of the data collected by his patient and painstaking research in his larger work. After dealing with Upaniṣadic Vedānta in Lecture II, which practically summarises, somewhat rapidly, what the Lecturer has already expounded at greater length in the larger volume referred to above, the Lecturer passes on to Vedānta in the *Bhagavadgītā* in Lecture III. There is, however, little of Vedānta itself in the lecture, which is really a study in the textual and interpretative criticism of the *Gītā*, involving a summary, which is also a running commentary, of the text, and a criticism of Garbe's well-known theory on the subject. The Lecturer's view seems to be that the syncretic philosophy of the *Gītā* is a designed attempt made by the followers of the old Śrauta religion to uphold orthodox Brāhmaṇism against the disruptive forces of what he calls pre-Buddhistic "thought-ferment" by means of a synthetic philosophy, which tempered Upaniṣadic Vedānta with the new popular cult of Bhakti. One may not agree with Garbe's somewhat hyper-critical splitting up of the text, and the Lecturer is probably on the right track in finding fault with such an attitude; but it is still possible to maintain that the *Gītā* is essentially and chiefly a devotional document (and not a designed attempt or a systematic philosophical treatise) tempered by Upaniṣadic Vedānta and other matters. It cannot be seriously doubted that its central interest lies not so much in its so-called synthetic (but really eclectic) philosophy, as in its clear-cut doctrine of Bhakti. The possibility of its being but a handbook of orthodox Brahminism is a good theory, but lacks corroboration. The next Lecture IV, which discusses the question concerning the multiple authorship of and evidence of "stratification" in the *Vedānta-sūtra* is an able and suggestive study, and, so far, no recognised history of Indian philosophy has seriously considered the problem from this point of view: but the chapter is really a further working out of the Lecturer's views already expressed, for instance, in his articles on the subject in the *Indian Philosophical Review*, 1918 and in the *Garbe-Festgabe*, 1927. In Lecture V on Gauḍapāda and his *Kārikā*, the Lecturer is right in rejecting Walleser's unsound theory which tries to destroy the individuality of Gauḍapāda, but the Lecturer's attempt at meeting the views of La Vallée Poussin and Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya about the genuineness of the fourth prakaraṇa and about the relation of the *Kārikā* to the *Māndūkya-Upaniṣad* is hardly convincing. The last

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Lecture stops with an account of the life and times of Śaṅkara; but much of it is taken up with upholding K. B. Pathak's views about Śaṅkara's date, and with the difficult task of separating the genuine from the spurious works lumped upon the great philosopher. In recent standard treatises on Indian philosophy all the four hundred separate works ascribed to Śaṅkara are more or less indiscriminately accepted; but the Lecturer's procedure, if it can be further supported by more detailed evidence, is certainly sounder for a proper reconstruction of the philosophy and religion of Śaṅkara.

Although elaborated at leisure, the work does not appear to have completely divested itself of the intended form of lectures and its somewhat popular character. As such, it is in execution much inferior to the Lecturer's *History* which is certainly a more ambitious and systematic undertaking. Most of the views expressed in the earlier parts of the Lectures are already before the interested public in some form or other, but those set forth in the latter part require more elaboration than was possible within the limited scope of a lecture or two. Nevertheless, of all recent publications on the subject the work is certainly one of the most remarkable and interesting for its ambitious programme, for its freshness of outlook, for its discerning, if summary, treatment of the issues, for its consistent critical attitude, and, above all, for its first systematic attempt to apply the historical method to the study of one of the most difficult branches of Indian philosophy. For all these qualities the work marks a welcome departure in the study of the subject and opens up fresh lines of enquiry. All scholars interested in oriental studies will await the publication of the second part with eager expectation.

S. K. DE

THE SPLENDOUR THAT WAS 'IND by K. T. Shah, B.A., B.SC. (Lond.). Professor of Economics, University of Bombay, pp. 236 with 11 illustrations in colour, 329 half-tone illustrations and 5 maps. D. B. Taraporevala Sons. & Co., Bombay (1930).

Prof. Shah is a well-known writer on Economics and naturally the public will open this volume of his with a certain amount of admiring expectation, the more so because he has applied his talent and time to the noble task of surveying the *Splendour that was 'Ind.* It is however a subject which is as tempting as it is baffling. The author says that

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he took as his model the works like the *Glory that was Greece* and the *Grandeur that was Rome*, but at the same time he is conscious of the magnitude of his task—a task beset with insurmountable difficulties, as he has to tackle the cultural, political and social activities not of a country with one race but of a continent with a culture which is the result of the fusion of many races and spreads over more than 50 centuries. The immensity of the task undertaken by the author is well expressed in the following words of the Marquess of Zetland,—"The canvas is so vast, the span of time so great, the material under review so varied, that a mind of unusual grasp is required to wield the brush which shall prove capable of painting a picture in true perspective without at the same time unduly sacrificing details." We do really admire the author for his rare ability to take a true perspective of the glorious events of India, but what we feel wanting is his sacrifice of details. The line of treatment followed by him in every chapter is that he first deals with the Vedic Saṃhitās, then goes straightaway to the Epics without any reference to the Āraṇyakas, Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads and the early Buddhist literature. He dismisses the period of the Mauryas, Kushans and Guptas with a few words but gives disproportionate attention to the Rajputs, and casts only a cursory glance at the Muhammadans. For instance, in the chapter on saints and heroes, he treats of the Vedic kings and ṛṣis as also the Epic heroes, from whom he skips over to Porus and Pṛthvirāj, and winds up the chapter with an account of the Mewar heroes and one or two Muhammadan warriors. Though the title of the chapter gives rise to an expectation for an account of the saints of India, there is hardly any reference to them. He however makes good the deficiency in the account of saints by giving details about them in his chapter on religion and philosophy. Even in a panoramic view like the present one he should not have skipped over so many important periods and events. Sometimes, instances of anachronism are found, as for instance, when he attempts to show that the Vedic Aryans had knowledge of city-building by drawing evidences from the Rāmāyaṇa, and the accounts of Fa-Hian and Abdur Razzak. While speaking of the war-etiquette of the Vedic Aryans, he mentions the Vedic kings, Harṣa, and the Rajput chiefs in one breath. If the chapters be critically examined, much can be said about the omissions of important facts but this does not detract so much from the merit of the book, the object of which is a popular presentation of the brighter side of Indian history and culture. After the stir created in Europe by the

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appearance of Miss Mayo's *Mother India*, the intelligentsia of Europe eagerly looked for accounts written by reputed Indian scholars for having a faithful view of Indian culture. They were not satisfied with mere pleadings but wanted a comprehensive picture. In fact, they felt a need for books of the type under review. Hence, we may state that the author and the publishers have rendered a valuable service to India by bringing out an expensive publication like this. It will go a great way to wipe out from the minds of many Europeans their queer ideas about India and Indian culture. Prof. Macdonell of Oxford and Prof. Venkateswara of Mysore have given panoramic surveys of Indian culture in their recently published works. Prof. Shah should have utilized them more as signposts to the gaps which require filling up by an adequate supply of information and evidences.

The printing is good but more care should have been taken for removing the typographical errors that have crept into the work. The author should have taken trouble for transliterating the Indian words on the established lines and for transcribing correctly and uniformly the titles of books. In conclusion we point out some of the inaccurate statements found in the work :

p. 44 : He (Vyasa—the compiler of the Vedas) must have flourished somewhere about the *seventh century B. C.*

p. 68 : "the heir-apparent (of the Mauryan Empire) was allowed only *48000 Paṇas per annum*—not much more than *Rs. 4000* a month in actual money."

p. 76 : "The Sāma and the Yajur are *nothing but the redactions of the great Rig-Veda,* the former almost wholly and the latter nearly a third derived from the main stock."

p. 77 : "Katha Vattu (sic) (Prakrit—See p. xxi) is the *earliest* written record of the Buddhists."

p. 81 : "Raghavapandaviya (*800 B. C.*) of Kaviraja."

p. 99 : "Buddha.....Born of a Sakya Prince at *Shravathi*, or *Kapilavastu.*"

p. 102 : "The Muslim contribution of *Suffism* is *really a variant of Vedantism.*"

p. 106 : "Vararuchi.....composing a grammar of the four Prakrit languages *prevailing in his time*, the Maharasthri, the Paishachi, the Magadhi and the Shaurseni.[1]

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1 The words, to which we wish, to draw attention, have been put in italics.

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p. 83: Ghatakarpana (sic) is mentioned as a work in the Bibliography (p. xii) as well as in the body of the work (p. 83), while in fact Ghatakarpara is a name of one of the "Jewels" traditionally associated with Kalidasa.

We refrain from multiplying these instances but we hope that the author and the publishers will bestow more attention upon such points in future lest Indian writers of the author's standing should be open to the charges usually laid against the Christian missionaries and travellers who wrote about India and Indian culture in the 19th century.

The book contains really a few good specimens of Indian painting, some of them being reproductions of those in Mr. N. C. Mehta's *Studies in Indian Painting*. The author should have omitted statements like the following in the Bibliography : Kashyapa (author of the) Abhidhamma Pitaka, Bharavi (author of the) Bhattikavya, Somadeva (author of) Brihatkatha, Narasimha Mehta (author of) Gujrati Poems, Ramananda (author of) Hindi Poems and Chandidas (author of) Bengali Poems.

Prof. Shah no doubt commands a brilliant style and the remarks at the ends of the chapters contain many an inspiring line like "India still lives, she may be eclipsed ; she may be oppressed. But she has an immortal soul, an invincible spirit that will not yield". The author and the publishers should be congratulated for rendering a signal service to India by placing before the world this fine picture of Indian culture—a desideratum which has long been felt by us and we hope the book will have a wide circulation encouraging the publishers to launch upon more ambitious projects for showing in further details all that is best in Indian culture.

KALHANA

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, vol. XI, pt. ii

NALINAKSHA DUTT.—*The place of the Āryasatyas and the Pratītya-samutpāda in Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna.*—The writer shows that the Hīnanyānists treated the Truths and the Causal Law as ultimate truths (paramārtha-satya) while the Mahāyānists treated them as conventional truths (Saṃvṛti-satya). He has also dealt with the conception of truths according to the Mahāyānists and explained fully the Saṃvṛti and Paramārtha truths of the Mādhyamikas, and the Parikalpita, Paratantra and Pariniṣpanna truths of the Yogācāras.

D. R. BHANDARKAR.—*Slow Progress of Islam Power in India.*—The impending dissolution of the Gurjara empire soon after the middle of the tenth century paved the way for the renewal of Muhammadan aggression. The writer gives an account of the expeditions of Sabuk-Tigin, Mahmud, and others from Persian sources and examines them critically in the light of evidences yielded by the non-Muhammadan sources. He then directs his attention to Cāhamāna records and summarises the historical facts relating to the fights of this Rajput family with the Muhammadan rulers of the frontier provinces.

K. B. PATHAK.—*On the date of Samantabhadra.*—He adduces many evidences, mostly literary, to establish that Samantabhadra may be assigned to the 8th century.

K. B. PATHAK.—*Śāntarakṣita's reference to Kumārila's attacks on Samantadhadra and Akalaṅkadeva.*

V. S. SUKTHANKAR.—*Epic Studies.* In answer to some queries and criticisms made by Prof. Winternitz (in his *Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata*), Dr. Sukhthankar explains the textual notes given by him in his edition of the *Mahābhārata.*

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol. V, pt. iv

L. D. BARNETT.—*Mattavilāsa.* A Farce by Mahendravikramavarman has been translated into English.

K. R. PISHAROTI.—*Rāmakathā—a Study.* The age and identity of Vāsudeva, the author of the *Rāmakathā*, a little prose work pub-

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lished in the Bālamanoramā Series form the subject-matter of this note. Vāsudeva has been assigned to the early part of the sixteenth century A.C. and identified with Vāsudeva of Pāyyur Bhāṭṭa Mana who was patronised by the Zamorin Vikrama.

JULES BLOCH.—*Some Problems of Indo-Aryan Philology.* The Forlong Lectures delivered by the author in London in 1929 constitute this article. It is arranged under three sub-headings : The Literary Languages ; Indo-Aryan and Dravidian ; and Present Requirements of Indo-Aryan Research.

Indian Antiquary, April, 1930

BIREN BONNERJEA.—*The Social and Commercial life of the Santals culled from various sources.*—In this article the writer has collected information relating the origin of the Santals, their habits, customs, and ceremonies. He gives a list of their septs and sub-septs.

F. J. RICHARDS.—*Periods in Indian History* (contd.).—It contains only a bare synoptic statement of the various periods and strata of Indian literature, religion, art (including sculpture, architecture and painting), and coins.

A. H. FRANCKE.—*Notes on Khotan and Ladakh* (from a Tibetan point of view) (contd.).—The writer has made a careful study of the historical materials relating to Ladakh and offers in this paper the results of his researches from the political, topographical and linguistic points of view.

S. CHARLES HILL.—*Origin of the Caste-System in India.*—The writer shows by quotations from the remarks of Scrafton of the E. I. Company and the French missionary Abbé Dubois that there were "true Brahmans and true Brahman Hindu States." He also answers the European objections to the caste-system from the Hindu standpoint.

SUPPLEMENT : The Scattergoods and the East India Company.

May, 1930

JARL CHARPENTIER.—*Some Remarks on the Bhagavadgītā* (contd.).—In this article Prof. Charpentier gives those parts of Canto ii, which appear to him old and original. He has also given an English translation of the passages.

S. CHARLES HILL.—*Origin of the Caste-System in India* (contd.).—

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After answering the European objections to the caste-system, he takes up the "line of thought leading to the suggestion of the caste-system and reasons for the impermanence of earlier civilizations and imperfection of various forms of government."

F. J. RICHARDS.—*Periods in Indian History* (contd.).—In this portion of his article, the writer takes up the history of Ceylon, Burma, Middle and Further Indo-China, Indonesia and Tibet and shows that "the periodicity of culture in Further India is a reflex of Indian history."

BIREN BONNERJEA.—*The Social and Commercial Life of the Santals culled from various sources.* See remarks above (April, 1930).

SUPPLEMENT.—The Scattergoods and the East India Company.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

vol. xxv, 1919, no. 1 (issued April, 1930)

KALIPADA MITRA.—*Originals and Parallels of Some Santal Folk Tales.*

KUNJA GOVINDA GOSWAMI.—*The Satak Copper-plate Grant of King Rāma Siṃha II of Jaintia of 1809* A.D. It is inscribed in Bengali script and Sanskrit language. It records the grant of a piece of land to one Balarāma Gosvāmī by King Rāmasiṃha II (1789-1832), of Jayntīpura, Sylhet District.

R. R. HALDER.—*The Chauhāns.*—In this article, the writer gives an account of the rulers of the main line of the Chauhan family which began its rule in Marwar. He divides the line after the names of its three capitals Sāmbhar, Ajmer and Ranthambhor.

J. C. SINHA.—*Indo-American Trade, Past and Present.*—As a result of Jay Treaty on Nov. 19, 1794 between England and the United States, the latter was granted the right of direct trade with Br. India. War between France and England, and Holland's siding with France further augmented Indo-American trade and American shipping (1789-1810). The bulk of the trade was with Bengal (1802-7). Silver was the chief import, cotton goods, sugar and indigo were the chief exports one after another. U. S. A. has again as a result of the last war reaped huge profits and her trade with India has increased fast.

S. R. KASYAP.—*Some Geographical Observations in Western Tibet.*

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,

March, 1930, vol. xvi, pt. i

HIRANANDA SHASTRI.—*Further Notes on the Baghela Dynasty of*

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Rewah. This article, as the title indicates, is really a supplement to the author's Memoir "The Baghela Dynasty of Rewah." It is written in the light of the criticisms of the Memoir made by Prof. S. H. Hodivala. This article is mainly concerned with the age and contents of the *Vīrabhānudāya-Kāvya* (1591 A.C.) dealing with the following topics : identification of places and persons mentioned in the Kāvya ; and examination of stories about Akbar and his mother.

K. H. DHRUVA.—*Historical Contents of the Yuga-purāṇa.* The writer has reconstructed the text of a chapter of the *Yugapūrāṇa,* which forms a part of the *Gargasaṃhitā.* It commences with the battle of Kurukṣetra and ends with the period of Sātavāhanas. The writer has given an English translation of the text and pointed out in detail the light thrown by it on the ancient history of India. There are a few appendices to this article, of which the following are worth mentioning : App. V—Glossary of obscure or unusual words, App. VI—Index of Names geographical and historical. App. VII—List of the Maurya, the Śuṅga and the Kāṇva kings. App. VIII—Events in the life of Puṣyamitra chronologically arranged.

K. P. JAYASWAL.—*An Important Brahmi Inscription. Barli Stone* (with plate). It is a pre-Asokan inscription discovered by Mm. G. H. Ojha at a temple near the village Barli in the Ajmere District. The text of the inscriptions has not yet been properly deciphered and commented on.

BINAYAK MISRA.—*Hindol Plate of Subhākara Deva.*—This plate was discovered by a peasant at Chitalpur in the Hindol state on the north bank of the Mahānadī. The charter is written in Sanskrit. It records the grant of village Noḍḍilo in Kaṅkavirā district to Vaidyanātha Bhaṭṭāraka (a Śaivite deity) at the request of Pulindarāja. The donor is Śubhākara Deva. The writer has given a genealogical table of the donor's family, introductory notes, text and an English translation of the inscription.

L. V. RAMASWAMI IYER.—*Prossemy and Ecsemy in Dravidian.* The object of this paper is "to discuss the two changes (*Restriction* and *Extension*) with special reference to Dravidian, and to point out the particular lines along which these changes have occurred in this family of languages."

J. K. Sarkar.—*The Buddhist Conception of Sublimation.*—The writer attempts a general survey of the meanings attributed to Nirvāṇa

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by some of the European scholars of the present day, supplemented at times by a few quotations from the original texts.

HIRA LAL.—*Bhanja Kings and their Country.* It is a reply to some of the criticisms of R. D. Banerjee of the writer's article '*Antiquities of the Baudh State*' published in the *JBORS.*, vol. XV, pp. 64ff.

Journal of the Oriental Research, Madras

April-June, 1930, vol. iv, pt, ii

M. HIRIYANNA.—*Prābhākaras: Old and New.* The writer draws attention to the fact that there are two divisions, 'new' and 'old' among the Prābhākaras, usually referred to as '*jarat-prābhākaras*' and *cirantanākhyātivādins.* He points out their differences by discussing their opinions about the conception of reality and knowledge. He deals with the latter (knowledge) under three sub-headings, viz., (i) consciousness and self-consciousness ; (ii) error; and (iii) internal states.

O. K. ANANTALASHMI AMMAL.—*Studies in the Upaniṣads* (continued from p. 17 of vol. IV of J.O.R.M.). In course of her studies from the Upaniṣads, the writer takes up the topic of Varṇa and Āśrama, showing that the Śūdras formed a section of the original inhabitants of India. She has collected many passages from the Upaniṣads referring to the Śūdras, Vrātyas, Kṣatriyas and Brāhmaṇas, (references to the Vaiśyas being few), throwing light on the problems of Varṇa and Āśrama in ancient India. She is of opinion that caste though not in a rigid form was known in the Upaniṣadic times, not earlier. She has also dealt with "Education in Ancient India" and the "Position of Women" as represented in the Upaniṣads.

K. A. SUBRAHMANYA IYER.—*Studies in the Imagery of Rāmāyaṇa.* (continued from p. 44, vol. IV of J.O.R.M.). Mr. Iyer presents us with an intelligent survey of the similes, and metaphors used in the Rāmāyaṇa and points out the literary skill of the epic writers.

K. RAMA PISHAROTI.—*Glimpses of Cochin History from Literary Sources (1342-1505).* Mr. Pisharoti says that "no systematic attempt has yet been made to reconstruct the history of Cochin before the Portuguese advent." His sources of information for this article are chiefly two Prabandhas of Nīlakaṇṭha and two dramas of Bālakavi. He has discussed the date and authorship of these

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works and prepared from them a list of the kings of Cochin from 1342-1505 with an account of their mentionable activities.

P. T. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.—*Śaka-Pallavas in Indian History* (continued from p. 31, vol. iv of J.O.R.M.). This article is divided into chapters III and IV. Chapter III gives a historical account of the Pallava rulers (Mahākṣatrapas and Kṣatrapas) in Northern India (specially Eastern Iran and Gandhāra, Taxila and Mathura). He considers Guḍuphara (Gondapharnes) as the great Pallava ruler of North-Western India. Chapter IV furnishes us with a historical account of the Śaka Kṣatrapas of Western India.

L. V. RAMASWAMI IYER.—*Kui Words and Dravidian Origins.* The object of the writer, as stated by him, is "to indicate the operation of any common phonetic principles regulating the peculiarities of Kui word-formation" as also "to shed some light on the classification of Kui among the Dravidians."

T. G. ARVAMUTHAN.—*The oldest account of the Tamil Academies* contd.). A detailed account of the Commentary on the Grammar—*Iṛaiyaṇār Ahap-Porul*, containing many matters of historical interest relating to South India is given in this article.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, April, 1930

JARL CHARPENTIER.—*Naicāśākha.* The word *naicāśākha* occurring in the *Ṛg-veda*, III, 53, 14 means, according to the writer of this note, a worshipper of the banyan tree.

JWALA PRASAD.—*The Date of the Yogasūtras.* This is a criticism of the arguments adduced for the late date of the *Yogasūtras.* The writer disproves that there is any reference in the *Yogasūtras* of Patañjali to the *Vijñānavāda* of Vasubandhu or to any late doctrines of other systems of philosophy.

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Kiṃ pan' eso ti. Eso jiṇṇo ti kiṃ vuttaṃ hoti. Nāhaṃ bho[1] ito pubbe evarūpam addasan ti pucchi. *Tena hī* ti yadi mayham pi evarūpehi kesehi evarūpena ca kāyena bhavitabbaṃ, *tena hi samma sārathi alan dān' ajja uyyānabhūmiyā* ti ajja yam[2] uyyānabhūmiṃ passissāmā[3] ti gacchāma alaṃ tāya uyyānabhūmiyā ti saṃviggahadayo saṃvegānurūpam āha. *Antepura-gato* ti itthijanaṃ vissajjetvā sirigabbhe ekako va nisinno. *Yatra hi nāmā* ti yāya jātiyā sati jarā paññāyati sā jāti, *dhi-r-atthū* ti dhikkatā atthu, jigucchā nāmesā[4] jātī ti jātiyā mūlaṃ khaṇanto nisīdi paṭhamena sallena hadaye viddho[5] viya.

Sārathim āmantāpetvā ti rājā kira nemittakehi kathitakālato paṭṭhāya ohitasoto va carati.[6] So kumāro uyyānaṃ gacchanto antarāmagge nivatto ti sutvā sārathim āmantāpesi.

4. *Mā h' eva kho* ti ādīsu rajjaṃ kāretu mā pabbajatu, brāhmaṇānaṃ vacanaṃ mā saccaṃ[7] hotū ti evaṃ cintesī ti attho.

6. *Addasā kho* ti pubbe vuttanayen' eva Suddhāvāsehi dassitaṃ addasa. *Ābādhikan* ti iriyāpathabhañjakena visabhāgābādhena ābādhikaṃ. *Dukkhitan* ti rogadukkhena dukkhitaṃ. *Bāḷhagilānan* ti adhimattagilānaṃ. *Palipannan* ti nimuggaṃ. *Jarā paññāyissati vyādhi paññāyissati* ti idhā pi yāya jātiyā sati idaṃ dvayaṃ paññāyati dhi-r-atthu taṃ[8] jātiṃ[9] ajātaṃ kheman ti jātiyā mūlaṃ khaṇanto nisīdi dutiyena sallena viddho viya.

10. *Milātan*[10] ti sivikaṃ. *Petan* ti ito paṭigataṃ. *Kālakatan* ti katakālaṃ, yattakaṃ tena kālaṃ jīvitabbaṃ taṃ sabbaṃ katvā niṭṭhapetvā matan ti attho. Imam pissa purimanayen' eva Brahmāṇo dassesuṃ. *Yatra hi nāmā* ti idhā pi yāya jātiyā sati idaṃ tayaṃ[11] paññāyati dhi-r-atthu taṃ jātim ajātaṃ kheman ti jātiyā mūlaṃ khaṇanto nisīdi tatiyena sallena viddho viya.

14. *Bhaṇḍun* ti muṇḍaṃ. Imam pissa purimanayen' eva Brahmāṇo dassesuṃ. *Sādhu dhammacariyā* ti ādīsu ayaṃ devadhammacaraṇabhāvo sādhū ti[12] pabbajito ti evam ekam ekassa padassa yojanā veditabbā, sabbāni cetāni dasakusalakammapathavevacanān' eva. Avasāne pana *avihiṃsā* ti karuṇāya pubbabhāgo. *Anukampā* ti mettāya pubbabhāgo. *Tena hī* ti uyyojanatthe nipāto. Pabbajitañ hi 'ssa disvā

1 Si. drops it.
2 B. drops it.
3 B. -ssāmī ti
4 Si. & B. jigucchāmetaṃ
5 S. vedho
6 S. adds here rājā.
7 S. drops it.
8 S. drops it.
9 B. dhikkataṃ sā jāti
10 Si. S. & B. Vilātan
11 Si. bhayaṃ
12 B. adds here cintetvā.

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va cittaṃ pabbajjāya ninnaṃ jātaṃ. Atha tena saddhiṃ kathetukāmo hutvā sārathim uyyojento 'tena hī' ti ādim āha.

15. *Atha kho bhikkhave* ti pabbajitassa sādhudhammacariyā ti ādīni ca aññañ ca bahuṃ mahājanakāyena rakkhiyamānassa puttadāra-sambādhe ghare vasato ādīnavapaṭisaṃyuttañ ceva migabhūtena cetasā yathāsukhaṃ vane vasato pabbajitassa [1]vivekānisaṃsa-paṭisaṃyuttañ ca dhammakathaṃ sutvā pabbajitukāmo hutvā 'atha kho bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro sārathim āmantesi.' Imāni ca cattāri disvā pabbajitabbaṃ nāma sabbabodhisattānaṃ vaṃso va tanti yeva paveṇi yeva. Aññe pi ca bodhisattā yathā ayaṃ Vipassī kumāro evaṃ cirassaṃ cirassaṃ[2] passanti. Amhākaṃ pana bodhisatto cattāri pi ekadivasaññeva disvā mahābhinikkhamaṇaṃ nikkhamitvā Anomānadītīre pabbajito, ten' eva Rājagahaṃ patvā tattha raññā Bimbisārena kim atthaṃ paṇḍita pabbajito sī ti puṭṭho āha :

Jiṇṇañ ca disvā dukkhitañ ca vyādhitaṃ[3]
mataṅ ca disvā gatam āyusaṃkhayaṃ
kāsāyavatthaṃ pabbajitañ ca disvā
tasmā 'haṃ pabbajitomhi rājā ti.

16. *Sutvāna tesan* ti tesaṃ caturāsītiyā pāṇasahassānaṃ sutvā etad ahosi. *Orako* ti ūnako[4] lāmako.

Anupabbajiṃsū ti anupabbajitāni. Kasmā pan' ettha yathā parato Khaṇḍatissānam anupabbajjāya 'Bandhumatiyā rājadhāniyā nikkhamitvā' ti vuttaṃ, evaṃ na vuttan ti,[5] nikkhamitvā sutattā. Ete kira sabbe pi Vipassissa kumārassa upaṭṭhākaparisā va. Te pāto va upaṭṭhānam āgantvā kumāram adisvā[6] pātarāsatthāya gantvā bhuttapātarāsā āgamma kuhiṃ kumāro ti pucchitvā uyyānabhūmiṃ gato ti sutvā tatth' eva naṃ dakkhissāmā ti nikkhantā[7] nivattamānaṃ sārathiṃ disvā kumāro pabbajito ti c'assa vacanaṃ sutvā sutaṭṭhāne yeva sabbābharaṇāni omuñcitvā antarāpanato kāsāyapītāni vatthāni āharāpetvā kesamassum ohāretvā pabbajiṃsu. Iti nagarato nikkhamitvā bahinagare sutattā ettha[8] 'Bandhumatiyā rājadhāniyā nikkhamitvā' ti na vuttaṃ. *Cārikaṃ caratī* ti gatagataṭṭhāne mahāmaṇḍapaṃ katvā dānaṃ sajjetvā āgamma svātanāya nimantito[9] mahājanassa āyācitabhikkhaṃ eva paṭiggaṇhanto cattāro māse cārikaṃ cari.[10]

1 Si. vivekādipaṭi-
2 S. drops it.
3 B. vyādhiṃ
4 S. onako
5 S. & B. drop it.
6 Si. disvā
7 B. nikkhamantā
8 Si. idha
9 Si. nimantayato
10 Si. carati

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17. *Ākiṇṇo* ti iminā gaṇena parivuto. Ayaṃ pana vitakko bodhisattassa kadā uppanno ti, 'sve visākhapuṇṇamā bhavissatī' ti cātuddasī divase. Tadā kira so yath' eva maṃ ime pubbe gihībhūtaṃ parivārentā caranti, idāni pi tath' eva, kiṃ iminā gaṇenā ti gaṇasaṅgaṇikāya ukkaṇṭhitvā ajj' eva gacchāmī ti cintetvā puna ajja avelā sace idāni gamissāmi sabbe va ime[1] jānissanti sve gamissāmī ti cintesi. Taṃ divasañ ca Uruvelagāmasadise gāme gāmavāsino svātanāya nimantayiṃsu. Te caturāsītisahassānam pi tesaṃ pabbajitānaṃ mahāpurisassa ca pāyāsam eva paṭiyādayiṃsu. Atha mahāpuriso punadivase tasmiṃ gāme tehi pabbajitehi saddhiṃ bhattakiccaṃ katvā vasanaṭṭhānam eva agamāsi. Tattha te pabbajitā mahāpurisassa vattaṃ dassetvā attano attano rattiṭṭhānadivāṭṭhānāni paviṭṭhā. Bodhisatto pi paṇṇasālaṃ pavisitvā nisinno :

ṭhite majjhantike kāle sannisinnesu pakkhīsu
saṇat' eva brahāraññaṃ taṃ bhayaṃ paṭibhāti man ti.

Evarūpe pavivekārāmānaṃ[2] bhayakāle sabbasattānaṃ sadarathakālo yeva ayaṃ pidahitvā bodhimaṇḍābhimukho pāyāsi. Aññadā pi ca tasmiṃ[3] ṭhāne vicaranto bodhimaṇḍaṃ passati. Nisīdituṃ pan' assa cittaṃ na namitapubbaṃ. Taṃ divasaṃ pan' assa ñāṇaṃ paripākagataṃ,[4] tasmā alaṅkataṃ bodhimaṇḍaṃ disvā ārohaṇatthāya cittam uppannaṃ. So dakkhiṇadisābhāgena upagamma padakkhinaṃ katvā puratthimadisābhāge cuddasahatthaṃ pallaṅkaṃ paññāpetvā caturaṅgikaṃ viriyaṃ[5] adhiṭṭhahitvā yāva Buddho na homi na tāva ito vuṭṭhahāmī ti paṭiññaṃ katvā nisīdi. Imam[6] assa vūpakāsaṃ sandhāya "eko gaṇasmā vūpakaṭṭho vihāsī ti" vuttaṃ.

Aññen' eva tānī ti te kira sāyaṃ bodhisattassa upaṭṭhānam āgantvā paṇṇasālaṃ parivāretvā nisinnā ativikālo jāto upadhārethā ti vatvā paṇṇasālaṃ vivaritvā tam apassantā pi kuhiṃ gato kuhiṃ gato[7] ti nānubandhiṃsu. Gaṇavāse nibbiṇṇo[8] eko viharitukāmo maññe mahāpuriso Buddhabhūtaṃ yeva naṃ passissāmā ti[9] anto Jambudīpābhimukhā cārikaṃ pakkantā.

18. *Vāsūpagatassā* ti bodhimaṇḍe ekarattivāsam upagatassa. *Rahogatassā* ti rahasi gatassa. *Paṭisallīnassā* ti ekībhāvavasena nilīnassa. *Kicchan* ti dukkhaṃ. *Cavàti ca ùpapajjati cā* ti idaṃ dvayaṃ puna aparāparaṃ cutipaṭisandhiṃ sandhāya vuttaṃ. *Jarāmaraṇassā* ti

1 Si. sabbe pi me
2 B. & S. pavivekarāmānaṃ
3 Si. pi etasmiṃ
4 S. adds hoti.
5 Si. caturaṅgaviriyaṃ
6 B. idaṃ
7 B. does not repeat it.
8 B. nibbindo ; S. nibbinno
9 B. adds vatvā.

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ettha yasmā pabbajanto jiṇṇavyādhimate yeva disvā pabbajito, tasmāssa jarāmaraṇam eva upaṭṭhāti. Tenāha[1] 'jarāmaraṇassā' ti. Iti jarāmaraṇaṃ mūlaṃ katvā abhiniviṭṭhassa bhavaggato[2] otarantassa viya.

Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa bodhisattassa etad ahosi. *Yoniso manasikārā* ti upāyamanasikārā pathamanasikārā. Aniccādīni hi aniccādito va manasikaroto yoniso manasikāro nāma hoti. Ayañ ca kismiṃ nu kho sati jāti ādīni honti kismiṃ asati jāti[3] ādīni[4] na hontī ti udayabbayānupassanāvasena pavattattā tesaṃ aññataro, tasmāssa ito yoniso manasikārā iminā [5]upāyamanasikārena ahū paññāya abhisamayo ti.[6] Bodhisattassa paññāya yasmiṃ sati jarāmaraṇaṃ hoti tena jarāmaraṇakāraṇena saddhiṃ samāgamo ahosi. Kiṃ pana tan ti? Jāti. Tenāha *jātiyā kho sati jarāmaraṇaṃ hotī* ti. Yā cāyaṃ[7] jarāmaraṇassa kāraṇapariggāhikā paññā tāya saddhiṃ Bodhisattassa samāgamo ahosi ti ayaṃ pan'[8] ettha attho. Eten' upāyena sabbapadāni veditabbāni.

Nāmarūpe kho sati viññāṇan ti ettha pana saṅkhāresu sati viññāṇan ti ca avijjāya sati saṅkhārā ti ca veditabbaṃ[9] bhaveyya, tad ubhayam pi na gahitaṃ. Kasmā[10]? Avijjāsaṅkhārā hi atīto bhavo, tehi saddhiṃ ayaṃ vipassanā na ghaṭiyati. Mahāpuriso hi paccuppannavasena abhiniviṭṭho ti. Nanu ca avijjāsaṅkhārehi adiṭṭhehi na sakkā Buddhena bhavitun ti, saccaṃ na sakkā. Iminā pana te bhava-upādānataṇhā vasen' eva diṭṭhā ti. Imasmiṃ pana[11] ṭhāne vitthārato paṭiccasamuppādakathā kathetabbā.[12] Sā pan' esā Visuddhimagge kathitā va.

19. *Paccudāvattatī* ti paṭinivattati.[13] Katamaṃ pan' ettha viññāṇaṃ paccudāvattatī ti. Taṃ[14] paṭisandhiviññāṇam pi vipassanāviññāṇam[15] pi. Tattha paṭisandhiviññāṇaṃ paccayato paṭinivattati, vipassanāviññāṇam ārammaṇato. Ubhayam pi nāmarūpaṃ nātikkamati, nāmarūpato paraṃ na gacchati. Ettāvatā jāyetha vā ti ādīsu viññāṇe nāmarūpassa paccaye honte nāmarūpe ca[16] viññāṇassa paccaye honte dvīsu pi aññamaññapaccayesu hontesu ettakena jāyetha vā[17] uppajjetha vā, ito hi paraṃ kim aññaṃ[18] jāyeyya vā[19] uppajjeyya vā. Nanu etad

1 B. tenevāha
2 B. bhagavato
3 Si. & B. drop it.
4 Si. & B. drop it.
5 Si. upāyena
6 Si. & B. drop it.
7 Si. yāvajarā-
8 Si. & B. drop it.
9 Si. vattabbaṃ
10 Si. tasmā
11 B. drops it.
12 S. adds here bhaveyya.
13 B. -nivaṭṭati
14 Si. & B. drop it.
15 B. vipassanāñāṇam
16 Si. va
17 S. puts pe. after vā.
18 Si. añño kiṃ
19 See fn. 17

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eva jāyati ca[1] uppajjati cā ti. Evaṃ saddhiṃ aparāparaṃ cutipaṭisandhīhi pañcapadāni dassetvā puna tam ettāvatā ti vuttaṁ atthaṃ niyyādento[2] yad idaṃ nāmarūpapaccayā viññāṇaṃ viññaṇapaccayā nāmarūpan ti vatvā tato paraṃ anulomapaccayākāravasena viññāṇapaccayā nāmarūpamūlakam āyatiṃ pi [3]jātijarāmaraṇaṃ dassetuṃ nāmarūpapaccayā saḷāyatanan ti ādim āha. Tattha 'kevalassa dukkhakkhandhassa samudayo hotī' ti sakalassa jātijarāmaraṇasokaparidevadukkhadomanassupāyāsādibhedassa dukkharāsissa nibbatti hotī ti.[4] Iti mahāpuriso sakalassa vaṭṭadukkhassa nibbattim addasa.

Samudayo samudayo ti kho ti nibbatti nibbattī ti kho. *Pubbe*[5] *ananussutesū* ti na anussutesu assutapubbesu. Cakkhum udapādī ti ādīsu udayadassanapaññā cesā dassanaṭṭhena cakkhuṃ,[6] ñātakaraṇaṭṭhena ñāṇaṃ, pajānanaṭṭhena paññā, [7]vinibbijjhitvā paṭivijjhitvā uppannaṭṭhena vijjā, obhāsaṭṭhena āloko ti ca vuttā. Yathāha cakkhum udapādī ti dassanaṭṭhena, ñāṇaṃ udapādī ti ñātaṭṭhena, paññā udapādī ti pajānanaṭṭhena, vijjā udapādī ti paṭivedhaṭṭhena, āloko udapādī ti obhāsaṭṭhena [8]cakkhudhammo dassanaṭṭho attho, ñāṇadhammo ñātaṭṭho attho, paññādhammo pajānanaṭṭho attho, vijjādhammo paṭivedhaṭṭho attho, āloko dhammo obhāsaṭṭho attho ti. Ettakehi padehi kiṃ kathitan ti? Imasmiṃ[9] sati idaṃ hotī ti paccayasañjānanamattaṃ kathitaṃ. Athavā vīthipaṭipannā taruṇavipassanā kathitā ti.

21. *Adhigato kho myān* ti adhigato kho me ayaṃ. *Maggo* ti vipassanāmaggo. *Bodhāyā* ti catusaccabujjhanatthāya nibbānabujjhanatthāya eva vā. Api ca bujjhatī ti bodhi. Ariyamaggass' etaṃ nāmaṃ. Tadatthāyā ti pi vuttaṃ hoti. Vipassanāmagga-mūlako hi ariyamaggo ti, idāni taṃ maggaṃ niyyādento[10] yad idaṃ nāmarūpanirodhā ti ādim āha. Ettha ca viññāṇanirodho ti ādīhi paccattapadehi nibbānam eva kathitaṃ. Iti mahāpuriso sakalassa vaṭṭadukkhassa anibbattinirodham addasa.

Nirodho nirodho ti kho ti anibbatti anibbattī ti kho. *Cakkhun* ti ādīni vuttaṭṭhāne va. Idha pana sabbeh' eva etehi padehi imasmim asati idaṃ na hotī ti nirodhasañjānanamattam eva kathitaṃ. Athavā vuṭṭhānagāminī balavavipassanā kathitā ti.

22. *Aparena samayenā* ti evaṃ paccayañ ca paccayanirodhañ ca

1 See p. 84, n. 17
2 Si. S. & B. niyyātento
3 Si. drops jāti.
4 Si. & B. drop it.
5 Si. drops it.
6 Si. cakkhū; B. cakkhu
7 Si. & B. drop vi-.
8 S. cakkhum
9 Si. adds hi.
10 B. niyyātento

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viditvā tato aparabhāge. *Upādānakkhandhesū* ti upādānassa paccaya-bhūtesu khandhesu. *Udayabbayānupassī* ti tam eva paṭhamaṃ diṭṭham udayañ ca vayañ ca anupassamāno. *Vihāsī* ti [1]sikhappattaṃ vuṭṭhā-nagāminiṃ vipassanaṃ vaḍḍhento[2] vihari.[3] Idaṃ kasmā vuttaṃ? Sabbe yeva hi pūritapāramino Bodhisattā pacchimabhave puttassa jātadivase mahābhinikkhamaṇaṃ nikkhamitvā pabbajitvā padhānam anuyuñjitvā[4] bodhipallaṅkam āruhya Mārabalaṃ vidhamitvā paṭhame yāme pubbenivāsam anussaranti, dutiye yāme dibbacakkhuṃ visodh-enti,[5] tatiye yāme paccayākāraṃ sammasitvā ānāpāna catutthajjhā-nato vuṭṭhāya pañcasu khandhesu abhinivisitvā udayabbayavasena samapaññāsalakkhaṇāni disvā yāva gotrabhūñāṇavipassanaṃ[6] vaḍḍ-hetvā ariyamaggena sakalabuddhaguṇe paṭivijjhanti. Ayam pi ca mahāpuriso pūritapāramiyo.[7] So yathāvuttam eva[8] sabbam anukkamaṃ katvā pacchimayāme ānāpānacatutthajjhānato[9] vuṭṭhāya pañcasu khandhesu abhinivisitvā vuttappakāram udayabbayavipassanam ārabhi. Taṃ dassetum idaṃ vuttaṃ.

Tattha *iti rūpan* ti idaṃ rūpaṃ ettakaṃ rūpaṃ ito uddhaṃ rūpaṃ n'atthī ti ruppanasabhāvañ ceva bhūtupādāyabhedañ ca ādiṃ katvā lakkhaṇarasapaccupaṭṭhāna-padaṭṭhānavasena anavasesarūpapariggaho vutto. *Iti rūpassa samudayo* ti iminā evaṃ pariggahitassa rūpassa samudayadassanaṃ vuttaṃ. Tattha *itī* ti evaṃ samudayo hotī ti attho. Tassa vitthāro avijjāsamudayā rūpasamudayo, taṇhāsamudayā[10] rūpasamudayo, kammasamudayā rūpasamudayo, āhārasamudayā rūpa-samudayo ti nibbattilakkhaṇaṃ passanto pi rūpakkhandhassa samu-dayaṃ[11] passatī ti evaṃ veditabbo. Atthaṅgame pi avijjānirodhā rūpanirodho -pe- vipariṇāmalakkhaṇaṃ passanto pi rūpakkhandhassa nirodhaṃ passatī ti ayaṃ vitthāro.

Iti vedanā ti ādīsu pi ayaṃ vedanā ettakā[12] vedanā ito uddhaṃ vedanā n'atthi, ayaṃ saññā ime saṅkhārā idaṃ viññāṇam ettakaṃ viññāṇaṃ, ito uddhaṃ viññāṇaṃ n'atthī ti vedayitasañjānana-abhisaṃ-khāraṇavijānanasabhāvañ ceva sukhādi rūpasaññādi phassādi cakkhu-viññāṇādibhedañ ca ādiṃ katvā lakkhaṇarasapaccupaṭṭhānapadaṭṭhāna-vasena anavasesavedanāsaññāsaṅkhāraviññāṇapariggaho vutto.

1 B. sikhāppattaṃ
2 B. vahanto
3 B. & Si. viharati
4 S. anuyujjhitvā
5 Si. viharati
6 Si. -ñāṇaṃ vipassanaṃ
7 S. pāramī
8 B. & Si. drop it.
9 Si. -jhānā
10 B. drops it.
11 B. udayam ; S. udayabbayam
12 Si. ettikā

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Iti vedanāsamudayo ti ādīhi pana evaṃ pariggahitānaṃ vedanā-saññāsaṅkhāraviññāṇānaṃ samudayadassanaṃ vuttaṃ. Tatrāpi *iti* ti evaṃ samudayo hotī ti attho. Tesam pi vitthāro avijjāsamudayā vedanāsamudayo ti rūpe vuttanayen' eva veditabbo. Ayaṃ pana viseso. Tīsu khandhesu āhārasamudayā ti avatvā phassasamudayā ti vattabbaṃ, viññāṇakkhandhe nāmarūpasamudayā ti. Atthaṅgama-padam pi tesaṃ yeva vasena yojetabbaṃ. Ayam ettha saṅkhepo. Vitthāro pana udayabbayavinicchayo sabbākāraparipūro va Visuddhi-magge vutto.

Tassa pañcas' upādānakkhandhesu udayabbayānupassino viharato ti tassa Vipassissa bodhisattassa imesu rūpādīsu pañcasu upādānakkhan-dhesu samapaññāsalakkhaṇavasena udayabbayānupassino viharato yathānukkamena vaḍḍhite vipassanāñāṇe hi[1] anuppādanirodhena nirujjhamānehi āsavasaṅkhātehi kilesehi anupādāya agahetvā va cittaṃ vimucci.[2] Tad etaṃ maggakkhaṇe vimuccati nāma, phalak-khaṇe vimuttaṃ nāma, maggakkhaṇe vā vimuttañ ceva vimuccati ca phalakkhaṇe vimuttam eva. Ettāvatā va mahāpuriso sabbabandhanā vimutto[3] suriyarasmisamphuṭṭham iva padumaṃ suvikasitacittasantāno cattāri maggañāṇāni cattāri phalañāṇāni catasso paṭisambhidā catu-yoniparicchedakañāṇaṃ pañcagatiparicchedakañāṇaṃ cha asādhāraṇa-ñāṇāni sakale ca buddhaguṇe hatthagate katvā paripuṇṇasaṅkappo bodhipallaṅke nisinno va[4]

anekajātisaṃsāraṃ sandhāvissam anibbisaṃ,
gahakāraṃ gavesanto dukkhā jāti punappunaṃ.
gahakāraka diṭṭho 'si puna gehaṃ na kāhasi,
sabbā te phāsukā bhaggā gahakūṭaṃ visaṃkhitaṃ.
visaṃkhāragataṃ cittaṃ taṇhānaṃ khayam ajjhagā,[5]
ayoghanahatass' eva jalato jātavedaso
anupubbūpasantassa yathā na ñāyate gati.
evaṃ sammā vimuttānaṃ kāmabandhoghatārinaṃ,
paññāpetuṃ gati n'atthi pattānam acalaṃ sukhan ti.

Evaṃ manasikaronto [6]saradasuriyo viya puṇṇacando viya ca virocitthā ti.

Dutiyabhāṇavāra vaṇṇanā niṭṭhitā.

1 B. drops it. 2 S. vimuccati
3 Si. vippamutto 4 B. drops it.
5 B. adds ti. 6 B. sarade

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TATIYABHĀṆAVĀRA

3. 1 *Yan nūnāhaṃ dhammaṃ deseyyan* ti yadi panāhaṃ dhammaṃ[1] deseyyaṃ, ayaṃ pana vitakko kadā uppanno ti? Buddhabhūtassa aṭṭhame sattāhe, so kira Buddho hutvā sattāhaṃ bodhipallaṅke nisīdi, tato[2] uṭṭhāya[3] sattāhaṃ bodhipallaṅkam olokento aṭṭhāsi, sattāhaṃ ratanacaṅkame caṅkami, sattāhaṃ ratanagabbhe dhammaṃ viciṇanto nisīdi, sattāham Ajapālanigrodhe nisīdi, sattāhaṃ Mucalinde nisīdi, sattāhaṃ Rājāyatane nisīdi. Tato paṭṭhāya aṭṭhame sattāhe puna āgantvā Ajapālanigrodhe nisinnamattass' eva sabbabuddhānam āciṇṇa-samāciṇṇo ayañ ceva[4] vitakko[5] ito anantaro ca vitakko uppanno ti.

Tattha *adhigato* ti paṭividdho. *Dhammo* ti catusaccadhammo. *Gambhīro* ti uttānabhāvapaṭikkhepavacanam etaṃ. *Duddaso* ti gambhīrattā va duddaso dukkhena daṭṭhabbo na sakkā sukhena daṭṭhuṃ. Duddasattā va *duranubodho* dukkhena avabujjhitabbo na sakkā sukhena avabujjhituṃ. *Santo* ti nibbuto. *Paṇīto* ti anappako, idaṃ dvayaṃ lokuttaram eva sandhāya vuttaṃ. *Atakkāvacaro* ti takkena avacaritabbo ogāḷhitabbo[6] na hoti ñāṇen' eva avacaritabbo. *Nipuṇo* ti saṇho. *Paṇḍitavedanīyo* ti sammāpaṭipadaṃ paṭipannehi veditabbo. Ālayarāmā ti sattā pañcasu kāmaguṇesu ālayanti, tasmā te ālayā ti vuccanti. Aṭṭhasatataṇhāvicaritāni[7] ālayan ti tasmā ālayā ti vuccanti. Tehi ālayehi ramantī ti ālayarāmā. Ālayesu ratā ti *ālayaratā*. Ālayesu suṭṭhu muditā ti *ālayasammuditā*. Yath' eva hi susajjitaṃ pupphaphalabharitarukkhādisampannaṃ uyyānaṃ paviṭṭho rājā tāya tāya sampattiyā ramati sammudito āmodito[8] pamodito[9] hoti na ukkaṇṭhati sāyam pi nikkhamituṃ na icchati evaṃ imehi pi kāmālaya-taṇhālayehi sattā ramanti saṃsāravaṭṭe sammuditā anukkaṇṭhitā vasanti. Tena tesaṃ Bhagavā duvidham pi ālayam uyyānabhūmiṃ viya dassento ālayarāmā ti ādim āha. *Yad idan* ti nipāto. Tassa ṭhānaṃ sandhāya yam idan ti paṭiccasamuppādaṃ sandhāya yo ayan ti evam attho daṭṭhabbo. *Idappaccayatā paṭiccasamuppādo* ti imesaṃ paccayā idappaccayā. Idappaccayā eva idappaccayatā. Idappaccayatā ca sā paṭiccasamuppādo cāti idappaccayatā paṭiccasamuppādo. Saṅkhārādipaccayānam avijjādīnam etam adhivacanaṃ.

1 S. dhammā
2 B. drops it.
3 B. drops it.
4 Si. ayam eva
5 B. & Si. drop it.
6 Si. ogāhitabbo
7 S. viparitāni
8 Si. sumodito
9 B. drops it.

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Hatthavanagalla Vihāra-Vaṁsa

INTRODUCTION

Though the title of this volume is "Hatthavanagalla-Vihāravaṃsa" (History of the Monastery at Hatthavanagalla), yet its chief subject-matter is the prelude to the story of the Saint-king Sirī-Saṅghabodhi—one of the most revered names in Ceylonese tradition—whose sacrifice it was that led to the founding of the Hatthavanagalla Vihāra. The Mahāvaṃsa[1] gives in some detail accounts of the life of Sirī-Saṅghabodhi and his acts of self-renunciation and self-sacrifice which marked him as belonging to that band of Noble Ones (Āryas) whose feet are firm set on the Path to Enlightenment.

The following is the Mahāvaṃsa version of the events that had their culmination in Saṅghabodhi's practice of supreme generosity by giving his head to a peasant in return for a simple meal: "At that time three Lambakaṇṇas lived in friendship at Mahiyaṅgana: Saṅghatissa and Saṅghabodhi, the third being Goṭhakābhaya. When they were coming (to Anurādhapura) to do service to the king, a blind man who had the gift of prophecy, being by the edge of the Tissa-tank, cried out at the sound of their foot-steps: 'The ground here bears three rulers of the earth'. As Abhaya, who was walking last, heard this he asked (the meaning of the saying). The other uttered yet again (the prophecy). 'Whose race will endure?', then asked again the other, and he answered: 'That of the last.' When he had heard that he went on with the two (others). When they were come into the capital the three, being the close and trusted (counsellors) of the king, remained in the royal service about the king.

"When they together[2] had slain king Vijaya in his royal palace the two (others) consecrated Saṅghatissa, the commander of the troops, as king. Thus crowned did Saṅghatissa reign four years in stately Anurādhapura. He set up a parasol on the great Thūpa

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1 M. V., xxxvi, vv. 58ff. The Dīpa-vaṃsa makes no mention of Saṅghabodhi's renunciation or of his immolation. (xxii, 52ff.)

2 This would seem to indicate that Saṅghabodhi was party to the foul deed. Perhaps the word *ekato* in the text goes not with "they" but with "rājagehamhi." The passage then means "having put the king to death in a corner (some part) of the palace."

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and gilded it, and, moreover, the king put four gems, each worth a hundred thousand (pieces of money), in the middle of the four suns, and put upon the spire of the Thūpa a precious ring of crystal. At the festival of (consecrating) the *chatta*, the ruler of men distributed the six garments to the brotherhood (in number) forty thousand. As he (one day) when listening to the *Khandakas*[1] heard from the Thera Mahādeva, dwelling in Dāmahālaka, the *sutta* that sets forth the merit of (a gift of) rice-gruel, he, joyfully believing, distributed to the brotherhood at the four gates of the city an abundant and well-prepared gift of rice-gruel.

"From time to time the king, with the ladies of the royal household and the ministers, used to go to Pācīnadīpaka to eat *jambu*-fruits. Vexed by his coming the people dwelling in Pācīnadīpa poisoned the fruit of the *jambu*-tree from which the king was wont to eat. When he had eaten the *jambu*-fruits he died forthwith even there. And Abhaya was consecrated as king Saṅghabodhi who was charged with the (command of) the army.

"The king, who was known by the name Sirī-Saṅghabodhi, reigned two years at Anurādhapura, keeping the five precepts. In the Mahāvihāra he set up a beautiful Salāka-house. When the king heard that the people of the island were come to want by reason of a drought he himself, his heart shaken with pity, lay down on the ground in the courtyard of the Great Thūpa, forming the resolve: 'Unless I be raised up by the water that the god shall rain down I will nevermore rise up hence, even though I die here.' As the ruler of the earth lay there thus, the god poured down rain forthwith on the whole island of Laṅkā, reviving the wide earth. And even then he did not yet rise up because he was not swimming in the water. Then his counsellors closed up the pipes by which the water flowed away. And as he now swam in the water the pious king rose up. By his compassion did he in this way avert the fear of a famine in the island.

"At the news: 'Rebels are risen here and there,' the king had the rebels brought before him, but he released them again secretly; then did he send secretly for bodies of dead men, and causing terror to the people by the burning of these he did away with the fear from rebels.

"A yakkha known as Rattakkhi, who had come hither, made red

1 The sections of the *Mahā-vagga* and the *Culla-vagga* of the *Vinaya-piṭaka*.

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the eyes of the people here and there. If the people did but see one another and did but speak of the redness of the eyes they died forthwith, and the yakkha devoured them without fear.

"When the king heard of their distress he lay down with sorrowful heart alone in the chamber of fasting, keeping the eight *uposatha* vows, (and said): 'Till I have seen the yakkha I will not rise up'. By the (magic) power of his piety the yakkha came to him. To the king's (question); 'Who art thou?' he answered: 'It is I, (the yakkha).' 'Why dost thou devour my subjects? Swallow them not.' 'Give up to me then only people of one district,' said the other. And being answered: 'That is impossible', he came gradually (demanding ever less and less) to one (man) only. The (king) spoke: 'No other can I give up to thee; take thou me and devour me.' With the words: 'That is impossible' the other prayed him (at last) to give him an offering in every village. 'It is well', said the king, and over the whole island he declared that offerings be brought to the entrance of the villages, and these he gave up to him. Thus by the great man, compassionate to all beings, by the torch of the island, was the fear of pestilence brought to an end.

"The king's treasurer, the minister Goṭhakābhaya, who had become a rebel, marched from the north against the capital. Taking his water-strainer with him the king fled alone by the south gate, since he would not bring harm to others.

"A man who came, bearing his food in a basket, along that road, entreated the king again and again to eat of his food. When he, rich in compassion, had strained the water and eaten, he spoke these words, to show kindness to the other: 'I am the king, Saṅghabodhi; take thou my head and show it to Goṭhakābhaya, he will give thee much gold.'[1] This he would not do, and the king to render him service gave up the ghost even as he sat. And the other took the head to Goṭhakābhaya and he, in amazement of spirit, gave him gold and carried out the funeral rites of the king with due care.

"Thus Goṭhakābhaya, also known as Meghavaṇṇābhaya, ruled 13 years over Laṅkā."

The Mahā-vaṃsa Ṭīkā adds that Saṅghabodhi's head was cremated at a spot near Issarasamaṇa Vihāra in Anurādhapura and that a monastery was built to the south of Issarasamaṇa and named after Saṅghabodhi.[2]

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1 Compare with this HVV., chap. viii. 4ff.

2 p. 491.

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Saṅghabodhi's sacrifice made of Goṭhakābhaya a changed man. As soon as the funeral rites of the dead king and his queen—who had lost her life while looking for her husband—had been performed, with every honour due to their exalted rank, he set about making amends for his misdeeds. Chief among his expiatory acts, according to the Hatthavanagalla vihāra-vaṃsa, was the construction of a number of monuments in memory of Saṅghabodhi on sites associated in some form or other with his brief hermit-life. The most remarkable of these monuments was a two-storeyed "Vaṭṭula-ghara" (Circular Relic-chamber) on the spot of Saṅghabodhi's immolation. Curiously enough the Mahā-vaṃsa makes no mention either of the founding of the Hatthavanagalla monastery by Goṭhakābhaya or of the erection of the Relic-chamber.[1] But numerous other acts of piety are attributed to him, *e.g.* magnificent alms-giving, restoration and renewal of various vihāras and thūpas, erection of new monasteries and bestowal of generous gifts on the Saṅgha. These munificent efforts of the king to win the people's goodwill and obtain ease of conscience for himself were greatly helped by an opportunity that came his way of upholding the purity of the faith which to his subjects was the greatest possession on earth.

In the fourth year of his reign heretical monks, named Vaitulya-vādins, who had first made trouble in the reign of Vohārika-tissa (269-291 C.E.),[2] once more raised the standard of revolt, at Abhayagiri Vihāra, against the orthodox Theravādins, and carried on a vigorous campaign from Dakkhiṇagiri Vihāra under a leader called Sāgala. When reports of these dissensions reached the king he assembled, as patron of the Buddhist Church in the Island, the monks of the five chief monasteries which were the centres of the orthodox Saṅgha of Ceylon—the Mahā-vihāra, Thūpārāma, Issarasamaṇārāma, Vessagiri Vihāra and Cetiya Vihāra. After having satisfied himself, by a searching inquiry, that the Vaitulyavādins were heretical in their views he lost no time in having the books of the Vaitulya-vāda collected and burnt. And in order to teach a lesson to others, he

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1 In this passage the M.V. does not mention Hatthavanagalla at all. The scene of Saṅghabodhi's sacrifice is not given in the Mahāvaṃsa. References to it are found only in the latter half of the Mahāvaṃsa, the Cūla-vaṃsa.

2 Nikāya Saṅgraha, p. 12.

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picked out sixty of the chief offenders, branded them and expelled them from the country.[1] Thus when he died after a reign of 13 years he had earned the people's esteem in great measure.

Both Saṅghabodhi and Goṭhakābhaya belonged to the Lambakaṇṇa race. Who the Lambakaṇṇas were and why they were so called is not quite clear but that for a long time they held a place of eminence in the society of ancient Ceylon is evident from the accounts extant about them. The Mahābodhi-vaṃsa,[2] in its chronicle of the arrival of the branch of sacred Bodhi tree in Ceylon, mentions that Devānampiya-tissa, the reigning king of Anurādhapura, conferred signal ranks of honour on the eight Sākyan princes of the Maurya clan who were sent by Dhammāsoka as escort to the Theri Saṅghamittā and the Peepul branch. Among them Bodhigutta was made "Laṅkā-Jaya-mahā-lekhaka," while Sumitta was given the rank of "Jaya-mahā-lekhaka," and the insignia of these offices were bestowed on them to be held in perpetuity by them and their successors. In order that their families might continue unsullied and unbroken, Bodhigutta married—after persuading her to become a lay woman with the king's leave—a *sāmaṇeri* of the Maurya clan, Sunandā by name, who was then living with Saṅghamittā at the Hatthālhakārāma. Their descendants formed, according to tradition, the *Meheṇavara-vaṃsa* or the clan of the *Samaṇi-ghara* (the Nunnery). Several members of this clan held the sovereignty of Ceylon at various times.[3]

Sumitta married a Vidisā princess of the same *vaṃsa* as himself, Sumanā by name, who was also living at the Hatthālhakārāma but had not been ordained. Their descendants came to be designated as "Gaṇavaṃsikas," or "Lambakaṇṇas" (=Siṇhalese "Gaṇa-väsi," and "Lämiṇi.") In a Sinhalese chronicle of the 15th century, the Saddharma-ratnākara,[4] it is stated that the clan was called "Gaṇa-

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1 Nikāya Saṅgraha, p. 13. It is true, nevertheless, that the Vaitulyavādins (or Sāgaliyas as they were called after their erstwhile leader, Sāgala) led by a monk named Saṅghamitta, later won royal favour, defeating in a discussion at the Thūpārāma the Theravādins under the king's maternal uncle, Goṭhakābhaya Thera (MV. xxxvi, 113-116). Yet the king was prudent enough not to withdraw his patronage from the Theravādins.

2 P.T.S. edition, pp. 163ff.

3 See Ep. Zeyl. *passim* under these names.

4 Colombo edition, p. 206.

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vaṃsa" or "Gaṇa-vāsika-vaṃsa" because "they gradually increased in numbers and formed *gaṇas* or companies" and Lambakaṇṇas or Lāmiṇi because they continued undiminished (*alāmaka*) in the purity of descent, virtue, knowledge, good conduct, glory and majesty."

That "Lambakaṇṇa" was a family name there is no need to doubt. Some identify Sinhalese Lāmiṇi with Laja (Pāli Lajja or Lañja, Lajaka).[1] Whether there is any justification for this identification and if so what Laja means, it is difficult to say. Turnour says the word was used to designate those who wore long ear-ornaments.[2] There seems to have been a tradition in Ceylon that the Sākyans had hanging ears which were pierced to hold ornaments. In many of the images extant in Ceylon the Buddha is represented with long, pierced ears. Whether therefore the Lamabakaṇṇas were so called because of their Sākyan origin and also because members of the family showed the supposed Sākyan characteristic of long ears is only a matter of conjecture. It is possible, too, that the word Lambakaṇṇa primarily designated an office and that its use as the name of a particular clan was only secondary. Thus when Iḷanāga (93-103) went to the Tissa-tank for his ceremonial bathing, he was attended by the Lambakaṇṇas and when the latter for some unknown reason left the king he was greatly offended.[3] In later times, too, the Lambakaṇṇas seem to have had a conspicuous part in the consecration of a king. In the account given in the Mahā-vaṃsa of the consecration of Vīrapāṇḍu under the patronage of Parakkama-bāhu, we are told that among the very first arrangements made for the *abhiseka* was the sending of an order to certain chieftains—Māḷavacakkavatti, Māḷavarāyara, Thalayūrunaḍāl—to perform the *Lambakaṇṇa-dhura*.[4] This passage also proves that certain Tamil chiefs in the Pāṇḍyan country in South India had the title of Lambakaṇṇa.

Whatever was the origin and the significance of the name, the Lambakaṇṇas seem soon to have attained great power in the island.

In the reign of Iḷanāga, mentioned above, they rose in revolt and, having driven the king into exile, administered the government for 3 years.[5] Again in the reign of Iḷanāga's son, Yasalālaka-tissa (112-120), when a gate-watchman, named Subha, taking advantage of the king's love of buffoonery, had him murdered and placed

1 *Ep. Zeyl.*, I, p. 149. "*Lajjī*" ordinarily means shy, "god-fearing."
2 M.V., transl., p. 188.
3 M.V., xxxv, vv. 16ff.
4 M.V., lxxvii, vv. 25-28.
5 M.V., xxxv, vv. 16ff.

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himself on the throne, it was a Lambakaṇṇa, Vasabha by name, who killed Subha and ruled the kingdom (126-170).[1] Apart from the three Lambakaṇṇas mentioned in the HVV.—Saṅghatissa, Saṅghabodhi and Goṭhakābhaya—who reigned one after the other, in later times too, several of the Sinhalese monarchs belonged to the Lāmiṇi race. Thus Mahāsena (334-361), Siri Meghavaṇṇa (362-389), Buddhadāsa (398-426), Mahānāma (468-490), Kumāradāsa (570-579), Dāṭhāpabhuti (542), Vijaya-bāhu (1058-1114), Parakkama-bāhu I (1153-1186) and Parakkama-bāhu VI (1410-1467)—to mention only a few—were all Lambakaṇṇas and their names are filled with glory. In a sense Sirī-Saṅghabodhi was the greatest of them all, for after him practically all the succeeding sovereigns of Ceylon used the appellation Sirī-Saṅghabodhi as part of their name, in commemoration of the supreme act of generosity of the first king of that name.[2]

The scene of the main incident in our chronicle—that of Saṅghabodhi's sacrifice—is laid in Hatthavanagalla, better known in its Sinhalese form of Attanagalla. The village of Attanagalla is situated to the east of Colombo on a branch road which turns off from the Colombo-Kandy trunk road, about 22 miles from the capital. It belongs to the division of the country known as the Hēvāgam Kōrale and is beautifully placed at the confluence of two streams, the Levangama Oya and the Halgaṃ Oya, which, converging here into one rivulet, flow in a westerly direction under the name of the Attanagalu Oya. The whole district was once a thick forest with tall, spreading trees and giant creepers, as described in HVV. (vii, 15). When the spot became a place of pilgrimage and received the attention of pious and generous princes and chiefs, large areas of forest were cleared for the monasteries that were erected and probably a townlet sprang up around the sacred edifices. In later times with the disintegration of the Sinhalese government, because of foreign invasions and internal dissensions, and the consequent neglect of the Buddhist religion, the glory of Attanagalla faded. Its religious and historic monuments fell into disrepair, their valuables were plundered

1 M.V., xxxv, vv. 55ff.

2 That the title Sirī-Saṅghabodhi was used by later kings is evident by a reference to the inscriptions. The reason for this, as given above, is mentioned in the *Pārakumbā-sirita*, a panegyric on Parakkama-bāhu VI (1410-1467), the last of the great Lambakaṇṇas (verse 16).

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by marauders and brigands and once more the forest grew unmolested. Even as late as 1842 when James d'Alwis visited the place it was a stately jungle, where the eye could linger with delight on "the pillared shades" thick with dense foliage and laden with pendant fruits and flowers.[1] When he went there again a few years later, in 1866, the march of material civilisation had made great inroads into the magnificent forest and the process which had then begun of converting the area into a planting district is now almost complete. Extensive cocoanut lands, with rubber here and there, smiling paddy fields and fruitful orchards have arisen where not long ago wild beasts roamed at will. The hamlet is now a prosperous and thickly populated centre of trade. With this turn of fortune in its career the place once more draws to it on festive days pious pilgrims who wend their way to the temple that they may pay homage to the revered memory of Saṅghabodhi, whom they regard as a Bodhisatta, aspiring to supreme enlightenment.

The actual site of the religious monuments is a rock which rises from the river on its right to an eminence of about 80 feet. The rock has two terraces, the lower of which is about 20 feet from the level ground and is reached by a flight of stone steps. Here, amidst remains of various ancient buildings, one comes across the foundations—much dilapidated—of the five-storeyed building originally erected by Upatissa (x, 3) and later restored by Moggallāna with three storeys. Near it, towards the south, is a straggling structure, now renovated and occupied by monks, which probably formed part of the old monastery established there. About 35 feet higher up on the second terrace of the hill are found many granite slabs, some of them carved and others containing inscriptions which unfortunately are so defaced that they can no longer be deciphered. At the top of the terrace is the Rotunda (*Vaṭṭula Vimāna*) originally built by Goṭhakābhaya (ix, 7). It is about 160 feet in circumference and is most substantially built on a foundation of hewn granite and roofed with two storeys of flat tiles, the roofs resting on two rows of granite pillars, the pillars of the lower storey being fixed close to the octagonal wall. The thūpa, originally the work of Goṭhakābhaya (ix, 7) and subsequently restored by Parakkama (xi. 9), stands in the centre. It has been recently renovated and surmounted with a pinnacle. Round the thūpa at the four entrances are four images of the Buddha.

1 Alwis, pp. 91ff.

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A few yards away are the ruins of what was probably the Jinamandira built by Patirājadeva (xi, 10), but the images are disfigured beyond all recognition. Hard by, the pilgrim is shown various spots imtimately connected with the Saint-king's last days and hallowed by his touch. There is, for example, the rocky pool where he met the peasant (viii, 2). During the season several paddy plants appear in it periodically, the alleged descendants of a plant that sprouted from a grain of paddy picked out by Saṅghabodhi, from amongst the rice offered to him by the peasant, and thrown into the pool. Similarly a shoal of minnows (?) is pointed out whose ancestors formed part of the "curry" contained in the bag of provisions carried by the peasant—evidently not a vegetarian—and who, when they were cast into the water to test whether Saṅghabodhi's aspirations for Buddhahood would achieve fruition, wondrously sprang into life, confirming his hopes.

A few steps further away is a rock with the emblems of a head and feet engraved on it, credited by tradition with being the identical spot where Saṅghabodhi decapitated himself. The rock contains an admixture of red sandstone and the credulous believe that by scraping its surface traces of the blood that gushed forth when the head was severed can still be revealed. Lower down, two granite boulders are shown one over-hanging the other and forming a cave protected from sun and rain, as the spot where Saṅghabodhi lived as a hermit, after his escape from Anurādhapura.

A few words might now be said about the historical incidents mentioned particularly in chapter XI of the HVV. The value of the work as a historical chronicle depends chiefly upon its account of these incidents of which it forms, more or less, a contemporary record.

When Parakkama-bāhu the great died in 1186 the kingdom, which he had brought under one canopy, once more became disorganised. Kings and queens followed each other in quick succession. The Tamil marauders seeing their opportunity again overran the country. The Sinhalese chieftains, being disunited, proved themselves too weak to stem the tide of invasion and established petty principalities for themselves and their followers in different parts of the Island. Thus simultaneously there ruled the General Subha near Yāpahu, the Kṣatriya Bhuvaneka-bāhu at Govindamalaya in Rohaṇa, and the Commander Saṅkha in Gandeṇigala in Maṇimekhalā, each holding sway over a small district and protecting the people and the religion as best as they could. No leader could be found capable of uniting

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the people or strong enough to win supreme power by defeating his rivals, until Vijaya-bāhu appeared on the scene.[1]

The chronicles give us very little information about his early life. The Pujāvaliya[2] and the Mahā-vaṃsa[3] say that he was a lineal descendant of Sirī-Saṅghabodhi. The HVV (xi, 3) traces his descent to the Maurya princes who came along with the Bodhi-tree, and gives the name of his father as Vijaya-malla. There is no contradiction in this as we saw above that the Lambakaṇṇas, to which race Saṅghabodhi belonged, were a direct off-spring of the Maurya-vaṃsa. The Rājaratnākara calls him Kāliṅga Vijaya-bāhu[4] while the Dambadeṇi-asna[5] gives his name as Nāmbaṃbara Kāliṅga Vijaya-bāhu, Nāmbambara being the village of his birth. We are led to suppose, therefore, that he had some connection with the Kāliṅga race.

This supposition is strengthened by the fact that the affix Malla, found, according to the HVV., in the name of Vijaya-bāhu's father, is also found in the names of two kings who ruled at Polonnaruva, Nissaṅka Malla (1187-1196 c) and Sāhasa Malla (1200-1202 c), both of whom belonged to the Kāliṅga race. The question of Vijaya-bāhu's descent is further complicated by the statement made by his son Parakkama-bāhu in a Sinhalese poem, the Kavsiḷumiṇa, that he (Parakkama) was a scion of the Candra-vaṃsa.[6] Taking all these things into consideration, it seems reasonable to conclude, as Codrington has done,[7] that Vijaya-bāhu was connected with the Maurya-vaṃsa and the Kāliṅga-vaṃsa through his two parents and that he probably married a Pāṇḍyan princess, the issue of which marriage, Parakkama, preferred to adopt his mother's race as his own.

The Daḷadā-Pūjāvaliya[8] (a Sinhalese work on the history of the Tooth Relic written about 1400) calls Vijaya-bāhu "Paḷābatgala Vijaya-bāhu Vathimi." The Nikāya-Saṅgraha[9] has the same appellation. The meaning of this title is not known. It may be derived either from Skt. *vastu-śvāmin* or from *vṛtta-śvāmin* (director of religious observances). In the latter sense it is generally found in conjunction with the word *saṅga* (Pāli *saṅgha*), to indicate some one who had the con-

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1 M.V., lxxxi, vv. 1ff.

2 p. 37. (The Pūj. was written by the Elder Buddhaputta during the reign of Parakkama-bāhu, of Dambadeṇiya).

3 lxxxi, v. 10. 4 Upham, II, p. 94. 5 p. 21.

6 Verse 770. 7 *Ceylon Antiq. and Lit. Reg.*, vol. x, pp. 53ff.

8 p. 50. 9 p. 22.

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trol of the ecclesiastical duties and ceremonies of a monastery.[1] Whether Vijaya-bāhu was given the name because he was instrumental in drawing up a *katikāvata*[2] (or code of monastic rules) we do not know. It is worth noting, too, that Paḷābatgala (Pāli : Puṭabhattasela) with which he seems to have been connected, was a well known forest hermitage.[3]

According to the Mahāvaṃsa[4] Vijaya-bāhu succeeded in defeating all his rivals and the Tamil chieftains who had strongholds in various parts of the country. In this, we are told, he was helped by the Vannis, who evidently were the inhabitants of the districts that lay to the north of island, owing allegiance to whomsoever could hold them in check and lead them in their fights. When a semblance of peace and unity had been restored in the kingdom, Vijaya-bāhu declared himself king of all Ceylon and established his capital at Daṃbadeṇiya (Pāli. Jambuddoṇi) *circa* 1220. The city thus founded continued to be the seat of the government for about fifty years, when it became once more a village of no political importance, in which condition it remains to this day.

Vijaya-bāhu next set about devising measures to resuscitate the glories of the land and restore the purity of the national faith. The MV. mentions in detail his various acts of piety, chief of which was the removal to the Beligal rock, near his capital, of the Tooth Relic from Kotmale where it had been hidden away during the troublous times that preceded his reign.[5] He seems to have shown much affection for Attanagalla for he not only renovated the religious structures there[6] but, also according to the MV., had his remains cremated there.[7]

Vijaya-bāhu's successor was his eldest son Parakkama-bāhu, who was given the proud title of "Kalikāla-sāhitya Sarvajña Paṇḍita" (The all-knowing sage of the dark age) because of his great learning and the munificent patronage he extended to literature. The chronicles extol him as the possessor of rare virtues. The date of his accession is uncertain but it may reasonably be held that he came to the throne in 1234 and held his first coronation in 1236.[8] The

1 See *e.g. Ep. Zeyl.*, I, p. 199 f.n. 1. 2 Nik. Saṅg. p. 22.
3 See my *Pali Literature of Ceylon*, p. 214 and M.V., lxxxiv, v. 10.
4 lxxxi, vv. 10ff.
5 MV., lxxxi, vv. 33ff. 6 HVV., xi, 3.
7 MV., lxxxiv, vv. 76. 8 Codrington, *op. cit.*

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length of his reign too is in dispute, the Mahāvaṃsa giving it as 35 years and the Pūjāvaliya as 33.[1] The Pūj. is more trustworthy, being a contemporary record. He was a very popular monarch and the MV. and the HVV. relate with much enthusiasm his services to the religion and his benefactions to the priesthood.[2] Quite early in his reign he had a temple for the Tooth Relic erected in his capital but later had it removed to the place of his birth, Nämbambara also called Śrīvardhanapura.[3]

Two Tamil chieftains, Māgha and Jayabāhu, at the head of an independent government at Polonnaruva, refused allegiance to Parakkama. The king, therefore, determined to vindicate his rights. This proved to be no easy task and took several years to accomplish. But success came to him ultimately and the Tamils fled from the country leaving behind them their rich spoils which fell into the hands of the Sinhalese.[4]

Even then the peace of the land was not secure. For in the eleventh year of the king's reign a Malay or Jāvaka chieftain named Candabhānu made an attempt to invade Ceylon. The king sent his nephew Vīra-bāhu to repel the marauders and after fierce fighting Candabhānu was defeated and took to flight.[5]

The HVV. mentions that Candabhānu came from Tambalingam.[6] The Daṃbadeṇi-asna speaks of Candabhānu and a king of Tambalingam as two different individuals,[7] but the Asna, being of uncertain date and authorship, is not a reliable historical document. It is generally believed (*e.g.* in the Saddharmālaṅkāra) that the Tambaliṅgam mentioned in connection with Candabhānu is Tāmralipti (Tamluk) on the Ganges estuary.[8] This identification is evidently wrong. For it is stated in the Saddharmālaṅkāra itself and in other chronicles that Buddhism flourished in Tambaliṅgam at the time under review. But it is known that Tāmralipti was at this period in the hands of the Kuruṣkas and that Buddhism was almost extinct from the district. The Pūjāvaliya further states that a learned and pious monk named Dhammakitti came to Ceylon from Tambaliṅgam at the request of the king who invited him because of reports of his

1 MV., lxxxix, v. 71; Pūj., p. 51.
2 MV., lxxxii ff.; HVV., xi, 4ff.
3 MV., lxxxv.
4 MV., lxxxiii, vv. 14ff.
5 *Ibid.*, vv. 36ff.
6 xi, 8.
7 p. 3.
8 See Geiger's MV. transl. p. 80, fn. 4.

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holiness and wisdom.[1] The Mahāvaṃsa[2] has the same account but substitutes "Tambaraṭṭha" for "Tambaliṅgam," showing, probably, that the two places were identical. Geiger is of opinion that Tambaraṭṭha refers to a district in South India ; but if Candabhānu came from South India it is difficult to explain why he was called a Jāvaka, that word being used in Ceylon up to the present day to signify an inhabitant either of Java or at least of the Malay Archipelago.

A Sanskrit inscription belonging to a king Candabhānu was discovered some time ago in a place called Jaiya in the Malay Archipelago and published by G. Coedès in the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-orient.*[3] This inscription is dated Kaliyuga 4332 (1230 A.C.), and is therefore four years anterior to Parakkama's accession. Candabhānu is there described as belonging to the Padma- or Pañcaṇḍa-vaṃsa and is called Tāmraliṅgeśvara. Now Tāmraliṅga was the name of a district in the Malay Archipelago on the east of the Malay Peninsula, and includes Jaiya where the inscription was found *in situ.*[4] It is not unreasonable to suppose that the Candrabhānu of the inscription and the Candabhānu who invaded Ceylon were one and the same person.

A passage in the inscription runs: "Samrūpena hi Candrabhānumadanaḥ Śrīdharmarājā..." and further, "lokaprasiddhakīrtidhara Candrabhānu ti Śrīdharmarājā...". This shows that Candabhānu was also known as Śrī Dharmarājā. Now Śrī Dharmarājā was the name not of a person but of a place and was the capital of the district now known as Ligore near the Bay of Bandon.[5] This district had been colonised by emigrants from India who came there from the 5th century onwards and was at the time under review in a flourishing condition. The words *nagara Śrī Dharmarājā* would in the local dialect be *Nakhon Si Tammarat.* The authors of the Mahāvaṃsa and the other chronicles evidently turned the Malay 'Tammarat' into Pāli Tammaraṭṭha.[6]

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1 p. 43. 2 lxxxiv, vv. 9ff.

3 Tome xviii, No. 6, p. 32.

4 G. Coedès—*Le Royaume de Śrīvijaya* in B.E.F.E.D., xviii, no. 6, pp. 15ff.

5 Coedès, *loc cit.*, pp. 17ff.

6 In this connection see also "a propos de la chute de Royaume de Śrīvijaya" in *Bijdra-gen tot de taal-land-en volken-kunde van Nederlandsch Indie,*" Deel 83, p. 472.

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The Mahāvaṃsa and the HVV.[1] further state that Candabhānu called himself a Buddhist. The inscription referred to above explicitly says so and describes him as "Śrīmat-Śrīghaṇa-sāsanāgra-subhadaṃ." That Buddhism was at this time the state religion in Ligore is further proved by an inscription of the Siamese king, Rāma Khom-heng (who reigned during this period), which mentions that a forest hermitage on the west of the kingdom of Sukhodaya was dedicated to the use of a learned monk, well-versed in the Tripiṭaka, who came there from Śrī Dharmarāja-nagara.[2] The form of Buddhism prevalent in Ligore was, probably, not the Mahāyānism of Java and Cambodia but the Theravāda of Southern Asia. Else it is unlikely that Parakkama-bāhu would have invited Dhammakītti to come over to Ceylon and take up residence there.

There is reason to believe that diplomatic relations existed between Parakkamma-bāhu and Candabhānu before the latter's invasion of Ceylon. A Pāli work, the *Jinakālamālini* (Epochs in the History of Buddhism), written in Siam by a monk named Ratanapañña, in 1516 A.C. mentions that Rocarājā, king of Sukhodaya, visited Śrī Dharmarāja-nagara in the year 1800 of the Buddhist era, *i.e.* at the time Parakkama was reigning in Ceylon.[3] There the Siamese king gave Śrī Dharmarājā (*i.e.* Candabhānu) an account of a Buddha-image in Ceylon credited with the possession of miraculous powers and asked him if it could be obtained by force of arms. Śrī Dharmarājā replied that as Ceylon was guarded by four dieties, Sumanadeva, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Khattagāma, such a thing would be impossible. The story goes on to relate that ambassadors were sent to the king of Ceylon by both Rocarājā and Śrī Dharmarājā for the image and that the king of Ceylon received the royal messengers

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1 M.V., lxxxiii, v. 37; HVV., xi, 8.

2 Fournerau, *Le Siam Ancien*, I, p. 237.

3 The *Jinakālamālini* is a history of Buddhism from the earliest times to the author's life-time. It goes back to a period in the Buddha's life as Bodhisatta even earlier than that of the Jātakaṭṭhakathā. After describing the period of apprenticeship under various Buddhas and the last life of the Buddha Gotama, the earlier chapters deal with Buddhism in Ceylon, the later chapters giving a history of west Laos. The book was published by Prince Damrong in 1908 at Bangkok. Part of it appeared in the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, xxv, No. 6.

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with respect and granted them their request. This image was later taken over to Siam and became famous as the *Sīhala Paṭimā*.

What then was the reason for Candabhānu's invasion of Ceylon is not clear. But that there was an invasion is definitely stated by both the Mahāvaṃsa and the HVV. It is possible that the invasion was prompted by a desire to gain possession of the image and that Candabhānu finding force of no avail later achieved his object by more peaceful means. Probably also Parakkama's courtesy in giving over the coveted image was reciprocated by Candabhānu allowing Dammakītti to come to Ceylon at Parakkama's request.

Candabhānu's invasion was evidently not the only foreign invasion of Ceylon at this period. An inscription of Jaṭāvarman Sundarapāṇḍya dated 1299 describes him as having conquered Ceylon "like a second Rāma."

Another inscription of the same king at Cidambaram states that he obtained much tribute from the king of Ceylon and that the elephants he took with him from Ceylon were used in the Kongu war. An inscription of Jaṭāvarman Vīrapāṇḍya written in his 11th year (1264-5) mentions that he invaded Ceylon, killed one of the two reigning monarchs and returned with much booty after engraving the Pāṇḍya emblem of the double fish on Tirukkoṇamalai.[1] Neither the Mahāvaṃsa nor the HVV. has any reference to these invasions and the Ceylon king mentioned evidently refers to the Tamil king holding sway in Jaffna while Parakkama ruled the Sinhalese provinces from Dambadeṇiya.

The chronicles state that in the 33rd year of his reign Parakkamabāhu abdicated in favour of his eldest son Vijayabāhu, called the Bodhisatta because of his piety.[2] With the help of his four brothers, Bhuvaneka-bāhu, Tribhuvana-(or Tiloka-)malla, Parakkama-bāhu and Jaya-bāhu, Vijaya-bāhu completed the numerous works that his father had begun. Candabhānu once more appeared on the scene with a large army and demanded the Tooth Relic and the Bowl Relic. The king's nephew, Vīra-bāhu, was again despatched against the foe and inflicted on Candabhānu a formidable defeat. Candabhānu's ultimate fate is not known but from a passage in one of Jaṭāvarman Sundarapāṇḍya's inscriptions, where mention is made of

1 For these inscriptions see Annual Reports on Epigraphy issued by the Madras Government, No. 425 of 1907.

2 MV., lxxxvii, vv. 14ff; Pūj., p. 50.

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the fact that the king "captured the crowned head of the Jāvaka", it may be inferred that the Jāvaka refers to Candabhānu who was in the habit of making raids on South India.

The leisure won from the duties of kingship Parakkama devoted to the pursuit of learning and the practice of religion. The king was a scholar of profound erudition and gathered round him a band of learned men whose works are held in high esteem to this day. Parakkama himself was the author of a Sinhalese paraphrase of Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga,* a translation of Sāriputta's *vade mecum* on the Vinaya—the *Vinayavinicchaya*—and a Sinhalese poem, the *Kavsiḷumiṇa* considered the best Sinhalese poem extant. In his religious activities he was greatly helped by his loyal minister, Patirājadeva, to whom was entrusted, according to the HVV., the restoration of the edifices at Attanagalla and the construction of a Jinamandira there.[1] Patirājadeva himself was a man of great piety and led a life of renunciation devoting almost all his life to the cause of religion.[2] Parakkama's reign was one of peace and contentment to the land and his exemplary life, regulated by a *dinacariyā* (a routine of daily conduct) copies of which are still to be found,[3] was ungrudgingly spent in the cause of his people and the service of learning.

Inasmuch as the narrative of events in connection with the temple at Attanagalla ends with the reign of Parakkamabāhu II, it may be conjectured with sufficient justification that the HVV. was composed either during or soon after the reign of that king. The author's name is not mentioned in the book nor is it to be found elsewhere. We are told in the preamble to the HVV. that it was written at the instigation of a monk, named Anomadassi, who was Saṅgharāja or hierarch of his day. It is generally agreed that this refers to Anomadassi for whose benefit, according to the Mahāvaṃsa, Parakkamabāhu had a three-storeyed mansion with a lofty pinnacle built at the Aṭṭanagalla Vihāra.[4] Anomadassi was the author of a work on astrology, the Daivajña-kāmadhenu, and some ascribe to him also the authorship of the well-known Sinhalese Grammar, the Sidat Saṅgarā. The author of the HVV. was probably one of his pupils

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1 HVV., xi. 9ff. 2 MV., lxxxvi, vv. 3ff.

3 Published recently by D. B. Jayatilaka in the Preface to an edition of the 2nd vol. of Parakkama's paraphrase to the Visuddhimagga ed. K. Dhammaratana, Colombo, 1929.

4 MV., lxxxvi, vv. 37-39.

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ASPECTS OF MAHĀYĀNA BUDDHISM
AND
ITS RELATION TO HĪNAYĀNA

By

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On some points relating to the Maurya Administrative System

I

"*Lājavachanika*" *Mahāmātras*

In his recently published work *Asoka* (p. 52) Prof. Radhakumud Mookerjee writes, "The Jaugaḍa text of the Kaliṅga Rock Edict II mentions a class of Mahāmātras who are described as *Lājavachanikas*, i.e., those who were entitled to receive the king's messages directly and not through the royal Viceroys. Thus these Mahāmātras might be regarded as Provincial Governors, as they are given independent charge of their province." It is impossible to support this view. The passage in the Jaugaḍa text to which Prof. M. refers is as follows :—

Devānam piye hevam [ā]ha Samāpāyaṃ mahamatā l[ā]javachanik[ā] vataviyā.[1]

This is translated by Prof. M. (Ibid, p. 126) as follows :—

"His sacred Majesty thus says : At Samāpā the High Officers entitled to receive the king's messages are to be addressed as follows."

[1] The above follows the transcript in Hultzsch, *Corpus Inscr. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 116. For lāja° Senart and Bühler read laja°, a reading which is adopted by Bhandarkar and Sastri, *The Inscriptions of Aśoka* p. 88.

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Evidently Prof. M. understands *Lājavachanika* in the above to be a technical title. But phrases like *madvachanena* (or *madvachanād*) *vaktavyaḥ* are a well known idiom in the Sanskrit and Sanskritic languages, meaning that a certain person should be addressed according to the words of the speaker.[1] In the text of Aśoka's inscription quoted above, the phrase *mahamatā lājavachanikā vataviyā* evidently stands for *devānaṃpiyasa vachanena mahāmātā vataviyā* of the parallel Dhauli version (Sep. RE I and II). This last has been taken by all translators including Prof. M. to mean that the *mahāmātras* concerned should be addressed by the command of the king.[2] There is thus no justification for conjuring up a class of '*lājavachanika*' *mahāmātras* from the text of Aśoka's inscription above mentioned.

II

Rājukas

The *Rājukas* (with the variant forms *rajuka, lajuka, lajūka*) are mentioned as a class of officials in Aśoka's RE III and PE IV. The precise nature of their office has remained undetermined up to the present time. But recently some theories have been advanced on this point. According to Prof. M. (*Asoka*, pp. 53, 56) the *Rājukas* were "the ordinary Provincial Governors" differing apparently in this res-

1 Among numerous instances of this kind may be mentioned '*uchyatām asmadvachanād-vṛṣalaḥ*' '*uchyatām asmadvachanāt viśvāvasu-prabhṛtayaḥ trayo bhrātāraḥ*,' '*uchyatām madvachanāt Kālapāśiko Daṇḍapāśikaścha*' in Mudrārākṣasa, Act 1; '*madvachanāt saṃghasya pādābhivandanaṃ kṛtvā vaktavyaṃ*,' Divyāvadāna p. 431.

2 *Aśoka*, p. 120. Other instances of the use of the same idiom in Aśoka's inscriptions are—The Queen's Edict :—*Devānaṃ piyashā vachanenā savata mahāmatā vataviyā* ; Brahmagiri Rock Edict :—*(s)uvaṃṇagirīte ayaputasa mahāmātāṇaṃ cha vachan(e)na I(si)lasi mahāmātā ārogiyaṃ vataviyā.* (So also in Siddāpur Edict).

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pect from the "*Lājavachanika*" *Mahāmātras* above mentioned. His arguments (p. 133*n.*) may be thus summarized :—

(1) "*Rājuke* or *raju* is probably connected with the word *Rājā* which in Pāli might mean even a *mahāmatta, mahāmātra* and 'all those who have power of life and death.' In the Mahāvaṃsa there is even the term *Rājaka* for a king."

(2) PE IV declares the *Rājukas* to be in charge of many hundred thousands of people and invests them with certain powers of the sovereign.

The arguments do not seem to carry much conviction. As to (1) even a cursory examination of the transcript and estampage of RE III (Mansehra version) shows that the *raju* occurring therein is not a complete word, but has its final letter dropped out. Evidently it stands for the complete word *rajuko* of the Shahbazgarhi version whose grammar and language are identical with the Mansehra recension. The form *rajuko* is doubtless a variant of *rājuka* in the Girnar version, of which the nominative singular form would be *rājuke*. Thus there is no ground for holding that *rājuka* and *raju* are two alternative designations of the same office. In so far as the word *rājuka* is concerned, its etymological connection with *rājan* is extremely problematic. In Sanskrit *rājaka* may indeed be derived from *rājan* in the sense of 'a little king' or 'a petty prince' in accordance with Pāṇ. V. 3. 85. The word-form *rājako* which occurs in the Mahāvaṃsa in the sense of king, as mentioned by Prof. M., shows that the Pāli grammarians in this respect followed the rule of Sanskrit grammar. But no grammatical rule exists either in Sanskrit or in Pāli for deriving *rājuka* from *rājan*. Even if we could prove with Prof. M. a connexion between *rājan* and *rājuka*, it would not carry us very far in our appreciation of the importance of the latter office. For *rājan* in Pāli has a very wide connotation. "It is primarily an appellative (or title) of a *khattiya*, and often the two are used promiscuously. Besides it has a far wider sphere of meaning than

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we convey by any translation like 'king' or even 'sovereign' or 'prince.' We find it used as a designation of 'king' in the sense of an elected or successory (crowned) monarch, but also in the meaning of a distinguished nobleman or a local chieftain, or a prince with various attributes characterizing his position according to his special functions" (PTS Dict. s. v. *rājā*). The widely extended and indefinite connotation of the term *rājan* in Pāli is well known to Prof. M., but he apparently does not realize how this disproves his own case.

As to (2), the passages in PE IV to which Prof. M. refers and which will be quoted and commented on in the sequel, undoubtedly show that the *Rājukas* held authority over hundreds of thousands of people, and were granted wide powers of jurisdiction by the Emperor. But this passage, while showing that the *Rājukas* were judicial officers of high standing, are not sufficiently definite to warrant their identification with provincial governors. Prof. M. is aware of the difficulty in the way of acceptance of his interpretation, for he admits (p. 134 *n* ; cf. Ibid p. 56 *n.*) that the *Yutas*, the *Rājukas* and the *Prādeśikas* in RE III may have been mentioned in an ascending order, in which case the *Prādeśikas*, of course, would have a higher status than the *Rājukas*.

A very different explanation of the term *Rājukas* has been proposed by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal who takes it (JBORS, 1918, pp. 41-42; *Hindu Polity*, pp. 129-130) to mean 'Imperial High Ministers', and in fact 'a committee of the *Pariṣat*' vested with full executive authority. We propose to consider his arguments *seriatim*. "The *Prādeśikas* correspond to the *Mahāmātras* at Ujjain, Taxila, etc. In other words, they were the 'Provincials' or the Provincial Ministers. If the *Prādeśikas* were Provincial Ministers, the *Rājukas* who are more important than, and who are contrasted with, the *Prādeśikas* must be the Ministers at the seat of the Central Government." It may be conceded that the derivation of *prādeśika* from *pradeśa* is quite natural, and has the

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support of many interpreters of Aśoka's inscriptions[1]. But the authorities, while agreeing in the main on this point, have differed in their interpretation of the term. For, while Dr. F.W. Thomas derives *prādeśika* from *pradeśa* in the sense of 'report,' Kern held it to mean a provincial governor, while Hultzsch takes it in the sense of a 'high provincial officer'.[2] Even if we were to understand *pradeśa* as a territorial term, there is nothing to indicate the extent of its jurisdiction in the Maurya times. The passage in Childers' Pali Dictionary to which Mr. J. refers in this connexion and which occurs in the Vinaya Piṭaka (Vol. III, p. 47) is as follows :—

Rājāno nāma paṭhaviyā rājā pādesarājā maṇḍalikā antarbhogikā akkhadassā mahāmattā ye vā pana chejjabhejjaṃ anusāsanti.

Here the context shows that *padesa* stands for a kingdom of medium extent, and cannot mean 'the largest administrative area in a kingdom[3].' Even if we were to take *prādeśika* in the sense of 'Provincial Ministers,' there is no evidence to show that the *rājukas* were 'more important' in comparison with them. On the contrary we have to remember the possibility (to which a reference has been made above) of the terms *yutas*, *rājukas*, and *prādeśikas* being mentioned in RE III in an ascending order of importance.

"The people (*Jana*) and subjects (*Prajā*) (who were lacs and lacs) were in the charge of *Rājukas* as a child is in that of a nurse—with full control. The People and Prajā denote that the whole of the people were under their rule.....Their 'going out of office' every five years also suggests that they were

1 Cf. Kern (JRAS, 1880, p. 393); F. W. Thomas (JRAS, 1915, p. 112, correcting his earlier identification with *pradestṛ* (JRAS, 1914, pp. 385-6), Hultzsch, *Corpus*, p. 5n.

2 See the references quoted in the preceding foot-note.

3 In the Visuddhimagga (PTS ed. p. 301) *padesarājā* is similarly used in the sense of a sub-king.

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of the class of High Ministers". The first part of this statement is based on a passage in PE IV which runs as follows:

Lajūkā me bahūsu pānasatasahasesu janasi āyatā

of which the natural meaning is that many hundreds of thousands of people (and not 'the people who were lacs and lacs') were subject to the jurisdiction of the *rājukas*. When Mr. J. reads into the simple references in the inscription above-mentioned to *Jana* and *Prajā* the meaning of the whole people, he is surely stretching the sense to a degree unwarranted by the text. The second part of Mr. J's statement refers to the following passage in RE III (Girnar version):

Sarvata vijite mama yutā cha rājūke cha prādeṣike cha paṃchasu paṃchasu vāsesu anusaṃyānaṃ niyātu.

Here the words *sarvata vijite mama* seem to suggest that the officers concerned were spread throughout the empire rather than that they were concentrated at the head-quarters. The conclusive evidence in favour of the view that the *Rājukas* were local officers is furnished by their juxtaposition with *Yutas* and *Prādeśikas*, for no one contends that the latter were officers of the Central Government. With reference to the interpretation put upon *anusaṃyānaṃ* by Mr. J. ('going out of office') it rests upon the authority of a passage in the late *Śukranīti*[1] which merely relates to the desirability of transferring officers. On the other hand the renderings of Bühler ('tour for official inspection'), Bhandarkar ('circuit'), and Hultzsch ('complete tour') are supported by the weight of authorities in the early Brahmanical and Buddhist literature[2]. Recently a Pāli passage with the verbal form of *anusaṃyāna* has been discovered in the Aṅguttara Nikāya (Vol. I pp. 59-60), where it signifies going out on tour into the interior of the districts for various

1 See JBORS, 1908, pp. 36-40

2 Cf. Bhandarkar, Aśoka, p. 278n.

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specified purposes[1]. Thus the argument for raising the *Rājukas* to the class of 'High Ministers' based upon their supposed going out of office every five years falls altogether to the ground.

"The technical meaning of *daṇḍa*, government, is known from the study of Hindu Politics. *Daṇḍa* and *abhihāra* will thus mean government and military operations, Peace and War. The *Rājukas* were given complete independence in matters of Government and Military undertakings—both in matters of Peace and War, Home Government and foreign relations[2]. Such powers can only be held and exercised by the imperial High Ministers." In the above the reference is to the following passage in PE IV:—

tesam ye abhihāle vā daṃḍe vā atapatiye me kaṭe

which has been taken by other scholars to mean that rewards and punishments (or otherwise, judicial investigation and punishment) have been left by the king to the jurisdiction of the *Rājukas*[3]. It is difficult to follow Mr. J. when he claims for *daṃḍa* in the foregoing passage the 'technical meaning' of punishment. In the works on 'Hindu Politics' to which he refers *daṇḍa* has the meaning of fine, punishment, army etc. *Daṇḍa* is used in the sense of army in contrast with other items such as *koṣa* (treasury), *janapada* or *rāṣṭra* (the territory) in the famous category of seven limbs of sovereignty[4]. In the well-known verse of Manu VII 65[5] *daṇḍa* in the sense of army is distinguished from *Koṣa*, *rāṣṭra* (the Home administration) as well as *sandhi* and *vigraha* (peace and war). With regard to the term *abhihāla* it is

1 See the article of Dr. B. M. Barua, *Inscriptional Excursions* in IHQ, Vol. II, No. 1, p. 128.

2 Cf. *Hindu Polity* p. 129.

3 Cf. Hultzsch, p. 124, Bhandarkar, p. 309.

4 Cf. *Svāmyamātyajanapadadurgakośadaṇḍamitra* etc. of Arthaśāstra, VIII. 1.

5 *Amātye daṇḍa ayatto daṇḍe vainayikī kriya nṛipatau kośa-rāṣṭre cha dūte sandhiviparyayau.*

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true that Sanskrit *abhihāra* has the sense of attack or assault, while Pāli *abhiharati* similarly has the alternative sense of 'censure', 'revile' or 'abuse'[1], but *abhihāla* in Pāli has the meaning of 'offering' or 'gift'[2] which admirably fits in with the sense of *daṇḍa* as punishment in the passage *abhihāle cha daṇḍe cha.* It thus follows that the *Rājukas* were certainly high judicial officers but there is nothing to indicate that they were the Imperial High Ministers. The connection of the *Rājukas* with the judicial administration is also indicated by a subsequent passage in PE IV :

Ichhitaviye hi esā kiṃti viyohālasamatā cha siya daṃḍasamatā chā.

"Scholars have taken *rājūka* as a derivation of *rajjū*, rope. But Rājū is a known Pāli form in the sense of 'ruler' 'king'. The citizens of the republican Licchavi State are called rājus, and seven kings who attacked Benaces are called *rājans* and *rājūs.* The *Rājūkas* of Aśoka thus were the rulers or Rulers-Ministers, the committee of the Parisā vested with real executive powers over the whole Empire[3]." The whole of the above is based upon a mis-statement of facts. *Rājū* in Pāli is not an independent noun-stem, but is one of the modified forms which the word *rājan* assumes in the plural case-endings. Thus we have from the noun-stem *rājan* the following forms :—

Instrumental plural	...	rājūhi, rājūbhih, (with variant forms)
Dative ,,	...	rājūnaṃ (as above)
Ablative ,,	...	rājūhi, rājūbhi (as above)
Genitive ,,	...	rājūnaṃ (as above)

The passages to which Mr. J. refers in this connection are as follows :—

Jāt., vol. 1, p. 179 :—*Rājā taṃ pakkosāpetvā, 'sakkhissasi tāta sattahi rājūhi yuddhaṃ kātun' ti āha. 'Deva.....*

1 For reference see Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dict.* and *PTS Dict.* s. v.

2 See PTS Dict. s. v. 3 Cf. *Hindu Polity*, pp. 129-30.

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sakala—jambudīpe rājūhi saddhiṃ yujjhitum sakkhissāmīti'; *Ibid p. 504* :—*Tattha niccakālaṃ rajjaṃ kāretvā vasantānaṃ yeva rājūnaṃ sattasahassāni sattasatāni satta ca rājāno honti.*' In the above it will be noticed that *rājūhi* is used in the instrumental plural, while *rājūnaṃ* is in the genitive plural, both being doubtless derived from the root-word *rājan.* There is thus no room for the supposition that either the king or the citizens referred to in the above passages bore the title of *rājū.*

The truth is that the connection which Bühler suggested long ago between *Rājuka* and the *Rajjuka* of the Kurudhamma Jātaka is based upon sound philological principles. On this point we cannot do better than refer to the high authority of Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee whose note on the *Orthography of the early Brāhmī inscriptions* is reproduced at the end of this article. Once the identity of *Rājuka* and *Rajjuka* is established, we can trace the course of development of this office in the following way. In the period of small States preceding the unification of Northern India into a single Empire the *Rajjuka* was the title of a petty land-surveyor entrusted with the task of measuring the fields for Government revenue. As the Jātaka story shows, and as is indeed indicated by the full form of the title *Rajjugāhaka amacca,* 'the rope-holding officer', he used in person to measure the fields by means of a rope (*rajju*) tied to a stick which he pitched in the ground [1]. With the rise of the Magadhan Empire and the consequent expansion of the administrative machinery, the *rajjuka* was entrusted with a wide jurisdiction, and was given high judicial functions probably in addition to his older duties as revenue or settlement officer.

[1] Cf. *Hindu Revenue System* p. 54.

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III

Rāṣṭriya Puṣyagupta—Yavanarāja Tuṣāspha.

In the Junāgaḍh Rock inscription of Rudradāman in connection with the description of restoration of the famous Sudarśana lake occur the following words [1].—

..... (*s*) *y=arthe Mauryasya rājñaḥ Chandrag(u)p(ta)s-(ya) (r)āshṭriyeṇa (V)aiśyena Pushyaguptena kāritaṃ Aśokasya Mauryasya te yavanarājena Tushāsphen=ādhiṣ-ṭhāya praṇālibhir=ala(ṃ)kṛita(ṃ)*. The above was translated by Kielhorn as follows[2] :—" .....for the sake of .....ordered to be made by the Vaiśya Puṣyagupta, the Provincial Governor of the Maurya king Candragupta, adorned with conduits for Aśoka Maurya by the Yavana king Tuṣāspha while governing". The translation of Kielhorn has been generally adopted and even improved by later scholars who have sought to throw further light upon the nature of the Maurya provincial administration. Thus Prof. Beni Prasad [3] writes as follows :—" The later Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman records that Surāṣṭra or Kaṭhiāwāḍ was governed by the Vaiśya Puṣyagupta in Chandragupta's time and by the Yavana Tuṣāspa (*sic*) under Aśoka. The former Governor is designated Rāṣṭriya, while the latter is called Adhiṣṭhāya (*sic*)". According to Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar [4] the Girnar inscription of Rudradāman shows that " the province of Surāṣṭra or Kaṭhiāwāḍ was governed by Vaiśya Puṣyagupta in Candragupta's time and by the Yavana king Tuṣāspa (*sic*) when Aśoka was king ": thus it furnishes an instance of the second type of provincial governors " who were not related to the king's family ", unlike ' the *Kumāra* Viceroyalties '. In the opinion of Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri[5] the reference

1 *Ep. Ind.* VIII. No. 6 2 Ibid, p. 46
3 *The State in Ancient India*, p. 189.
4 *Asoka*, pp. 49-50
5 *Political History of Ancient India*, pp. 180-81.

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to the Yavanarāja in the Girnar inscription shows that probably "he was appointed *mukhya* of the Surāṣṭra saṃgha by Aśoka", while the use of the term Rāṣṭriya meaning probably "a sort of Imperial High Commissioner" makes it appear that "the position of Puṣyagupta in Surāṣṭra was like that of Lord Cromer in Egypt".

In considering the correctness of the above views we have first to mention that Kielhorn's rendering of the verb *adhiṣṭhāya* as 'administering' or 'governing' and of *Rāṣṭriya* in the sense of 'Governor' is based upon the connotation of the term *adhiṣṭhāna* and *svadhiṣṭhātā* applied in the same inscription to Suviśākha who was entrusted by Rudradāman with the government of the whole Ānartta and Surāṣṭra country[1]. Without denying the force of this reasoning, it seems to us not to exclude the possibility of *rāṣṭriya* being used above in its technical sense of the king's brother-in-law (who was generally the City Superintendent), and of *adhiṣṭhāya* referring to the superintendence of construction of conduits for the lake concerned. The use of *rāṣṭriya* in the sense of the king's brother-in-law is found as early as in the Śakuntalā (fifth century A.C.), while Amara (sixth century?) treated the two as synonymous terms[2]. Again the meaning of *adhiṣṭhā* as 'to direct, to preside over, superintend', is known to Sanskrit literature.[3] In this connection it may be pointed out that Prof. P.'s interpretation of *adhiṣṭhāya* as an official title is a deplorable blunder due to the oversight of the commonest rule relating to the construction of verbal forms with the termination *lyap* or *yap*. Reverting to Kielhorn's interpretation of the Girnar inscription, we have to mention that there is nothing in it to indicate whether

1 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII, p. 46*n*.

2 Cf. Śakuntalā Act VI :—kati divasānyāvayor-mitrāvasunā rāṣṭriyeṇa bhaṭṭinipādamūlam preṣitayoh ; Śrutam rāṣṭriyamukhād-yāvad-aṃgulīyakadarśanaṃ. *cf.* also Amara I, 6. 14.

3 See Apte's, *Sans.-Eng. Dict.* s. v.

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Surāṣṭra or any larger or smaller jurisdiction was entrusted to the charge of Puṣyagupta and Tuṣāspha. It may indeed be asserted that neither the etymological sense of *rāṣṭriya* nor parallel forms found elsewhere justify us in holding that he was an officer of the rank of Provincial Governor[1]. The term *rāṣṭriya* is known to Pāṇini who has a special *sūtra* IV, 2, 93 for its formation, but in his time it was evidently understood in a very wide sense so as to apply even to one who was born in a kingdom. In the Arthaśāstra we have the terms *rāṣṭrapāla* and *rāṣṭramukhya* which probably correspond to the *rāṣṭriya* of the inscription. These officers are distinguished in a number of passages[2] from the *antapāla* and the *puramukhya*. From such references it is clear that the title was meant to indicate an officer in charge of the districts in the interior of the country as distinguished from towns as well as districts on the frontier[3]. If a high status be claimed for the *rāṣṭrapāla* on the ground that he is included in the same grade as the *kumāra*, the same status should be accorded to the *antapāla* belonging to the identical grade. But neither the *antapāla* of the Arthaśāstra nor the *antamahāmātra* of Aśoka's inscription who is his equivalent has the rank of Provincial Governor. It may also be added that *raṭṭhika* in Pāli which probably corresponds to *rāṣṭriya* signifies an official of the kingdom.[4] In these circumstances it seems legitimate to conclude that the *raṣṭriya* Puṣyagupta and the Yavanarāja Tuṣāspha after his time held charge

1 We of course exclude the reference in a Maitr. Saṃ. II-I-12 where *Rāṣṭriya* used to mean 'heir' and 'pretender.'

2 Cf. Arthāśastra I. 16. *aṭavy-antapāla-pura-rāṣṭramukhyaiśca pratisaṃsargam gacchhet*; Ibid., II, 16: as above; Ibid., V. 1: *Kāntāra-vyavahite vā deśa rāṣṭrapāla mantapālam vā sthāpayitum°*; IX. 3: *rāṣṭramukhy-āntapāl-aṭavika-daṇḍopana tānām-anya tamo kopo tāhyakopaḥ.*

3 Cf. the passage quoted above from Artha. V. 1.

4 See PTS. Dict. s. v.

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of small jurisdictions falling within the limits of the neighbouring Viceroyalty at Ujjainī.

As to the argument that the title of *rājā* borne by Tuṣāspha 'probably indicates that he enjoyed a certain amount of autonomy,' Dr. Raychaudhuri himself disposes of it by pointing to the analogy of Rājā Mansingh's appointment as Subadar of Bengal under Akbar. Indeed his whole case for the alleged exceptional position held by Puṣyagupta and Tuṣāspha rests upon the authority of a passage in the Arthaśāstra[1] referring to the *Kāmboja*, the *Surāṣṭra*, the *Kṣatriya* (?) and other corporations (*saṃghas*). But can the reference in Arthaśāstra be safely taken, apart from any corroborative evidence, to reflect the conditions of the Maurya period ?[2] And does not this reference simply mean that the Surāṣṭras with other named and unnamed *saṃghas* lived by agriculture trade as well as the profesion of arms (*vārttāśastropajīvinaḥ*), or in other words that they were merely a fighting and industrial corporation ? Neither RE v nor RE XIII (with its fuller list), while mentioning the names of various autonomous tribes included within the limits of the Maurya Empire, makes the sightest reference to the Surāṣṭras. Incidentally it may be remarked that the *saṃghas* in the Arthaśāstra, as Prof. R. C. Majumdar has shown[3], had not one but several *mukhyas* at their head.

(*To be continued*)

U. N. GHOSHAL

1 Arthaśāstra, XI, 1, *Kāmboja-surāṣṭra-kṣatriya-śrenyādayo vārtāśastropajīvinaḥ.*

2 In the same context the Arthaśāstra mentions the Licchivikas the Vṛjikas, the Mallakas, the Madrakas, the Kikuras, the Kurusand, the Pāñcālas as examples of *Saṃghas.* These however, are not mentioned by Dr. R. in his description of Aśoka's Empire (*Political History*, p. 192-97), while other tribes like the Kāmbojas and the Surāṣṭras mentioned in this connection.

3 *Corporate Life*, 2nd ed. p. 104.

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The Treaty of Mangalore

The treaty signed at Mangalore on the 11th March, 1784 between Tipu and the representatives of the Madras Government concluded the second Mysore War. Some historians describing this as a "disgraceful compact" lay the entire responsibility on what they call "the perverse government of Madras." This is an echo of the dispute which raged in 1783 and 1784 between the governments of Bengal and Madras over the negotiation and conclusion of the treaty.

A fundamental principle was invoked in the quarrel. Warren Hastings, the governor general, held that the surest means of obtaining a lasting peace was to compel the enemy, by a vigorous prosecution of the war, to sue for peace.[1] The governor of Madras, Lord Macartney followed in the Carnatic War the opposite course of first approaching the enemy with terms, and thereby displaying to him his eagerness for peace. Soon after his arrival in 1781 he had jointly with Sir Eyre Coote, Sir Edward Hughes, and John Macpherson invited the Marathas and Haidar Ali to come to terms. These overtures proved abortive, and Macartney waited to grasp the first favourable opportunity of concluding a peace. While we have to admit that in principle Hastings was right and Macartney was in the wrong, it would not be fair to Macartney, considering the circumstances in which his government was placed, to lay the entire blame on him. Besides,

1 Cf. Bengal to Madras—24 March, 1783, Beng. Sec. Cons. 1, April 1783, vol. 71. p. 77, which defines the policy "which in all countries but especially in this, forms the readiest and the easiest road to peace. That policy consists in a vigorous prosecution of the war ;.....a guarded avoidance of that submission which in eagerly soliciting and courting pacific arrangements adds to the insolence, encourages the obstinacy, and justifies the perseverance of the enemy in war, and in every case gives him the plea of dictating conditions."

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the disputes over the negotiations did not arise merely from a difference of principle. The question had come up at the end of a series of quarrels between the two presidencies which had made it impossible for them to work together in harmony.

The Regulating Act of 1773 had vested the government of Bengal with certain powers of control over Madras. The governor general and council of Bengal had employed their newly acquired authority to arrogate to themselves a position which was certainly not justified by the letter of the Act. In 1780 after the outbreak of the Carnatic War they emphatically established their supremacy over the Madras government by suspending the governor, John Whitehill. The subordinate government was so far prostrated at the feet of the superintending presidency that it gave up its powers of conducting the war in favour of Sir Eyre Coote[1] who had been despatched from Bengal to save the situation in the Carnatic. The high water mark of the authority of Bengal was reached in the year following when the Supreme Council, without the participation of Madras, concluded an agreement with the nawab of Arcot by which the latter assigned to the Company the revenues of the Carnatic for the support of the war. On that occasion the superintending government sent an agent of its own to watch over the execution of the treaty[2]. The arrival of Macartney in June 1781, however, altered the situation. He was a nobleman of considerable ability and had filled several high offices in the service of the state. He had influential connections in England. Besides, he was not a covenanted servant of the Company, and his appointment was a departure from the usual practice. In short, he was far above in merit and rank to those who had immediately preceded him in the governorship of Madras. Naturally therefore

1 "Sir Eyre Coote and the question of Military Command in the Carnatic War."—IHQ., vol. VI, no. 2, p. 231.

2 Cambridge History of India—vol. v,—p. 291.

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the Supreme Council could not continue to enjoy a position which was not supported on a strong legal foundation. To add to this Hastings developed an unjustifiable hatred of Macartney. The struggle between the two presidencies which thus became inevitable raged throughout the years 1782 and 1783. The Madras goverment refused to obey the orders of the Supreme Council, which had suddenly changed its attitude towards the Carnatic assignment, to restore his revenues to the nawab of Arcot. It also went against the wishes of Bengal by not yielding to Coote its powers of conducting the Carnatic War. Hastings was so incensed that he meditated the suspension of the president and select committee of Madras, but not having the council on his side was unable to carry such a resolution.[1]

Under such circumstances co-operation on any matter was impossible. Yet without a spirit of friendly co-operation it was impossible to work the Regulating Act. That Act had made it necessary for Madr as to obtain the sanction of Bengal before concluding a treaty, except in the cases of imminent necessity and express orders from the Court of Directors. The Supreme Council however had no desire to allow the Madras government to negotiate. It was contemplating during the first months of 1783 the forfeiture of all the normal powers of the subordinate presidency, and had resolved to vest Sir Eyre Coote not only with sole powers of conducting the war, but also with discretionary powers to conclude a treaty with Tipu.[2]

It was at this time (February, 1783) that Macartney took the much criticised step of empowering Sambaji, a servant of the raja of Tanjore, to sound persons enjoying Tipu's confidence as to the sultan's inclinations towards peace, to try to procure some alleviation of the distress of the English

1 Bengal Secret Consultations,—15th and 20th March 1783, vol. 70.

2 "Sir Eyre Coote and the question of Military Command in the Carnatic War"—IHQ., vol. VI, no. 2. p. 241.

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prisoners, and to see if the separation of the Mysoreans from the French connection was possible.[1]

The Madras government informing Bengal of the step which they had taken prayed for powers to treat with Tipu on the terms of the Treaty of Salbai concluded some months ago with the Marathas. The ninth article of that treaty provided that the Marathas would assist the English in compelling Haidar Ali to evacuate the Carnatic, within six months of the completion of the treaty, and that both Haidar and the English should release all prisoners that they had taken in the war. The Madras government asked whether, in case it was not possible to stipulate for an entire evacuation of the Carnatic, they should allow Tipu to retain certain small posts and districts of little value.[2]

The Governor General and Council replied by a shower of reproaches.[3] Indeed the moment was in one respect a wrong one for overtures from the side of the Company. Haidar Ali had died in December, 1782, and the English attack on Mysore from the west kept Tipu engaged in Malabar. Macartney argued that Tipu's difficulties might make him willing to come to terms. But the interests of Tipu to conclude a peace could not be an argument for thus approaching him with terms. Besides the manner in which negotiations were sought to be opened with Tipu was certainly not dignified. But the Madras government had no means of sending a regular envoy to Tipu, as the Supreme Council withheld from it the power of negotiation. On the Madras proposal to allow Tipu to retain some posts in the Carnatic, the Supreme Council was most bitter. It should however be noted that the proposal found no place in the instructions to Sambaji, and that it was a mere suggestion to their superiors

1 Instructions to Sambaji—Madras Select Committee Consultation—12th Feb., 1783.—vol. 20—p. 672.

2 Madras to Bengal—18 Feb. 1783. Beng. Sec. Cons, 11 March, 1783. vol. 70.

3 Bengal to Madras—11th March 1783. Idem.

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in case a treaty was otherwise impossible. Hastings was furious, and desired the council to pass an order for the suspension of the governor and the select committee of Madras. He denied that there was any urgent necessity for peace, or that there was any order from the Directors, and declared that Madras had infringed the terms of the Maratha treaty. The majority of the council, however, was not ready for such a drastic step.[1]

That there was urgent necessity for peace, it is difficult to deny. The financial position of the Madras government was deplorable. At that time the presidency possessed little territory. Besides the Northern Circars, the Madras government only possessed small territories round Madras and Cuddalore. These latter, it had leased out to the nawab of Arcot. Moreover, the nawab had agreed to pay 4 lacs of pagodas a year for the protection given to his country by the Company's troops. The total revenues of Madras did not amount to more than 18 or 19 lacs, of which about 7½ lacs depended upon Arcot finances. But the nawab of Arcot was involved in a huge debt which made it difficult for the Company to realise their dues from him, though some of the Company's servants privately benefited from the situation. The nawab had in 1781 assigned the revenues of the Carnatic to the Company for the expences of the war. But he was trying his best to prevent the Madras government from realising anything. Besides the Supreme Council lending an ear to the complaints of the nawab had changed its attitude towards the assignment, and having made an alternative arrangement, had in January 1783 ordered Madras to restore the Carnatic revenues to him [2]. The only hope of Madras was the arrival of regular assistance from Bengal. But the Bengal finances themselves were far from satisfactory, and much reliance could not be placed by Madras on a

1 Idem 15th and 20th March, 1783, vol. 70.
2 Cambridge History of India.—vol. v. p. 392.

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government, whose every order they found themselves compelled to defy. The army was several months in arrears, and the presence of the French fleet on the Coromandel coast confronted the distressed government with the gloomy prospect of supplies of grain and provision from Bengal being cut off and the settlement left in the clutches of famine [1]. To add to all these. the dissensions between the civil and military authorities at Madras made the effective prosecution of the war difficult [2]. An early conclusion of the war therefore appeared to Madras essential. The Court of Directors was also eager for peace. On the 25th January 1782 it wrote that "...a safe and speedy peace with all Indian powers is our primary consideration. This must never be forgotten. Nor must any step be taken, but such as shall have a direct tendency to accomplish this desirable object." [3] However much therefore we may criticise Macartney's negotiations on the ground of the time and manner of their commencement, it would be difficult to deny the existence of strong palliatives.

While the presidencies were indulging in mutual recriminations, Sambaji had met Tipu's confidants and had been persuaded by them to visit the sultan, who had assured him that attention would be paid to the English prisoners, and that, provided the English agreed to reasonable terms, he would cut off all connections with the French. He had then returned to Madras accompanied by Tipu's vakil, Sreenewasa Rao [4].

Lord Macartney met the Mysore agent, but as they could not come to any agreement, the latter returned to

1 Macartneys Minute—Madras Select Committee Consultations 11th Feb., 1783. vol. 20, pp. 643-47.

2 Barrow—"Some account of the public life.....of the Earl of Macartney"—London 1807,—vol. I. p. 172.

3 Despatches to Madras.—No. 10, p. 146.

4 Macartney's Minute—Madras Sel. Com. Cons. 25th Feb., 1783, vol. 21, p. 934.

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his master for further instructions [1]. Sreenewasa Rao did not return, and the negotiations were dropped. They were revived by the Madras government when the news of the treaty of Versailles led to the cessation of hostilities between the French and the English in Inda. The 16th article of that treaty stipulated that the allies of Great Britain and France in India were to be invited to join in the pacification. In accordance with it, the English commissioners, who had been sent from Madras to Bussy, the French commander, to settle the peace, invited Tipu to cease hostilities and to release all English prisoners in his custody on parole [2].

The invitation to Tipu to cease hostilities being in accordance with the Treaty of Versailles, the consent of the Bengal government was not necessary. But as the cessation of hostilities had to be followed by a treaty, the Madras government renewed its request to Bengal for instructions as to the terms to be proposed. The Supreme Council had declared that in view of the engagement with the Marathas no separate treaty with Tipu was necessary. The Madras government, however, argued that the treaty of Salbai was in many respects incomplete. It said nothing about the conquests made by the English from Mysore, and contained no clause for the re-imbursement of the expenses incurred, or compensation for the losses sustained by the Company [3].

A few days after making this request the Madras government received Tipu's reply to the Commissioners, saying that he had ordered his forces in the Carnatic to cease hostilities, and was sending Appaji Ram and Sreenewasa Rao to Madras with a list of his demands [4]. Thereupon Madras

1 Idem 9th March, 1783, vol. 21, pp. 1085-88.

2 Commissioners to Tipu—Cuddalore. 2nd July, 1783 Beng. Sec. Cons. 18th August 1783 vol. 75, pp. 511-13.

3 Madras to Bengal—11th Aug. 1783. Idem 28th Aug. 1783. vol. 75, pp. 736 et. seq.

4 Tipu to Commissioners—24th July, 1783. Idem p. 802.

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forwarded a copy of Tipu's letter to Bengal, repeating its request for instructions [1].

To these urgent applications the Supreme Council replied, that the course of events convinced it that its determination to withhold from Madras the power of negotiating with Tipu was thoroughly justified, and declared that "the unwarrantable and disgraceful" management of the negotiations "opens an ample field for censure and reproach". In the opinion of Bengal, the Madras government had allowed Tipu to dictate the terms of the treaty, and to have proposed a cessation of hostilities to Tipu "in conjunction with or through the medium of Mr. Bussy was at once both impolitic and disgraceful..." In view of the ninth article of the treaty of Salbai the governor general and council positivly restricted Madras from making any separate treaty with Tipu, and vested it only with powers to treat for a cessation of hostilities and the release of the English prisoners. In order to obtain the release of the prisoners they were ready to cede to Tipu certain places in the Carnatic [2].

In its decision to withhold the powers of negotiation from Madras, the Bengal government was actuated by a deep distrust of the subordinate presidency. They feared that "the president and the select committee at Madras would but employ such an authority however specific or restricted as a general license and warrant for whatever conduct they might think proper to pursue..."[3]. So long as this remained the attitude of the Supreme Council the working of the Regulating Act was impossible. It is fair however, to remember that the Act gave the governor general and council very limited powers. Cases could arise in which the Supreme Council

1 Madras to Bengal—15th Aug., 1783. Idem p. 791.

2 Bengal to Madras—30th Aug. 1783. Idem 4th Sept., 1783. vol. 76, pp. 19-31.

3 Minute of the board. Idem 15th Sept., 1783. vol. 76, pp. 61-62.

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would find itself compelled to ratify against its wishes a treaty made by a subordinate presidency. We can therefore sympathise with the unwillingness of the controlling presidency to bear the reponsibility with which the Act saddled it while it lacked corresponding powers. That this was exactly the problem in the minds of the governor general and his council appears when they say : "Were we disposed to ratify what they might conclude, there will be a sufficient time for it when we know the terms on which they desire to conclude, of which they will of course advise us ; but were we directly to empower them to negotiate, we should ourselves be by implication pledged to ratify their acts or proposed engagements, if they were such as in themselves were not liable to exception ; but it may so happen that we should be thereby embarrassed in a contradictory engagement with the Marathas....."[1].

In October 1783 vakils from Tipu arrived at Madras and submitted the sultan's proposals. The Madras government felt that it was sufficiently authorised by the instructions of the Directors dated 6th March, 1783[2] to offer terms on the basis of mutual restitution of places and prisoners. But it requested the governor general and council to consent to a stipulation that in case of the English or of the sultan being at war, no assistance should be afforded by the Company or by Tipu to their respective enemies [3]. About this time the governor general received a letter from Tipu expressing his desire of entering into an alliance with the English. The Supreme Council regarded this letter together with the Directors' despatch of the 6th March, 1783 as sufficient for giving up its staunch adherence to the treaty of Salbai, and decided in favour of a separate treaty with Tipu. It expressed

1 Ibid., pp. 64-65.

2 Circular to the presidencies from Directors,—4th March, 1783, (approved 6th March), Home Miscellaneous, vol. 169, pp. 575-77.

3 Madras to Bengal—14th Oct., 1783, Beng. Sec. Cons. 10th Nov., 1783, vol. 77, pp. 320-25.

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its agreement in general with the terms offered to Tipu's vakils, but refused assent to the inclusion of the clause suggested by the Madras government.[1]

The change in the attitude of the Supreme Council towards the question was sudden. Tipu's letter to the governor general, expressing his desire for a treaty with the English had indeed removed one of the main objections to the negotiations. But the Directors' letters, referred to above, contained nothing that was new. It merely drew attention to the 16th article of the treaty of Versailles relating to a general pacification in India, on which the Madras government had already acted to the annoyance of the Supreme Council. Indeed Madras had made the receipt of the letter a plea for offering terms to Tipu's vakils without the consent of the Supreme Council, but the Directors letter contained no instruction as to terms. The true cause perhaps was that with the prospect before them of a famine in northern India [2], which had compelled them to prohibit the export of grain from Bengal, the governor general and council did not have much hope of carrying on effectively a war which, dragging on for over three years, had contributed to deplete the Bengal finances. Besides, the reliance of the Supreme Council on the 9th article of the treaty of Salbai to secure a settlement was probably weakening.[3]

1 Bengal to Madras—14th Nov., 1783. Idem 14th Nov., 1783, vol. 77 pp. 653-65.

2 Hastings to Major Scott.—15. Oct. 1783.—Gleig—"Memoirs of the life of Warren Hastings—vol. III, p. 126.

3 David Anderson, the governor general's agent with Sindhia, expressed the opinion that the Marathas were procrastinating in the matter, and recommended a separate treaty with Tipu. He argued that the claims of the Marathas against Tipu might prevent the Sultan from complying with the Treaty of Salbai, unless some engagement was directly entered into with him.

Cf. Anderson to Bengal—Gwalior 22 Oct., 1783
Beng. Sec. Cons. 10 Nov., 1783 vol. 77 pp. 393 et seq.

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The Supreme Council might have, at this time, felt tempted to take the negotiations upon themselves in the same way that it had done in the Maratha war in 1776. But its interference on that occasion had drawn upon it the censure of the Directors. The lesson was not forgotten, and the governor general asked Tipu to negotiate with the government of Fort St. George. It was known at Bengal that a deputation had been sent from Madras to Tipu, and Hastings declared that "a separate negotiation would but embarrass and impede, instead of promoting their object....." [1].

Before receiving the authorisation of Bengal, the Madras government had appointed Messrs. Sadlier and Staunton to proceed to Tipu who was encamped before Mangalore, and to enter into "such agreement for a pacification as shall be agreeable to the preliminary articles of peace concluded in Europe and to the consequent instructions of the Court of Directors"[2]. The minute in which the Madras select committee claimed justification for this step was characterised by a poignancy of tone which scarcely fails to arouse sympathy. It bewailed: "our treasury is empty, our credit exhausted, no supply of money from Bengal ;.....so little do they attend to us, and so far from helping us,...that within these few months, they have seriously desired us to give up the nabob's assignment of the revenue...Add to this that there is a famine apprehended

This arriving at the time when the subject was under discussion perhaps influenced the decision. Immediately afterwards, however, information was received at Bengal that Anderson had concluded a separate treaty with Sindhia to enforce compliance on Tipu. (Anderson to Hastings—28 Oct., 1783 Beng. Sec. Cons. 14 Nov., 1783 vol. 77 pp. 634-36). But Nana's opposition to Sindhia impeded any such scheme (Grant Duff—History of the Marathas—Cal. 1912 vol. II, p. 468)

1 Governor General to Tipu—Beng. Sec. Cons. 14 Nov., 1783 vol. 77, pp. 648-50.

2 Commission to Sadlier and Staunton—Mad. Sel. Com. Cons. 31. Oct., 1783, vol. 27, pp. 4779-80.

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in Bengal from whence we draw the greatest part of our supplies of rice and provisions, an embargo on all grains is laid on there, and our stores here are drained almost to the bottom"[1].

How far Tipu violated the truce, how the progress of the commissioners was delayed till the British garrison at Mangalore surrendered to the beseigers, whether the Commissioners were intimidated by the erection of gibbets near their tent doors, or whether they attempted escape by sea,[2] are topics which space will not permit of discussion. Moreover, though these rumours had troubled Hastings,[3] they were not points at issue in the subsequent disputes between the presidencies. No objection was made to the terms obtained by the commissioners, and no point was raised that they were derogatory to the prestige of the Company.

Suffice it to say that the Commissioners from Fort St. George entered into a treaty with Tipu at Mangalore on the 11th March, 1784. In accordance with the 10th article of

1 Minute of Consultation—Idem 8 Dec., 1783, vol. 28, pp. 5303—5305.

2 "Men's minds were irritable with defeat and the treaty became the object of a host of legends.....There is reason to think that these stories had their origin in the excitable imagination of Brigadier Macleod."

—Cambridge History of India. vol. V, pp. 288-9.

[Col. Wilk's account of the treatment of the commissioners—

"Historical sketches of the south of India in an attempt to trace the history of Mysore etc."

—London 1817 vol. II, pp. 512-13.

Story of the attempted flight of the commissioners.

—Wilk's op. cit. pp. 515-17

Those desirous of entering into the details may consult Asiatic Journal vols. V, VI, and VII.]

3 Hastings had been induced by these reports to suggest to Bengal the expediency of recalling the commissioners, unless they had already executed the treaty. (Governor general to Bengal—31 March, 1784, Beng. Sec. Cons. 13 April, 1784. vol. II, pp. 464-5).

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this agreement, the Madras government signed and sealed a copy of the treaty and sent it back to Tipu within the stipulated period of one month. The same article provided that the treaty shall be acknowledged by the governments of Bengal and Bombay as binding upon all the governments of India, and shall be sent back to Tipu in three months. There was no provision in the treaty as to the contingency of its rejection by the governor general and council. The Madras government submitted the treaty to Bengal for ratification.[1]

The Bengal council pointed out various objections to the treaty. They were mostly defects of form. The nawab of the Carnatic was not expressly mentioned as a party to the treaty, though it was negotiated to secure the peace of his dominions. There was no article to secure the Company or Muhammad Ali against the old claims of Mysore upon Trichinopoly. No reference had been made in the treaty to the Maratha peace. Besides the clause that the English were not to assist the enemies of Tipu, nor make war upon his allies, was a breach of the instructions from Bengal. However, the board did not refuse to acknowledge the treaty "because such acknowledgment is stipulated in the 10th article, because the whole treaty has been acknowledged and confirmed in form by the president and select committee of Fort. St. George, and especially because an exercise of a power which this government possesses of disavowing or revoking any treaty not concluded in conformity to their instructions, would in the present instance be productive of the greatest confusion and embarrassment to the Company's affairs"[2]. A copy of the treaty was sent to be signed by the governor general, who was then at Lucknow. Fearing that the treaty might not reach Madras in time if it waited for the governor general's signature, the Bengal council sent a copy

1 Madras to Bengal—27 March, 1784,—Beng. Sec. Cons. 13 April, 1784 vol. II, pp. 145-7.

2 Minute of the board. Idem 20 April, 1784, vol. II, pp. 237-43.

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to Madras acknowledged by itself, and promised that a copy signed by the governor general would be sent as soon as possible.

Though Hastings had no objection to the terms of the treaty, he violently condemned it on account of those defects of form which the Bengal board had pointed out. He appealed to the King and Parliament for the redress of "these unwarrantable acts" of the Madras government "as well in vindication of the powers vested by them in this government as of the faith and honour of the British nation which have been equally violated." At the same time he felt that "the peace is an object too valuable to be rejected, if it can be retained with honour". He therefore did not scruple to join in the ratification of the treaty, provided it was accompanied by a clause declaring the nawab Wallajah to be a party to it.[1]

In order to obviate the possible resentment that might be aroused among the Marathas by the absence of any reference to the treaty of Salbai, the governor general wrote to Sindhia acknowledging the peace to have been the effect of that treaty. The need of a palliative of this sort, he lamented, "displayed the nakedness of our political system and the imbecility of the first authority by which it is governed ;....."[2]. Writing to Scott, Hastings gave full vent to his hatred of Macartney: "What a man is this Lord Macartney! The wit of man could not devise such effectual instruments of a nation's ruin, as this black eagle portends to every land and state over which he casts the shadow of his wings...I yet believe that in spite of peace he will effect the loss of the Carnatic."[3]

In accordance with the wishes of the governor general

1 Hastings to Bengal—1 May, 1784 Idem 13 May, 1784 vol. II, pp. 427-36.

2 Same to same—3 May, 1784 Idem. p. 438.

3 Hastings to Scott—12 June, 1784 Gleig op. cit vol. III, pp. 186-7.

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the Bengal government sent a new copy of the treaty to Madras with a declaration annexed, to the effect that the nawab Wallajah was understood to be virtually included in the treaty, and that his name was implied wherever the term Carnatic Payenghat was used. It directed the Madras government to make "most strenuous endeavours to obtain a formal acknowledgment from Tipu of the understanding we have given to it," and declared that "should you..... either counteract, resist or disobey the orders which we have given you, you will do so at your peril, and be responsible to the nation, to the Company and this government"[1].

The Madras government sent a lengthy reply to the criticisms which the Supreme Council had made against the treaty on first receiving it. It claimed that its instructions to the commissioners were completely in conformity to those sent from Bengal. The entire evacuation of the Carnatic, and the release of the prisoners, were all that Bengal had desired. "The treaty having provided for both those objects, its conditions and arrangements must therefore be allowed to have been regulated both according to the letter and spirit of your instructions." Indeed the allies had not been specified. But the general expression "allies" comprehended all the allies. In defence of the omission of the nawab of Arcot's name, Madras pointed out that in the treaty of 1769 the nawab was not a party; neither was he a party to the treaty of Salbai, though the Carnatic was one of the objects of the treaty. Besides, in the instructions of the 14th November, 1783, "you gave no command, instruction, permission or advice to make the nawab a party to the treaty; you observe that he will of course sign to the treaty, if he be included in it and approves it; you do not even desire or recommend him to be included in it.....But the nawab is substantially and effectually included in the treaty..."

1 Bengal to Madras—8 June, 1784. Beng. Sec. Cons. 8 June, 1784; vol. II, pp. 657-60.

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The Madras government asserted that the commissioners did make the 9th article of the treaty of Salbai the basis of their negotiations, because their very first memorial to Tipu declared among other matters that the English and the Marathas expected in the first instance that the treaty should be fulfilled without any further delay. The Maratha agent at Tipu's court had therefore the satisfaction of knowing that his constituents were a material part in the negotiations. The Bengal government had remarked that if Tipu had been called upon in August last to declare for peace or the continuation of war, and had the immediate restoration of the prisoners been insisted on as a security for his pacific intentions, an honourable and advantageous peace might have been secured. Madras declared that the fault lay with the supreme government, because ".....your presidency alone could call or allow others to call upon Tipu categorically to declare for peace or war. This presidency ever since 1782 solicited your superintending board for an authority which would enable them to make that call...But you reserved your authority and lost the opportunity. This presidency was barred from any negotiation of peace or war. Yet the moment the first tho' private advices of the preliminaries of peace in Europe arrived here, we took measures for and had the good fortune to effect a cessation of hostilities with the French...We demanded the prisoners from Tipu even before the month you mention of August last, but by the fatal reserve of your authority we were confined to the simple declaration to Tipu of ceasing from hostilities whenever he should cease from hostilities on his part and evacuate the Carnatic and restore the prisoners.....not only the month of August, but those of September, October and November had elapsed before we got powers of instructions from you to make peace...you did not consent to a separate and specific treaty with Tipu notwithstanding our repeated remonstrances on the subject, till the truth and justness of those remonstrances came to you with irresistible conviction....[1]"

The new copy of the treaty with the declaratory lause annexed had been sent to Madras early in June, 1784. Towards the end of July, no reply from Madras arriving, anxiety was felt at Bengal for the fate of their orders. Accordingly a person was appointed to proceed to Madras

1 Madras to Bengal—3 June, 1784 Idem 22 June, 1784. vol. II, pp. 932-962.

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with triplicates of the Bengal orders. The Madras government was informed that James Lucy Dighton was being sent with those documents to deliver them, as the supreme government was apprehensive that the first copies had miscarried.[1] More than the mere delivery of documents was certainly intended by Dighton's appointment. Wheler, on whose proposal the agent was appointed, suggested that in case the treaty with the declaratory clause had not been forwarded to Tipu, he was to inform the supreme government of it; and wait for further instructions.[2] In the instructions that were given to him, he was ordered to transmit to the governor general and council "the fullest and most authentic information in your power relative to the proceedings of the nabob Tipu Sultan and the execution of such stipulations in the late treaty as he is bound to fulfil."[3] When the reply from Madras, refusing to communicate the additional clause to Tipu arrived, the Supreme Council resolved that "it becomes unnecessary to continue that gentleman in the charge committed to him."[4]

The Madras government was afraid that the communication of the declaratory clause would arouse in Tipu strong doubts of the intention of the English to maintain the peace and would give him a pretext for the renewal of hostilities. Macartney declared his willingness to take the risk of suspension by the governor general and council rather than "execute measures which at this minute in his judgement threaten the welfare and safety of the public."[5] The Madras select committee requested the Bengal government to reconsider their order.

The Supreme Council refused to share in the apprehensions felt at Madras as to the consequences of communicating the additional clause to Tipu. It was, however, unwilling to carry the matter further. Hastings' administration was being seriously brought into question, and his position was tottering. Under the circumstances, he had neither the inclination nor the leisure to carry on the contest. The

1 Bengal to Madras—3 Aug., 1784. Idem 3 Aug., 1784, vol. III, pp. 309-10.

2 Wheler's minute—Idem 17 July, 1784 vol. III, pp. 295-6.

3 Bengal to Dighton—3 Aug., 1784. Idem 3 Aug., 1784, vol. III, pp. 308-9.

4 Resolution of board—Idem 2 Sept., 1784 vol. III, p. 518.

5 Macartney's minute—15 July, 1784 Mad. Sel. Com. Cons. 15 July, 1784 vol. 35 pp. 2758-96.

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Bengal government ended the dispute by declaring to the subordinate presidency that "your late disobedience to our orders...has been at your peril, and that you are responsible for these acts to the Company and the nation."[1] There is good reason to believe that "had the governor general possessed confidence in the stability of his own authority, some violent measures might have resulted from these disputes."

It is not difficult to sympathise with the position of the governor general and his council. The responsibility for the well being of the whole rested upon them. Yet their powers were of such a limited character that inspite of their wishes the Madras government could legally negotiate with the enemy. At the same time it is clear that Hastings was acting with a biassed mind,[2] and that the disputes which had preceded the discussion on the negotiations had made it impossible for him to regard favourably any act of the Madras government. The position in which the subordinate presidency was placed was one of considerable difficulty. There was the question of finance. Indeed, the supreme government had, on the whole, splendidly responded to the demand for money. During the four years of the war more than 265 lakhs were remitted from Bengal to Madras.[3] But after the death of Coote not a single rupee in treasure was sent. The Madras government was increasingly thrown on the expedient of meeting its liabilities by drawing bills on Bengal, which soon began to sell at a discount of 25 or 30 per cent.[4] The army fell several months into arrears. How grave the situation had really become was demonstrated when, after the peace, the cavalry at Arnee mutinied for want of pay[5]. Under such circumstances to drag on the war was dangerous. Macartney could not get himself to be like Hastings, quite insensible to danger. Besides financial difficulties Macartney was considerably disheartened by the attitude of the military commanders towards the civil government. General Stuart, preoccupied with asserting what he considered his rights against the civil authorities, persistently counterac-

1 Bengal to Madras—2 Sept., 1784 vol. III, p. 524.
2 Cambridge History of India, vol. V, p. 289.
3 Bengal to Madras—25 May, 1784—Idem 25 May, 1784 vol. II, p. 617.
4 Ibid p. 616. Also cf. Munro—"A narrative of the military operations on the Coromandel coast etc." —London—1789 p. 376.
5 Madras to Bengal—7 May, 1784 Beng. Sec. Cons. 25 May, 1784 vol. II, pp. 598-601.

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ted the orders of the Madras government, and lost the most favourable opportunities of attacking the enemy. In short, there was reason for Macartney to desire an early termination of the war. If in his anxiety for peace he had placed less reliance than Hastings on the treaty of Salbai for effecting a settlement, events proved that he was right. Some critics of Macartney suggest that if it had not been for the negotiations, Seringapatam might have lain at Col.Fullarton's feet[1]. But it has to be remembered that Fullarton's army, in October, 1783, was twelve months in arrears, and that the manner in which the army subsisted was precarious[2]. It is true that even at such disadvantage he had taken Palghat and Coimbatore. But Seringapatam was yet a hundred miles away, and a single mistake somewhere in penetrating regions whose topography was imperfectly understood might have deprived the Madras government of their only defence on the southern front.[3] "The execution of Mahomed Ali at Mangalore and the detected conspiracy at Seringapatam" might have "induced Col. Fullarton to infer a disaffection in Tipu's army favourable to the success of his enterprise;" but it has to be admitted that "every detected conspiracy instead of weakening has a direct tendency to strengthen the hands of a despot; and exclusively of those two examples, there was certainly no sufficient ground for crediting the existence of defection, sufficient to form the ground of political action."[4]

All criticisms against the precipitate manner of Macartney's solicitations for peace lose considerably in force, when we reflect that the terms obtained in the treaty of Mangalore were not unreasonable, and were much the same as those obtained by Hastings from the Marathas.[5]

When all these are remembered, it is difficult not to see that there is another side to the picture. If in some respects the course taken by the Madras government is open to criticism, the southern presidency may on the whole be exonerated from blame on the ground that the fault lay in the situation. The Directors thanked Lord Macartney for his part in securing the peace.[6]

A. P. Das Gupta.

1 Cf. Marshman—History of India—London, 1867 vol. I, p. 409.
2 Wilks—op. cit. vol. II, p. 494.
3 Minute of the Mad. Select Com.—8 Dec., 1783 Beng. Sec. Cons. 31 Dec., 1783 vol. 78, p. 879.
4 Wilks op. cit. vol. II p. 502.
5 Cambridge History of India, vol. V, p. 288.
6 Directors to Madras—9 Dec. 1784 para 107 Madras Despatches, No. 11.

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SOME DIFFICULT VEDIC WORDS

ओकस्

This word like the Greek *Oikos* means a house. Its equivalents are स्थान, गृह and दुरोण (R. V., 5. 76. 4). Like the Greek word, it is used in certain derived senses such as relatives, friends, friendship, kingdom, heaven. Some of these senses are connected with the meaning home or a place where one is loved, a place associated with all kindly feelings, where one casts away all cares and is at ease. Home is the dearest thing on earth. Soma is dearest to Indra and so it is his ओकस्। On that account he is called तदोकस् (vide quotations 25 and 26). He makes Soma his constant resort (3) and his home is called न्योकस् (24). Soma is his favourite food, his home (6. 13. 14); Soma and ओकस् are convertible terms. Praise may be as dear as Soma. Indra and certain other gods love praise and are attracted by it (16).

Home is endeared by the presence of parents. In 9 we read how a boy given in adoption returns nevertheless to his dear home, to his dear parents.

The word also denotes friendship. ओकस् is another name for friendship (4) and in 10 the devotee prays that Indra should befriend him. That man is not a friend indeed if he be not a friend in deed (15). Here ओकस् means a friend. A friend inspires confidence. Soma says to a devotee that praises him, 'I am confident of thy friendship (23) and will never lose it'. Friends are one at heart. Hence ओकस् denotes identity, inseparableness (28—32, 34, 35). ओकस् primarily a house or a home becomes a centre of love. Anything dearly loved is ओकस्। Indra loves charity ; he is therefore दानौकस् (36).

In 1 and 5 we have the expressions ओको न रख: and ओको न रखा ; what does the word mean here ? Agni is charming like a home or one's parents, or a friend (1) ; so are gifts (5).

In 12 we have अथ स्वमोको अभि व: स्याम which probably means, then (अथ) will

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we be your own friends (ओकः). Our friendship for you, Oh Maruts, is conditional on your giving us a brave son. Or does ओकस् mean an attached devotee? Or it may mean, then alone will we be your home, i. e., we will feed you with Soma.

In 8 स्वम् ओकस् means thy own home and a cow-house.

In 20 स्वे ओकसि means, in thy own kingdom while in 21 it means, in heaven.

In 18 ओकसः means from heaven and in 19 of heaven.

ओकि and ओक्य are other forms of the word. ओकिवांसा सुते in 22 has the sense of सुते सुते न्योकसे in 24. Indra and Agni are seen to be present at every Soma-extraction. ओक्यं दिधिषन्त in 38 is like ओको दधे in 3.

In 27, 39 and 40 ओक्य means a store-house. It means a house of rest or a resort in 41.

In 44 स्वे ओक्ये means in thy own house ; but in 43 it seems to mean, in the company of his wife or in the battle-field.

In 42 the laws (व्रता) of Mitra and Varuna are साम्राज्यस्य ओक्या, i. e., the props, main-stays of their universal rule. This sense can be derived from the primary sense of a house.

Thus like the Greek word, ओकस् is found used in a variety of senses.

दुरौकं and अगिरौकसः have nothing to do with ओकस्। वच is the root in both.

(१) दाधार क्षेममोको न रण्वो यवो न पक्वो जेता जनानाम् ।
ऋषिर्न स्तुभ्वा विक्षु प्रशस्तो वाजो न प्रीतो वयो दधाति ॥ १।६६।२

जनानां जेता क्षेमं दाधार—Agni, conqueror of men (of the opposite camp), maintains the prosperity of his devotees.

वयो दधाति—Agni gives wealth.

ओकः न रण्वः—Agni is charming like one's home.

यवः न पक्वः—ripe like grain. What is meant is not intelligible.

ऋषिः न स्तुभ्वा—Agni praises the gods like a ऋषि.

विक्षु प्रशस्तः—Praised among men.

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वाजी न प्रीतः—pleased with his own mission like a warrior that is happy on account of the booty he brings.

पराशर, the composer, is fond of similes which occupy the best part of every Rik. Some of them are far-fetched.

(2) प्रति यत्स्या नीथादर्शि दस्योरोको नाच्छा सदनं जानतो गात्।
अध स्मा नो मघवन् चर्कृतादित् ·····॥१।१०४।५

न यथा काचित् गौः ओकः सदनं जानती तव गात् गच्छति एवं दस्योः दस्युकृता नीथा स्तुतिः यत् यदा हे इन्द्र त्वां प्रति गच्छन्ती अदर्शि दृश्यते (तदा वृत्तः स दस्युः धनं लभेत इत्यस्माकं भीतिर्जायते। अथ तस्मात् हे मघवन् नः अस्मान् इत् एव चर्कृतात् कुरु धनवतः न अन्यान्। अथवा तत् धनं नः अस्माकम् इत् एव चर्कृतात् कुरु।

Do not listen to the prayer of the enemy ; listen to ours. Let us have the wealth that you may intend to give him.

(3) अपाय्यस्यान्धसो मदाय मनीषिणः सुवानस्य प्रयसः।
यस्मिन्निन्द्रः प्रदिवि वाउधान ओको दधे ब्रह्मण्यन्तश्च नरः॥ २।१८।१

मनीषिणः मनीषया स्तुत्या युक्तस्य सुवानस्य सूयमानस्य अस्य अन्धसः प्रयसः मदाय इन्द्रेण अपायि। यस्मिन् सोमे वाउधानः वर्धमानः इन्द्रः प्रदिवि सदैव ओकः दधे। ब्रह्माणि कामयन्ते ते ब्रह्मण्यन्तः नरः मरुतश्च ओकः दधिरे।

अपायि—was drunk. अन्धसः—प्रयसः—सोमस्य।

सुवान—being extracted. मनीषि—accompanied by prayers.

ओकः दधे—made his home. Soma was the most familiar drink of Indra. He was at home with it.

(4) पुराणमोकः सख्यं शिवं वां युवोर्नरा द्रविणं जह्नाव्याम्।
पुनः क्षणाना सख्या शिवानि मध्वा मदेम सह नू समानाः॥ ३।५८।६

This is an old home, Oh Asvins ; we enjoy your blessed friendship. Oh Warriors ! You have bestowed (immense) wealth on Jahnavi. Renewing our happy friendship we would like to exhilarate ourselves with drink (मध्वा) in your

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company (सह—समानाः). Cf. आ जङ्घावी समनसोप वाजैस्त्रिरङ्गो भागं दधतीमयातम् (१।११६।१९) —अङ्गः त्रिः भागं दधतीं जङ्घावीं युवां समनसौ वाजैः उपायातम् ।

(5) इन्द्रं कामा वसूयन्तो अग्मन् स्वर्मील्हे न सवने चकानाः ।
अवस्यवः शशमानास उक्थैरोको न रण्वा सुदृशीव पुष्टिः । ४।१६।१५

स्वर्मील्हे संग्रामे इव सवनेऽपि चकानाः कामयमानाः वसूयन्तः वसु कामयमानाः कामाः इन्द्रम् अग्मन् अगच्छन् । उक्थैः स्तुतिभिः शशमानाः स्तुवन्तः अवः धनम् इच्छन्तः नरः इन्द्रं स्तुवन्ति । तेभ्यः इन्द्रेण दीयमाना पुष्टिः ओकः इव रण्वा सुदृशी च ।

वसूयन्तः—चकानाः = अवस्यवः ।

इव after सुदृशी is redundant as there is न ।

ओको न रण्वा । Cf. 1. 66. 2.

(6) क्व स्य वीरः को अपश्यदिन्द्रं सुखरथमीयमानं हरिभ्याम् ।
यो राया वज्री सुतसोममिच्छन् तदोको गन्ता पुरुहूत ऊती । ५।३०।१

यः पुरुहूतः वज्री सुतः सोमः येन तादृशं यजमानम् इच्छन् अन्विष्यन् तत् तस्य यजमानस्य ओकः गृहं वाजैः ऊत्या गन्ता भवति स्यः सः वीरः इन्द्रः क्व वर्तते । हरिभ्याम् ईयमानं गच्छन्तं सुखरथम् इन्द्रं कः अपश्यत् ।

वाजैः = ऊती—ऊत्या = धनेन ।

(7) इदं हि वां प्रदिवि स्थानमोक इमे गृहा अश्विनेदं दुरोणम् । ५।७६।४

प्रदिवि—on all days, at all times.

स्थानम् = ओकस् = गृहाः = दुरोणम् ।

(8) गावो न वज्रिन् स्वमोको अच्छेन्द्रा गहि प्रथमो यज्ञियानाम् । ६।४१।१

वज्रिन् हे इन्द्र यथा गावः स्वम् ओकः अच्छ गच्छन्ति तथा यज्ञियानां यज्ञः हविः तदर्हाणां देवानां प्रथमः त्वं स्वम् ओकः अच्छ मम गृहं प्रति आ गहि गच्छ ।

(9) नहि ग्रभायारणः सुशेवो अन्योदर्यो मनसा मन्तवा उ ।
अधा चिदोकः पुनरित्स एत्या नो वाज्यभीषाड़ेतु नव्यः ।७।४।८

अन्योदर्यः अरणः परकीयः पुत्रः ग्रभाय स्वकीयत्वे न ग्रहणाय न हि खलु सुशेवः । स्वकीयः अयमिति मनसा मन्तवै उ अपि मननाय अपि न सुशेवः । अध चित् पुत्र इति मानितः गृहीतः अपि सः अरणः पुनः

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इत् एव स्वं स्वकीयस्य पितुः ओकः गृहम् एति। वाजी शत्रूणाम् अभिभविता नव्यः स्तुत्यः आ एतु आगच्छतु।

सुशेवः = welcome.

ओकस्—a place of birth.

(10) त्वावतो हीन्द्र क्रत्वे अस्मि त्वावतोऽवितुः शूर रातौ।
विश्वेदहानि तविषीव उग्रँ ओकः कृणुष्व हरिवो न मर्धीः। ७।२५।४

हे इन्द्र त्वावतः त्वत्सदृशस्य तव क्रत्वे धनाय धनविभागे अस्मि। त्वावतः त्वत्सदृशस्य अवितुः दातुः रातौ धनदाने अहम् अस्मि। हे तविषीवः बलवन् हरिवः हरिवन् उग्र इन्द्र विश्वानि इत् एव अहानि अस्मासु ओकः कृणुष्व कुरु। अस्मान् मा मर्धीः मा नाशय।

क्रत्वे अस्मि = रातौ अस्मि—I am in for a gift of wealth (from thee).

ओकः कृणुष्व—make thy home (with us).

(11) इम इन्द्राय सुन्विरे सोमासो दध्याशिरः।
ताँ आ मदाय वज्रहस्त पीतये हरिभ्यां याह्योक आ। ७।३२।४

दध्याशिरः दधिमिश्रिताः इमे सोमासः सोमाः इन्द्राय सुन्विरे सुताः। हे वज्रहस्त मदाय तान् पीतये पातुं हरिभ्याम् ओकः आ अच्छ आयाहि।

The first आ should be prefixed to याहि; the second is attached to ओकः and means 'to'.

(12) अस्मे वीरो मरुतः शुष्मयन्तु जनानां यो असुरो विधर्ता।
अपो येन सुक्षितये तरेमाध स्वमोको अभि वः स्याम। ७।५६।२४

शुष्मी वीरः—a strong son.

असुरः—powerful.

जनानां विधर्ता—a supporter of men.

अपो येन सुक्षितये तरेम—who helping us, we shall cross waters, i. e., overcome difficulties for (securing) welfare. सुक्षितिः—Welfare, riches. Cf. स सुन्वे यो वसूनां यो रायामानेता य इळानाम्। सोमो यः सुक्षितीनाम्। ९।१०८।१३

अध स्वमोको अभि वः स्याम—Then shall we be your own home. We will consider you as our own. This may be the meaning.

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(13) स्वरन्ति त्वा सुते नरो वसो निरेक उक्थिनः ।
कदा सुतं तृषाण ओक आ गम इन्द्र स्वब्दीव वंसगः ॥ ८।३३।२

हे वसो वसुमन् इन्द्र उक्थिनः नरः सुते त्वां निरेके स्वरन्ति आह्वयन्ति । यथा तृषाणः तृष्यन् वंसगः सगः स्वब्दि जलाशयं गच्छति तथा हे इन्द्र तृषार्तः त्वं सुतम् ओकः कदा आगमः आगमिष्यसि ।

उक्थिनः—Singers of prayers.

सुतम् ओकः—extracted Soma is Indra's home. Indra and Soma are convertible terms.

निरेके—in one's vicinity, near ; or does it mean to the full, abundantly ?

(14) यस्य त्यत्ते महिमानं मदेष्विमे मही रोदसी नाविविक्ताम् ।
तदोक आ हरिभिरिन्द्र युक्तैः प्रियेभिर्याहि प्रियमन्नमच्छ ॥ १०।११२।४

हे इन्द्र यस्य तव मदेषु सोमपानेन जनितं त्यत् तं महिमानं मही महत्यौ रोदसी रोदस्यौ द्यावापृथिव्यौ न अविविक्तां व्याप्नुतः स त्वं युक्तैः प्रियैः हरिभिः प्रियम् अन्नम् एव ओकः तत् अच्छ आयाहि ।

त्यत् irregular for त्वं ।

अविविक्तां from व्यच् reduplicated. व्यच् to occupy. व्यच् reduplicated becomes विव्यच् । अ—विव्यच् + ताम् = अविविक्ताम् ।

(15) न स सखा यो न ददाति सख्ये सचाभुवे सचमानाय पित्वः ।
अपास्मात्प्रेयान्न तदोको अस्ति पृणन्तमन्यमरणं चिदिच्छेत् ॥ १०।११७।४

यः सचाभुवे सहभुवे सचमानाय सहभवते सख्ये पित्वः अन्नं न ददाति स खलु न सखा सखिनामार्हो भवति । अस्मात् अददतः मित्रात् अप प्र इयात् । तस्य तत् ओकः गृहम् न भवति । पृणन्तम् अन्नं ददतम् अन्यम् अरणम् अपि इच्छेत् अन्विष्येत् ।

सचाभुवे = सचमानाय = to one that is always with him and is serviceable to him.

सच्—to be serviceable, to accompany.

न स सख्या—that man deserves not the name of a friend.

न तदोको अस्ति—that is no home for him.

अरणं—a stranger.

(16) प्र नूनं ब्रह्मणस्पतिर्मन्त्रं वदत्युक्थ्यम् ।
यस्मिन्निन्द्रो वरुणो मित्रो अर्यमा देवा ओकांसि चक्रिरे ॥ १।४०।५

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The master (i. e. maker) of prayers utters prayers in which Indra and the other three gods make their home.

उक्थ्यं—उक्थसहितम् अथवा प्रशस्यम् ।

The song is so delectable that these four gods feel at home with it. It is so ravishing.

(17) नानोकांसि दुर्यो विश्वमायुर्वि तिष्ठते प्रभवः शोको अग्नेः । २।३८।५

आयुः आयुनाम्नाम् आर्याणाम् अग्निः दुर्यः गृहनिवासी विश्वं सर्वं जगत् नाना ओकांसि च वितिष्ठते व्याप्नोति। तस्य अग्नेः प्रभवः शोकः ज्वाला अपि तथा करोति।

Agni accupies all places, in fact all the world. So does his flame. Ayu was the Agni of the Aryan tribe of that name. So his flame also may be called Ayu.

(18) त्वे असुर्यं वसवो न्यृण्वन् क्रतुं हि ते मित्रमहो जुषन्त ।
त्वं दस्यूँरोकसो अग्न आज उरुज्योतिर्जनयन्नार्याय ॥ ७।५।६

The gods (वसवः) put (न्यृण्वन्) into thee (त्वे) marvellous strength (असुर्यं)। Oh thou encourager or helper of friends (मित्रमहः) ; they (the gods) enjoy (जुषन्त) offerings (क्रतुं) given by thee. Thou hast driven (आजः) the Dasyus out of our homes, thereby generating broad light (उरु ज्योतिः) for the Arya.

The Dasyu hides the sun and creates darkness. Indra kills him and restores light. Mere that act of liberation is transferred to Agni.

ते in ते जुषन्त may refer to devotees. क्रतुं in that cause would mean wealth.

(19) अनु प्रत्नस्यौकसो हुवे तुविप्रतिं नरम् ।
यं ते पूर्वे पिता हुवे ॥ १।३०।८

तुवीनां बहूनां शत्रूणां प्रतिम् अभिभवितारं प्रत्नस्य ओकसः नरम् इन्द्रम् अनु आनुकूल्याय हुवे आह्वयामि। यम् इन्द्रं ते तव पिता हे यजमान पूर्वे हुवे आह्वयत्।

प्रति means an enemy,an equal. अप्रतिः without an enemy, or an equal (5.32.3).

प्रत्नस्य ओकसः—of old Dyaus. The Maruts are called दिवो नरः। So Indra too is दिवो नरः।

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अनु—continuously or for (securing his) favour.

यं ते पूर्वं पिता हुवे is obscure.

(20) स इत्क्षेति सुधित ओकसि स्वे तस्मा इला पिन्वते विश्वदानीम् ।
तस्मै विशः स्वयमेवा नमन्ते यस्मिन् ब्रह्मा राजनि पूर्व एति ॥ ४।५०।८

He alone who being a king places the Brahman priest first i. e. gives him precedence even over himself, rules (क्षेति) firmly, being well stationed (सुधितः) in his own house i. e. his Kingdom. Corn (इला) always (विश्वदानीं) grows abundant (पिन्वते) for him. Subjects bow to him i. e. obey him of their own will.

सु well + धितः placed. धित p. p. of धा। विश्वदानीं cf. इदानीं, तदानीं।

(21) पुरु यत्त इन्द्र सन्त्युक्था गवे चकर्थोर्वरासु युध्यन् ।
ततक्षे सूर्याय चिदोकसि स्वे वृषा समत्सु दासस्य नाम चित् ॥५।३३।४

हे इन्द्र यत् ते तव पुरूणि बहूनि पुरु उक्थानि स्तुतयः सन्ति तस्य कारणं त्वं युध्यन् गवे उर्वरासु चकर्थ। सूर्याय चित् अपि स्वे ओकसि चकर्थ। वृषा इन्द्रः समत्सु युध्यन् दासस्य नाम चित् अपि ततक्षे नाशयामास।

ततक्षे ought to precede or follow वृषा।

गवे उर्वरासु चकर्थ—Indra placed cows in grazing grounds.

सूर्याय स्वे ओकसि चकर्थ—placed the Sun in his own house from which he had been ejected by the Dasa.

ततक्षे वृषा etc.—Indra erased the very name of Dasa.

(22) ओकिवांसा सुते सचाँ अश्वा सप्ती इवादने ।
इन्द्राग्नी अवसेह वज्रिणा वयं देवा हवामहे । ६।५९।३

अदने सप्ती अश्वौ इव सुते सोमे ओकिवांसौ सचा सहभूतौ वज्रिणौ देवौ इन्द्राग्नी अवसा इह आगतं वयं हवामहे आह्वयामः।

Just as two horses eat in common i. e. from the same provender, so do Indra and Agni drink in common of the same extraction. They are companions in drink.

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अवसा—with gifts of wealth.

ओकिवांसौ—ओकस्वन्तौ—having a home in common.

अदने—in a provender.

Agni is वज्रिन् through his association with Indra.

(23) यो जागार तमृचः कामयन्ते यो जागार तमु सामानि यन्ति ।
यो जागार तमयं सोम आह तवाहमस्मि सख्ये न्योकाः । ५।४४।१४

ऋक्s love him that praises ; सामन्s come to him alone. Soma says to such a one 'I am at home in thy friendship'.

जागार from गृ to praise.

One that constantly prays becomes a master craftsman in the composition of ऋक्s and सामन्s.

निहितम् ओकः येन सः—one that makes his home ; happy.

सुते सुते न्योकसे बृहद्बृहत एदरिः ।
इन्द्राय शूषमर्चति ॥ १।८।१०

सुते सुते सोमे सोमे न्योकसे इन्द्राय अरिः स्तोता बृहतः आ बृहत् शूषं स्तुतिम् अर्पयति इत् एव ।

The praiser sings to Indra who is at home at every extraction a song greater by far than the great.

न्योकस्—निहितम् ओकः येन—One that has made his home, one always present.

(25) अयं सोम इन्द्र तुभ्यं सुन्व आ तु प्र याहि हरिवस्तदोकाः ।
पिबा त्वस्य सुषुतस्य चारोर्ददो मघानि मघवन्नियानः ॥ ७।२८।१

हे इन्द्र तुभ्यम् अयं सोमः सुन्वे सूयते । हे हरिवः हरिवन् स सोमः ओकः यस्य स त्वं हरिभ्यां प्र वेगेन आयाहि । शोभनं सुतस्य अस्य सोमस्य पिब । हो मघवन् इयानः याच्यमानः मघानि धनानि ददः देहि ।

तु occurs twice and shows pressure. Do come and do drink.

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तदोकाः—Indra has made Soma his home ; cf, यस्मिन्निन्द्रः प्रदिवि वाजधान ओको दधे ॥ ९।१८।१

(26) स्तीर्णं ते बर्हिः सुत इन्द्र सोमः कृता धाना अत्तवे हरिभ्याम् ।
तदोकसे पुरुशाकाय वृष्णे मरुत्वते तुभ्यं राता हवींषि ॥ ३।३५।६

Here is a grass-seat spread out for thee, Soma juice extracted for thee, Oh Indra ! and oats are ready for thy horses to eat, Soma offerings are here offered to thee that hast made Soma thy home, that hast many gifts for thy devotees and art strong and always accompanied by the Maruts.

धाना—horse-provender.

पुरवः शाकाः यस्य तस्मै—शाक from शक. to give.

वृषन्—strong like a bull.

(27) सोममिन्द्राबृहस्पती पिबतं दाशुषो गृहे ।
मादयेथां तदोकसा ॥ ४।४८।९

तदोकसा—तदोकसौ (इन्द्राबृहस्पती) ।

मादयेथा—be jolly.

इन्द्रं सोमं पिब ऋतुना त्वा विशन्त्विन्दवः ।
मत्सरासस्तदोकसः ॥ १।१६।१

हे इन्द्र ऋतुना ऋतुनामकसोमपात्रेण सोमं पिब । मत्सराः तदोकसः इन्दवः त्वाम् आविशन्तु ।

I take ऋतु to be a drinking vessel of that name and not a season as is usually done.

मत्सरासः—exhilarating.

तदोकसः—is a meaningless epithet. The composer did not know the meaning of the word. It is an instance of senseless imitation. तदोकस् as an epithet of Indra has a meaning.

V. K. RAJVADE

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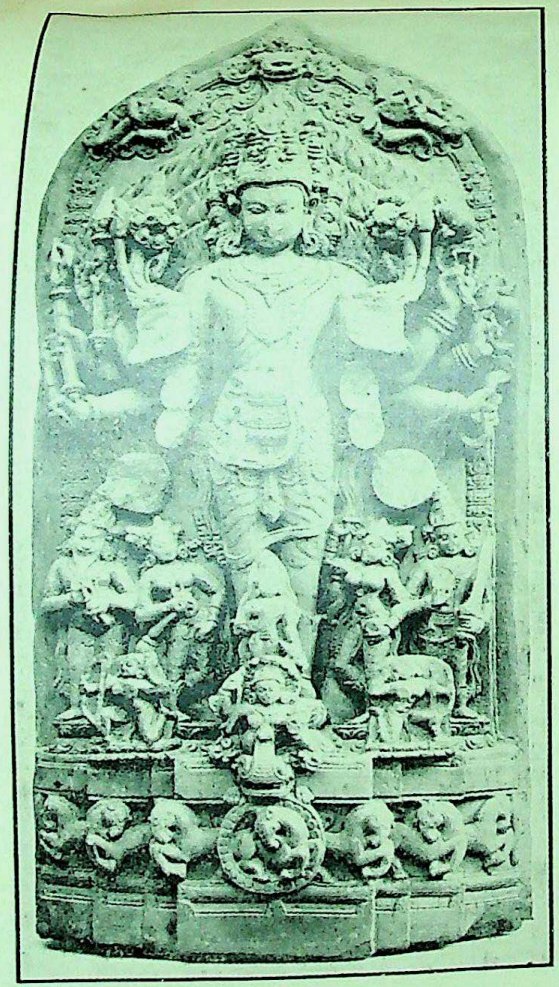
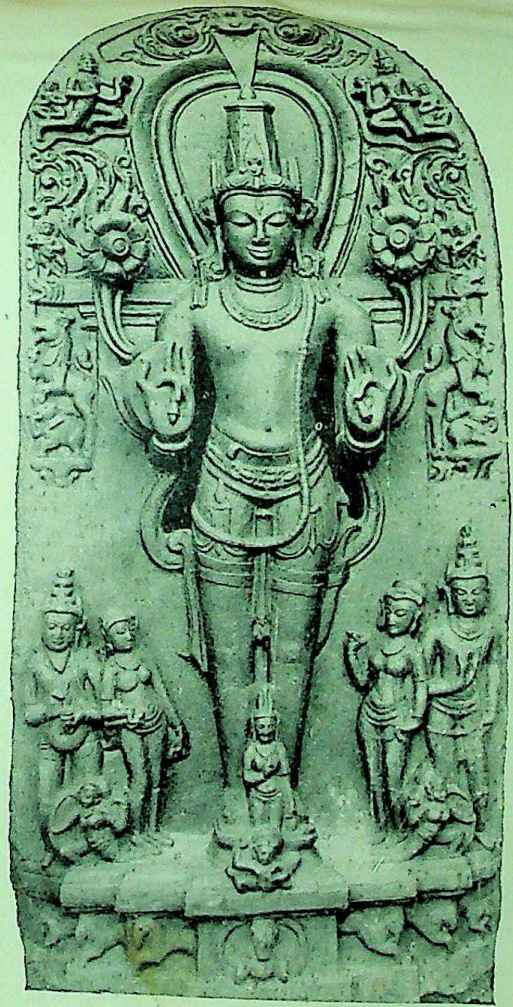


Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava, V. R. S. Museum, Rajshahi



A typical Sūrya Image V. R. S. Museum

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A New form of Sūrya from Varendra

(*Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava*)

Among the many interesting specimens of sculpture deposited in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, at Rajshahi, the attention of scholars is drawn to a unique specimen of Sūrya image recently acquired by the institution through the joint efforts of Mr. Santosh Kumar Mukherji and Mr. Rampada Chakravarti, the Society's clerk. The image comes from the interior of Varendra or North Bengal. It is a sculpture in high relief on a stone slab measuring 3 ft. × 1′ 6½″ in a fair state of preservation with some mutilations. The two fore-arms which held lotus stalks and two below them are knocked off. The face of the main figure and the crown both have undergone mutilations.

The lower portion of the image is quite compatible with the image of the Sun-god commonly met with in museums. But the middle and upper portions of the image in question exhibit some characteristics found in no other image of the Sun-god discovered before. The peculiar characteristics noticeable in this image are that it is three-faced, with Jaṭāmukuṭa and six existing arms with distinctive emblems or Praharaṇas in each. From the broken off stumps of the arms it is presumed that the image was originally ten handed. The number of arms, the variety of attributes in them and the representation of the three faces have made the type of this image a complex one. The representation of five faces, rather than the three or (assuming one uncarved at the back) four which occur in the present image, would have been in comformity with its ten hands. In its left hands the image holds a serpent (Nāgapāśa ?), a drum (Ḍamaru), a Kaumudī or Nīlotpala and a full blown lotus or Padma, and in its right hands it holds a Khaṭvāṅga, a trident, a Śakti and a full blown

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lotus or Padma. The image has a pointed nimbus with a Kīrtimukha at the top and two flying figures or Vidyādharas on two sides of it. At the back are shown three lines of flames tapering towards the top and some lines of flames are also visible in the middle. It is richly bejewelled but does not wear any breast-plate armour (Kañcuka), but a thin scarf is shown crossed over the chest. It wears elaborately carved ornaments, Kaṇṭhahāra, Karṇakuṇḍala, Śirobandha and Kaṭibandha. There is a Yajñopavīta (sacred thread) on its person. Though the face of the main figure is slightly mutilated, the pointed Tilaka is yet visible. Each of the other two faces, on the right and the left of the main figure, also wears a Jaṭāmukuṭa and has three eyes, and one of the two is shown as bearded with the whole ranges of teeth exposed. The main deity stands erect on a full-blown lotus or Padmapīṭha. A small dagger passes through the girdle and is attached to the right of the image but no sword on the left is clearly shown as noticed in other Sūrya images, although something like the hilt of a sword appears to be represented. The top of the boot is curled back. As yet I have not come across any text in which there is any mention of such shoes to be used by the Sun-god. The *Purāṇas* however give an interesting story which may lead to the discovery of the significance and origin of this footwear of Sūrya.[1]

The *Matsyapurāṇa* enjoins that in the representation of the Sun-god one should not fashion his feet. If it is done it would give the person leprosy. The *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* also

1 It is said that Surēṇu, the daughter of Viśvakarman, the divine artificer was married to Sūrya and the burning heat of the Sun became intolerable to his wife who fled to her father keeping 'Chāyā' her co-wife in attendance on Sūrya. Sūrya however went in search of her and her father Viśvakarman assured him that if he wanted to recover his wife he must subject himself to a process of transformation to get rid of the unbearable heat. Sūrya readily consented and Viśvakarman produced a beautiful form from his unsightly body by turning him on his lathe.

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directs that the body of the Sun-god should be represented down to the thighs or breast. Thus, the so-called boots may be nothing but the finished outlines of Sūrya's uncarved legs. Again, the text quoted in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* and the *Matsyapurāṇa* directs that Sūrya should be dressed in उदीचवेश or Northern fashion. This may go to explain the feet of all Sūrya figures being shod with boots or leggings like the Tibetans or the Khotanese people of the North. On either side of the image are two female figures in the 'archer' pose shooting arrows (perhaps to dispel darkness). These are Ūṣā and Pratyūṣā. On the extreme right of the image is a bearded figure holding a pen and inkstand, probably either noting the progress of the Sun or recording the good and bad deeds of the people as Vidhātā Puruṣa. He is commonly known as Piṅgala. On the left of the image stands a figure grasping the handle of a sword[1].

There are also two female figures holding whisks in their hands. These are probably two of the four consorts of the Suu-god viz., Rājñī, Sūvarṇā, Suvarcasā and Chāyā. On a Padmapīṭha in front of the main image stands goddess Earth (Pṛthivī), or, according to the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*, Mahāśvetā. In front of this again is represented the thighless (Anūru) Aruṇa with wings and raised up locks of hair like those of his brother Garuḍa, driving a hexagonal (ṣaḍasra) chariot riding on a Makara-head (the chariot of Sūrya being Makaradhvaja). The pedestal is carved with seven horses which may symbolise the seven rays of the Sun or the spectrum. Sūrya is also supposed to be the manifest form of the three Vedas and the seven rays are accordingly interpreted as the seven metres or Chandas of the Vedas.

[1] In the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*, it is stated that Sūrya began to burn the Asuras with his heat. The latter thereupon attacked Sūrya. The gods, then felt bound to help Sūrya and with this object they placed Skanda or Daṇḍa, the punisher of the wicked in the universe on the left, and Agni, who obtained the name Piṅgala, on the right.

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The seven metres are Gāyatrī, Bṛhatī, Uṣṇik, Jagatī, Paṅkti, Anuṣṭubh and Triṣṭubh (*Kūrmapurāṇa*).

The images of the Sun-god discovered before in Bengal are more or less alike in their essential features but, as noted above, this image differs from them in the number of faces, hands and in the Praharaṇas or symbols in the hands.

Two types of the Sun-god are generally described in the Sanskrit literature. According to the Dhyāna referred to in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, Sūrya is :—

पद्मासनः पद्मकरः पद्मगर्भदलद्युतिः ।
सप्ताश्वरथसंस्थश्च द्विभुजश्च सदागतिः ॥

Another type has been described in the *Viśvakarma-śilpa*. :—

एकचक्रं ससप्ताश्वं ससारथिं महारथम् ।
हस्तद्वयं पद्मधरं कञ्चुकञ्चर्म्मवत्तसम् । ?
... ...
निक्षुभा दक्षिणे पार्श्वे वामे राज्ञी प्रकीर्त्तिता ।
एकवक्त्राङ्कितो दण्डी स्कन्दस्तेजो कराम्बुजम् । ?
चतुर्बाहुर्द्विहस्तो वा ... ...
दण्डश्च पिङ्गलश्चैव द्वारपालौ च खड्गिनौ ।

The *Agnipurāṇa* records the Dhyāna of Sūrya as :—

मसीभाजनलेखन्यौ बिभ्रत् कुण्डी तु दक्षिणे ।...
बालव्यजनधारिण्यौ पार्श्वे राज्ञी च निष्प्रभा ।

In the *Matsyapurāṇa* again Sūrya has been described as

लेखनीपत्रके कार्य्ये पिङ्गलश्चातिपिङ्गलः ।
चर्म्मयूलधरो देवस्तथा यत्राद्विधीयते ।
राज्ञी सवर्णा छाया च तथा देवी सुवर्चसा ॥

So that Sūrya is generally represented as seated on a lotus having two or four hands holding lotuses moving on an one-wheeled car drawn by seven horses with male and female attendants. Some of these features we find in the image in question. But the number of faces and hands and the distinctive attributes in the latter are special features of this image and call for notice. Mārici, the Buddhist goddess of Dawn with three faces, three eyes and eight hands does indeed bear some

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analogy in its conception to this image. But the observation उमापते रवेर्व्वापि न भेदो दृश्यते क्वचित् and the Dhyāna of Śiva नमोऽस्तु पाशाङ्कुश-शूलपद्मकपालसर्पेन्दुधनुर्धराय etc. in the *Matsya-purāṇa* suggest an affinity between Śiva and Sūrya and their having some Praharaṇas or attributes in common. This may help us to identify this image.

A type of the Sun image (Mārttaṇda Bhairava ?) is described in the *Sāradātilaka* which resembles the image under review, differing mainly in the representation of ten arms and three heads in the latter instead of eight hands and four heads in the former.

The Pīṭhamantra in the *Sāradātilaka* is :—

ब्रह्म-विष्णु-शिवात्मकाय सौराय योगपीठाय नमः ।

And the Dhyāna in the same is as follows :—

हेमाम्भोजप्रवालप्रतिमनिजरुचिं चारु खट्वाङ्ग1 पद्मौ2
चक्रं3 शक्तिं4 च पाशं5 शृणि6मतिरुचिरामक्षमालां7 कपालम्8 ।
हस्ताम्भोजै र्दधानं त्रिनयनविलसद्वेदवक्त्राभिरामं
मार्त्तण्डं वल्लभाङ्गं मणिमयमुकुटं हारदीप्तं भजामः ॥

The Pīṭhamantra suggests that there may be a composite form of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Sūrya and the Dhyāna says that such images should be provided with certain attributes or Praharaṇas, viz., खट्वाङ्ग, पद्म, चक्र, शक्ति, पाश, शृणि अक्षमाला and कपाल । and that they should be four-faced (वेदवक्त्राभिराम) and three-eyed (त्रिनयन). Now, this image conforms to the above description in having खट्वाङ्ग, पद्म, शक्ति and पाश (Nāgapāśa ? in the form of a serpent or सर्पेन्दु ?). Four of the hands being broken off, it is very difficult to suggest if all or any of the other attributes चक्र, शृणि, अक्षमाला and कपाल were also exhibited befitting the symbols of Viṣṇu and Brahmā, and all the Praharaṇas of Śiva or Bhairava. As regards the वेदवक्त्र or four faces, it may be presumed that the fourth one being at the back was not carved. On the other hand, even in the absence of that face representing a particular deity, his peculiar symbols in the hands might have indicated his presence, if *all* the hands were in a state of perfect preservation. The lowermost hands,

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however, might have been in the Abhaya and Varada poses in conformity with the following Dhyāna of Sūrya :—

रक्ताब्जयुग्माभयदानहस्तं &c.

An image from Chidambaram (fig. 144, Sastri's *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*) represents a type of Sūrya with three faces probably representing Sūrya as composed of Brahmā, Maheśvara and Viṣṇu though the symbols held in the hands do not clearly indicate the same. The two front hands of this image are represented, one in Varada and the other in Abhaya pose. A composite form of Sūrya is possible for, as Sir R. G. Bhandarkar remarks, 'It may be noted also that some worship the orb of the rising Sun as Brahmā the creator, others the Sun on the meridian as Śiva, the destroyer, and some regard the setting Sun as Viṣṇu the protector.'

Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his article 'On Trimūrtis in Bundelkhand,' in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1918, p. 136, has tried to bring out the same composite character in a three-headed figure of Sūrya found in Bundelkhand. Unfortunately the hands of the image are all broken off.

The image under consideration is different however from the Chidambaram and Bundelkhand images in many details, specially in respect of the bearded and fiercely looking face of Bhairava. I am inclined to say, therefore, that it represents a type of 'Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava' according to the Dhyāna mentioned in the *Sāradātilaka* with some minor variations.

KSHITISH CHANDRA SARKAR

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The Determination of the Relative Strength of a State and the Vyasanas*

The details about the Vyasanas of some of the constituents of the statal strength have already been delineated in a tabular form, and the mode of computation of the strength of a State has also been described (IHQ., 1930, pp. 244-260). This article contains the details about the Vyasanas brought about by *force majeure* and men as also those of the army (bala) and the ally (mitra), necessary for the calculation of the relative strength of a State.

* Continued from p. 260 of the IHQ., VI, no. 2.

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IV

Which more serious ?	Answer	Acc. to whom ?	Reasons	Answer acc. to Kauṭilya	Kauṭilya's Reasons
			I. PĪḌANA (a) DAIVA-PĪḌANA.		
Fire or flood.	Fire is more serious.	The Ācāryas.	Fire cannot be checked easily, while it destroys everything. Flood can be faced and its devastations can be checked by means of boats, etc.	Flood is more serious.	Fire can devastate a particular locality, e.g., a village or half a village, while flood affects hnndreds of villages.
Disease or famine.	Disease is more serious.	The Ācāryas.	Disease stops the activities not only of the diseased in regard to the production of wealth, but also of those who attend on them during illness. Thus the State suffers. Famine does not lead to similar consequences because the State dues can be collected in cattle and gold during its continuance.	Famine is more serious.	Disease affects only a part of the country and is curable, while famine affects the whole country, destroying the means of livelihood of all living beings. Epidemic (maraka) is of the same devastating nature as famine, causing the loss of the chief officials as well as the subordinate employees of the State.
Loss of the chief officials or the subordinates.	Loss of the subordinates is more serious.	The Ācāryas.	The subordinates are concerned with the execution of the works of the State, while the chief officials direct them. The loss of the former hinders the continuance and improvement of the works of the State while the loss of the latter hinders only the initiation of new undertakings.	Loss of the chief officials is more serious.	The loss of the subordinates can be made up by the taking of recruits available in plenty; but men competent to be the chief officials and the guiding spirits of the subordinates are rare.

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(b) MĀNUṢA-PĪḌANA.

Oppression by Government servants or invasion by external enemies.	Oppression by Government servants is more serious.	The Ācāryas.	Oppression by Government servants through arbitrary exactions is difficult to be checked, while the external invasion can be met effectively by a fight, by the cession of a portion of the territory, or by a treaty of peace.	External invasion is more serious.	Oppression by Government servants may be remedied through their dismissal or death. Moreover, the oppression is usually confined to a portion of the territory, while the external invasion affects the whole dominion through loot, arson, and devastation.
Dispute between claimants to the throne or dispute among ministers.	Dispute among ministers is more serious.	The Ācāryas.	Dispute among ministers causing disunion among them offers opportunity for an external invasion, while the dispute between the claimants to the throne results in the doubling of the ministers' salaries and in the remission of taxes to the subjects (making them more attentive to the welfare of the State).	Dispute between the claimants to the throne is more serious.	Dispute among the ministers can be settled by the conciliation of their chiefs or by the removal of the cause of the dispute. Moreover, the ministers vie with one another in their effort to further the welfare of the State. But a dispute between the rival claimants to the throne obstructs the ministers in the performance of their duties. Double the energy necessary for the execution of their normal work is needed for the settlement of dispute between the rival claimants.

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Which more serious ?	Answer	Acc. to whom ?	Reasons	Answer acc. to Kauṭilya	Kauṭilya's Reasons
Subjects' addiction to pleasures or king's addiction to pleasures.	Subjects' addiction to pleasures is more serious.	The Ācāryas.	Subjects' addiction to pleasures destroys the fruits of their labours in the past, present and future, while the king's addiction to pleasures fosters the fine arts such as music, dancing, acting.	King's addiction to pleasures is more serious.	Recreations are necessary for the subjects to remove their fatigue due to labour. They interfere with the work only for a while ; if the king, however, be inordinately addicted to merriments, he has to exact money from the subjects directly to meet his expenses. He also interferes with the working of the Trade-house (paṇyāgāra).
Queen's addiction to pleasures or, prince's addiction to pleasures.	Prince's addiction to pleasures is more serious.	The Ācāryas	The prince meets his large expenses by exacting money directly or indirectly and by interfering with the working of the Trade-house, causing oppression to the people, while the queen while enjoy-the luxuries inordinately does not go far.	The queen's addiction to pleasures is more serious.	The prince can be brought round through the efforts of the ministers and the royal priest, while the queen being ill-advised and not amenable to reason is uncheckable.
The troublesome members composing a tribe (śreṇī) or the	The troublesome members composing a tribe (śreṇī) are more	The Ācāryas.	Because it is difficult to check the theft and violence committed by the members of a tribe on account of their numerical strength, while it is less difficult to control a	The troublesome chief is more serious.	The troublesome members of a tribe can be brought round easily because they are checked by their own tribesmen for the commission of theft and acts of violence

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troublesome chief of the tribe.	*serious.*		*chief who causes trouble by following his whim in helping or obstructing a work.*		within the tribe itself, and the influential members can also be won over ; while the chief supported by his followers[1] causes oppression through his attacks on the life and property of the people and is more difficult to be brought round.
An unscrupulous Sannidhātṛ or an unscrupulous Samāhartṛ	An unscrupulous Sannidhātṛ is more serious	The Ācāryas	The Sannidhātṛ may find fault with the pieces of work done for the State on the score of bad quality or time-limit, for having perquisites, while the Samāhartṛ, depending as he has to do on the Accountant, has to be satisfied with his fixed salary.	An unscrupulous Samāhartṛ is more serious.	The Sannidhātṛ has to admit into the treasury the articles passed by the experts, while the Samāhartṛ may collect money first for himself and then for the king. He may also appropriate a portion from the king's dues, as he is the head of the department for the collection of money from the people.
An undutiful Antapāla or unduly self-seeking traders.	The undutiful Antapāla is more serious.	The Ācāryas.	For an Antapāla may cause harm to the trade-route through exactions from the traders or connivance at the molestations by robbers, while the traders improve the route by adding to the income through larger export and import of merchandise.	The unduly self-seeking traders are more serious.	An Antapāla improves the trade-route through the funds derived from the duties levied on the goods collected for export or import, while the traders may conspire to effect a rise or a fall in the prices of their commodities to serve their own interest at the cost of the people.

1 'Stambha' has been taken in the 'Nayacandrikā' in the sense of arrogance ; but the sense of 'support' is more in keeping with the context.

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Which more serious ?	Answer	Acc. to whom ?	Reasons	Answer acc. to Kauṭilya	Kauṭilya's Reasons
The loss due to the want of cultivation of a tract of land under the occupation of a noble or the loss due to the want of cultivation of a tract of land owing to its use as a pasture.	The loss due to the use of a tract of land as a pasture is more serious.	The Ācārya	A tract of land occupied by a noble, though capable of yielding bumper crops, may be allowed to remain as such, because, in times of need, military help may be forthcoming from the same, while a pasture if found arable should be used for cultivation, because the cultivated land is more profitable than a pasture.	The loss due to the occupation of a tract of land by a noble is more serious.	Because a tract of land occupied by a noble, though useful in one direction, may also prove a source of trouble, as the noble with his followers may turn rebellious in times of danger, while a pasture is always helpful, yielding income and draught animals. A pasture should not be converted into a cultivated land unless the grazing cattle are found to interfere with the cultivation of adjacent lands.
Robbers or turbulent forest tribes.	Robbers are more serious.	The Ācāryas.	The robbers roaming at night and concealing themselves in forests constantly attack persons and take away large amounts of wealth, causing discontent among the wealthy people, while the turbulent tribes living far away (from the capital) in the forests on the borders of the kingdom roam about openly, oppressing only the local people.	Turbulent forest tribes are more serious.	The robbers rob those who do not take proper precautions. Their number is small and activities limited. It is easy to find them out and capture them. The wild tribes live in their own strongholds, are numerous and courageous. They fight, seize and destroy openly like kings.

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kingdom roam about openly, oppressing only the local people.

The loss of a forest containing animals of the chase other than elephants, or the loss of a forest containing elephants.	The former is more serious because the animals other than elephants are found in abundance and are a source of plenty of flesh, hides and skins. When captured, they are easy to maintain and domesticate, while the elephants are less numerous and their maintenance is expensive. Though domesticated, they turn unruly and cause damages.
The consequences (during a calamity) of a trade carried on within the State or the consequences (during a calamity) of trade carried on (by the subjects of a State) outside the State.	The consequences of a trade carried on outside the State (by its subjects during a calamity) are more serious, because internal trade proves helpful to the people of the State in times of calamity by providing them with the means of subsistence, while at other times it brings about the increase of grains, cattle, gold and raw materials.

II. Obstructions to the furtherance of the interest of the State (Stambhavarga).

The obstructions to the furtherance of the kings' cause may be brought about (a) by the officials of the State (mukhyastambha) and (b) by those who enter into an alliance, and (c) also by the wild tribes (bāhyastambha).

III. Obstacles to the replenishment of the treasury (kośasaṅgavarga).

Obstacles may be put in the way of the replenishment of the treasury by the items mentioned under Pīḍanavarga and Stambhanavarga. They may also be caused by (a) the officials misappropriating the State dues collected by them, (b) by the remissions allowed by reason of adverse circumstances, (c) by the difficulty in the collection of taxes owing to the residence of the tax-payers in places distant to one another, (d) by reason of the partial realization of the State dues and (e) by reason of the forcible realization of the State dues by a neighbouring State or by wild tribes.*

* See *K.*, VIII, ch. 4.

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V

A COMPARISON OF THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE CAUSES (TAKEN IN PAIRS) OF WEAKNESS IN REGARD TO THE ARMY

Which army is worse ?	Answer	Reasons
(1) An unrewarded army (amānita) or an insulted army (vimānita).	The insulted army is worse.	The unrewarded soldiers composing an army can be persuaded to fight in times of need by the bestower of rewards, while the insulted soldiers chafing inwardly at the insult are difficult to be so persuaded.
(2) Unpaid (abhṛta) or diseased (vyādhita).	Diseased is worse.	The soldiers who have not received their remuneration would fight for their master on payment of same, but those suffering from disease become incapable of fighting.
(3) Devoid of knowledge of the locality (navāgata) or fatigued through long travel (dūrāyāta).	Fatigued through long travel is worse.	Soldiers who are strangers to the locality can be guided by experienced officers acquainted with the locality for immediate fight, while those coming from a long distance are unfit for immediate action.
(4) Exhausted through fatigue (pariśrānta) or diminished in number (parikṣīṇa).	Diminished in number is worse.	The exhausted soldiers can be fit for action after they have refreshed themselves, but not those who have been reduced in numerical strength and have lost their draught animals in a fight.

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(5) *An army repulsed in a fight (pratihata) or an army with damped enthusiasm (hatāgravega).*	*An army with damped enthusiasm is worse.*	An army once repulsed can again be engaged in a fight under an able leadership, but the army disheartened by the loss of its brave men at the outset is difficult to be so engaged with success.
(6) An army which has to fight in an unsuitable season (anṛtuprāpta) or an army which has to fight in an unsuitable place (abhūmiprāpta).	An army fighting in an unsuitable place is worse.	An army which has to fight in an unsuitable season can achieve success if it be provided with proper equipment, including armours, weapons, and draught animals, but not an army which has to fight in an unsuitable place where drills and manoeuvres are not possible.
(7) An army with shattered hopes (āśānirvedin) or an army without its leader (parisṛpta).	An army without its leader is worse.	An army with shattered hopes will fight after their hopes are fulfilled, while an army without its leader will not.
(8) Soldiers dissuaded by their families from fighting (kalatragarhin) or those who are unwilling to fight because	Soldiers who are unwilling to fight because of enmity towards the State are worse.	Soldiers dissuaded by their families from fighting may be persuadod to fight by separating them from their families, but not those who are at heart inimical to the State.

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Which army is worse?	Answer	Reasons
of enmity towards the State (antaḥśalya).		
(9) An army with its leading section dissatisfied (kupitamūla) or an army disunited through internal dissension (bhinnagarbha).	An army disunited through internal dissension is worse.	An army with its leading section dissatisfied may be persuaded to fight after a conciliation of the said section, but not so an army with its members alienated from one another.
(10) An army routed once by the army of another State or an army routed several times by the armies of other States.	An army routed several times is worse.	An army routed once may after receiving instruction and practical training fight with success in collaboration with the army of the ally or the forest tribes, while an army routed several times is useless, as it has a bitter experience of the sufferings involved in fights.
(11) An army which worked separately from the army of the enemy in an	An army which collaborated with the army of the enemy is worse.	The reasons so far as can be inferred are: The armies that collaborated have mutual sympathy and know each other's weaknesses.

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invasion (yāna) or in an armed inaction (sthāna) on a previous occasion (upaniviṣṭa), or an army which collaborated with the army of the enemy on previous occasions as stated above (samāpta).		
(12) An army obstructed on one side (uparuddha) or an army blockaded on all sides (parikṣipta).	An army blockaded on all sides is worse.	An army prevented from moving in one direction can move in another and fight the obstructing enemy, but not an army blockaded on all sides.
(13) An army with its supplies of food grains from the State cut off (chinna-dhānya) or an army with its supply of reinforcements and draught animals cut off (chinna-puruṣa-vivadha).	An army without the means of having reinforcements and draught animals is worse.	The supply of food grains may be had from some place other than the State or any kind of meat and vegetables available in the locality may constitute their foodstuff enabling the army to carry on the fight, but the army which has lost its supply of reinforcements and draught animals cannot continue its fight.

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Which army is worse ?	Answer	Reasons
(14) An army sent out to work within the territory (svavikṣipta) or an army sent to an ally to help him within his territory (mitravikṣipta).	An army sent to an ally is worse.	An army working at some place within the State can be mobilized more quickly than the army engaged in work in another territory.
(15) An army under a recalcitrant leader (dūṣyayukta) or an army having a wicked rear-enemy (duṣṭapārṣṇigrāha).	An army with a wicked rear-enemy is worse.	The recalcitrant leader of the first-named army can be replaced by a faithful one, while the army having a wicked rear-enemy has to fight at a disadvantage owing to the constant fear of a rear attack.
(16) An army substantially reduced in numerical strength (śūnyamūla) or an army bereft of its distinguished leader (asvāmisaṃhata).	An army bereft of its leader is worse.	An army substantially reduced in number can be replenished by the addition of soldiers selected from among the citizens, while the army bereft of its leader (either king or the commander-in-chief) is useless.

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(asvāmisaṃhata).

(17) An army which has lost its leader (bhinnakūṭa) or an army without the means of supply of information about the enemy (andha).	*An army without the means of information about the enemy is worse.*	An army which has lost its leader can fight efficiently under another leader, but not so an army which has none to supply the information about the enemy.

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RE-ALLIES

(i) THE DISCONTENTED ALLIES OF THE FOLLOWING DESCRIPTIONS ARE DIFFICULT TO BE RECONCILED AND TO BE RETAINED IN AMITY AFTER RECONCILIATION :—

(a) An ally abandoned at a time of need by the king who had been helped by the ally in the furtherance of his own interest, or who had received help from this ally for another ally of his. The abandonment may be due to the king's inability to render help, his greed, or partiality towards the ally's enemy.

(b) An ally of a king who forsakes the former in the midst of the ally's conflict after receiving an inducement from the ally's enemy. The ally may also be abandoned by the king in his pursuit of a policy of Dvaidhībhāva in which he enters into an alliance with the ally's enemy and wages a war with his own enemy.

(c) An ally betrayed by the king in the midst of their march in the same or different directions, or not rescued by the king in his calamity through the latter's fear, indifference or lethargy.

(d) An ally who is not allowed by the king to return to his own territory, who has fled from the king's State, has been oppressed through exactions of wealth, and insulted either by a refusal of his dues or by the use of harsh words at the time of payment of his dues.

(e) An ally who has been fleeced by a king directly, or indirectly through pressure put upon him by others, or who is required to perform a difficult task just after his return from a successful battle.

(f) An ally whose interest has not been attended to by a king through his inability or who has been treated as an enemy after a request to him for alliance.

(ii) THE DISCONTENTED ALLIES OF THE FOLLOWING DESCRIPTIONS CAN BE RECONCILED AND RETAINED IN AMITY AFTER RECONCILIATION :—

(a) An ally, who has done much for a king and is worthy of respect, but has not been treated respectfully or has been treated with inadequute respect by the latter, or who has been persuaded by the king's enemy to withhold help from the king for some time (bhaktito nivāritam).

(b) An ally, who is frightened at the king's destruction of another ally of his, who apprehends danger from the king's alliance with the ally's enemy, or who has been alienated from the king through the machinations of the king's recalcitrant officials. (*K.*, Bk. VIII, ch. 5).

NARENDRA NATH LAW

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The Bharata-vākya

The discussion about the *bharatavākya* started by Mr. Chintaharana Chakravarty and continued by Mr. Vibhutinath Jha[1] is indeed one having an interest for the students of the history of ancient Hindu theatre. But any discussion about a thing should be preceded by its definition or description. One should know before hand what is exactly meant by the *bharatavākya*—a term which has never been used in the *Bharata-Nāṭyaśāstra*. This term seems to be occurring in no old and authentic book on the subject. Indeed Rāghavabhaṭṭa who never failed to quote profusely whenever a chance had occurred, left this term (*bharatavākya*) without the honour of a single quotation. He, however, explained it as "*naṭavākyaṃ nāṭakābhinayasamāptau sāmājikebhyo naṭenaśīrdīyata ityarthaḥ prastāvanānantaraṃ naṭavākyābhāvād atra bharatavākyam ity uktiḥ.*"[2] Evidently it is the explanation which his common sense suggested. But Mr. Jha does not seem to have noticed this explanation and he identifies the *bharatavākya* with the *praśasti* which means either '*nṛpadevapraśasti*' or '*devadvijanṛpādīnāṃ praśaṃsanam*'. In so identifying the two, Mr. Jha has a kind of support from Rāghavabhaṭṭa who finished his comment by saying "*anena p r a ś a s t i-nāmakam aṅgam upakṣiptam.*"[3] But one should carefully notice here that Rāghavabhaṭṭa does not explicitly identify the two.

So much about the explantion of the term, Now if we believe with Mr. Jha that the *bharatavākya* is the same thing as the *praśasti*, the remark of Rāghavabhaṭṭa will make it easy for one to deny that the *bharatavākya* may have a formal connection with 'the drama proper' (*i.e.* the play as a composition of the author and not its performance on the stage). The task will be rendered easier still when one notices that the *sandhyaṅga* which according to the *Bharata-Nāṭyaśāstra* is to precede immediately the *praśasti alias bharatavākya* is called the *kāvyasaṃhāra* or the end of the [*dṛśya*]-*kāvya*.[4] This term loses its

1 *I.H.Q.*, March 1930, pp. 175ff.
2 *Śakuntalā-ṭīkā* (*Nirṇayasāgara*) 2nd. Edn. p. 263.
3 *Op. Cit.*, p. 264.
4 Ch. XXI, 105 (Chowkhamba Edn.) and Ch. 97 (Kāvyamālā Edn.).

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significance if the *praśasti* is considered a part of the *rūpaka* as it was written by its author. But there is no reason why any particular playwright could not have written a stanza or two for the prospective producer of his play, and it is likely that in some cases he did this, though it should be remembered that the *sūtradhāra* was always at liberty to compose stanzas of his own for the *praśasti* and he did not unoften avail of this liberty for his own purpose. It is in this way that the term *bharata-vākya* which meant the *vākya* of the *bharata*[1] (*naṭa*) has a justification. The *sūtradhāras* of ancient India recited the *praśasti* (or the *bharatavākya*) where the modern theatres drop their final curtain. And it is clear that this *praśasti* whether it was meant to flatter the deity or the Brahmin or the king, fell flat on the ears of the audience who received the *bharatavākya* in a spirit not different from that of the members of a modern public meeting when the customery vote of thanks is offered to the chair. For this reason the *sūtradhāra* or the (chief) *naṭa* did not think it worth while to change his costume at that time and there was no need of it, for there was no chance, then, of any one mistaking him for a character in the play just finished.

MONOMOHAN GHOSE

1 This *bharata* has nothing to do with *Bharata-muni* (the so-called father of the Indian Drama) who never existed. Vide "Problems of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*"—an article by the present writer—in *I.H.Q.*, March, 1930 and the Introduction to the *Rasādhyāya* (Ch. VI) of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* by Dr. Subodh Chandra Mukherjee Śāstrī.

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Śraddhā and Bhakti in Vedic Literature*

II

As we pass from the older to the younger Vedas and Brāhmaṇas, a change comes over the spirit of worship ; for the Brāhmaṇic theology now fastens itself upon the material foundation of an all-absorbing cult of sacrifice. The priests still claim to be seers, but they hardly made new hymns. They elaborated minute rules of sacrifice with endless technicalities and fixed them with a dogmatic, exaggerated and sometimes ludicrous precision of details ; and the purveyance of sacrifice soon became a matter of expert knowledge and a profession. In this stage of ritualism the older and simpler hymns, often torn from their actual context and placed in curious combination with other texts and formulas, came to possess importance only for their employment in particular sacrifices in conformity with certain sacrificial canons. The older hymnal worship of nature-gods, in which the highest mental and spiritual possibilities of the Vedic seer were concentrated upon praise, prayer, and simple offerings, was replaced by a more or less mechanical ritualistic worship, in which the priest became more anxious to draw his gods into the magic net of sacrifice and to control and monopolise them, by word or deed, to the service of himself and his patron. The sacrificial ritual was now a curious admixture of magic[1] and speculation ; it was no longer a supplicatory gift or offering,[2] but a universal cure for sin and evil, administered mechanically, and a meretricious means of a mystico-magical nature for obtaining material benefits. The gods were rarely besought to forgive : a man purifies himself. Commandeered by the priests, the older Vedic nature-gods lost much of their

The mechanical doctrine of sacrifice in the Brāhmaṇas.

A curious mixture of speculation and magic.

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* Continued from vol. VI, no. 2, p. 333.

1 On sacrifice as sympathetic magic, see Hillebrandt, art. "Worship (Hindu)" in *ERE*, and authorities cited therein. For a fairly full discussion of the implications of magic in the ritual, see Keith, *op. cit.*, ch. 22.

2 For the Vedic, as distinguished from the Brāhmaṇic, sacrifice, see Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur* (Grundriss Series), pp. 11f. ; A. Mac-

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individuality and character, attending the *savanas* regularly, and meekly partaking of their share of oblation and their cups of *soma*; for the belief had now become established that a sacrifice, meticulously performed, gave complete mastery over the universe and the gods. The early idea of a gift in expectation of a return[1] gave way to the assumption that the return is compelled by the gift through the mechanism and power of the duly performed sacrifice. Again, the employment of an intermediary or intermediaries, who themselves had only fixed and mechanical duties to perform in a kind of corporate worship, did hardly demand any spirit of personal devotion either in the priest or in the worshipper, who thus lost all direct touch with his object of worship. Ritualism had thus become more important than religion, the priests more important than the gods, while a body of injunctions and prohibitions, conceived as external and impersonal verities,[2] was considered to be more efficacious than an inner realisation of devotional experience. In such a stage of mechanical sacerdotalism the devotional spirit, which would rest itself directly and fervently upon the grace of a personal deity, could hardly survive; and one would be readily inclined to believe, with Sylvain Lévi[3], that such a system had no place for morality or religion.

The place of morality and religion.

But such could not have been wholly the case. Although the sacrifice became the centre of all religious activity and an exaggerated emphasis was laid upon ceremonies and observances, neither morality nor the religious spirit was altogether dead. It waked up again to fuller spiritual life partly in the Āraṇyakas and more deeply in the Upaniṣads. One must not forget that the Brāhmaṇas were meant expressly to be liturgical texts, in which it would be idle to expect anything else. Nevertheless, these purely ritualistic texts are not devoid of moral rules and insist upon purity as a religious merit. In them one also comes across numerous legends, moralisings, philosophical fancies,

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donell, art. "Vedic Religion" in *ERE*, p. 611f. On the theory of sacrifice, see Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 454-67.

1 The principle of *do ut des* governs the sentiment of many of the hymns. Cf. also *dehi me dadāmi te* etc. in *Vāj. Saṃ.* iii, 50. Also see *Śatapatha Br.* ii, 5, 3, 19.

2 S. N. Das Gupta, *Hindu Mysticism* (Harris Lectures, Chicago: London, 1927), pp. 8f.

3 *Doctrine du Sacrifice dans les Brāhmaṇas* (Paris, 1898), p. 9.

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historical information, mythical exposition and other adventitious matter, which in their very nature were not entirely sacerdotal. It must, however, be remembered that these ritualistic productions present but a one-sided, and therefore hardly adequate, picture of the religious life of the period, embodying, as they do, merely the hieratic speculation of a section of Vedic society. One can never say that these priestly formularies and elaborate sacrificial technique, very limited in their scope and monopolised by a class or caste, could suffice to silence the inevitable questionings and yearnings of the human soul, nor could they permanently suppress primitive or unsophisticated faiths, swayed by large emotions and sentiments.

Limitations of Brāhmaṇa speculation and the insufficiency of its extreme and self-satisfied formalism.

Although the Brāhmaṇas pretended to do nothing more than elaborate and prescribe regulations for the older Vedic ritual, their extreme and self-satisfied formalism could hardly set at rest the keener perceptions and sensibilities of the people at large. An attempt was made therefore to palliate the transition as much as possible. The older Vedic gods were, no doubt, subordinated to the sacrifice; but, while newer and more popular gods were admitted, the idea that the gods were the moral upholders of the sacrifice remained, and even the potency of the herbs in the *Atharva-veda* was supposed to depend on divine favour. The Brāhmaṇas introduced mystical symbols and suggestions, and made an effort to elevate the sacrifice into a world-principle on the basis of the *bandhutā*-doctrine[1]; while the term *bandhu* itself, in spite of its definite technical sense, came to be identified with the *nāma* and *rūpa* under which the older Vedic gods were often individualised. But the omnipotence of the sacrifice swallowed up the power and prestige of the diminished gods, who, with their mystical parapharnelia of the *bandhus*, existed merely as functionaries in the ritual. Such a doctrine, which hardly gave any scope to individual feelings and emotions, could not, however, in its very nature be accepted universally; and mechanism, however well-regulated and glossed over with mystical fancies, could not altogether take the edge off innate religious fervour. It is true that the Brāhmaṇas made an attempt to broach deeper religious problems by widening the scope of polytheism, which was already decadent in later Ṛg-vedic hymns, and tentatively making an approach to pantheism; but one cannot

The bandhutā doctrine, and symbolising sacrifice.

1 See Belvalkar and Ranade, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-5.

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lose sight of a certain feeling of diffidence and arbitrariness and an effort at special pleading, which very often disturb the smooth complacency of their dogmatic utterances. For some priests, even the sacrifice ceased to be the chief object of interest, which now became centred upon a search for general and ultimate principles, upon an attempt to explain the nature of the universe and its relation to self. The priests themselves as a rule had been theosophists who attempted to explain the riddle of the universe in terms of the sacrifice, but from the speculations of those who went a step further arose a school of advanced thinkers who opposed themselves to ritualism itself.[1] The note of dissatisfaction gradually grew in volume and was openly expressed by scoffers and unbelievers outside the orthodox pale. The attempt at externalising religion did not prove entirely successful, and the inner spiritual longings, intensified, no doubt, by newer ideas coming in with an inevitable fusion of races and cultures in the Gangetic Valley, could not be fully set at rest by the sacerdotal speculations of the day.

Advent and opposition of new ideas.

An attempt appears to have been made in the Āraṇyaka to incorporate the new ideas and effect a compromise, partly by the theory of the Āśramas and partly by intellectualising the material sacrifice. The Āraṇyakas, as also the Upaniṣads, which have the appearance of constituting one whole revealed text with the Brāhmaṇas, pretend to maintain the continuity of tradition; but there are certain elements in them, which harmonised though they are with the Brāhmaṇic doctrine, could not have been the logical development of premises posited in the Brāhmaṇas. These elements must have found their way in response to newer demands. The theory about the Āśramas or stages of life gave free scope to personal meditation at a certain stage and to pious discussion of newer as well as older religious problems. Hitherto the Brāhmaṇas attached exclusive importance to *kriyā* or *anuṣṭhāna*, external works as embodied in the ritual: but the value and power of thought was now recognised by the theory of symbolical Kratus and Upāsanās. This prescribed a kind of "inner sacrifice" which dispensed with the actual performance of a rite with its

Attempt at compromise in the Āraṇyaka.

Theory of symbolical Kratus and Upāsanās,

1 See A. B. Keith, art. "Priest, Priesthood (Hindu)" in *ERE*, p. 314; also cf. Jacobi, art. "Brāhmaṇism" in *ERE*.

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elaborate details, and substituted what was considered to be an equally beneficial system of scriptural and contemplative sacrifices, consisting only of specific forms of meditation on particular symbols or mystical formulas. These meditation-symbols, coming, as they do, from the Brāhmaṇas themselves, did not altogether negate the way of ritualism, but made it subservient to the way of thought. The process of meditation, however, did not demand any special enlightenment or knowledge, and consisted merely of a simple and somewhat mechanical process of thinking of one entity as a substitution for another entity; but it involved at the same time a recognition of the power of man's inner thought, which was now regarded to be as meritorious or efficacious as the performance of his sacrificial duties.

and liberation of thought from the limitations of ritualism.

This naturally paved the way to the abstract contemplation of Thought-Brahma[1] which constitutes one of the highest teachings of the Upaniṣads. The earlier Upaniṣadic speculation which, in common with the Āraṇyakas, did not altogether reject the Vedic gods and ritual,[2] was taken up almost entirely in expounding in all seriousness, one after another, various symbols (*pratīkas*) and upāsanās, such as *prāṇa, vāc* and *manas*,[3] *ākāśa*,[4] *agni*,[5] the golden *puruṣa* in the Sun and the *puruṣa* in the right eye[6]—all of which constituted the earliest tentative forms in which the Brahman-Ātman idea was symbolised for purposes of meditation.[7] But with the advance of specu-

Meditation-symbols in the earlier Upaniṣads.

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1 This expression has been used by L. D. Barnett in his Introduction to his translation of the *Bhagavadgītā* (p. 9) in characterising the essentials of Upaniṣadic doctrine.

2 See Deussen, *Philosophy and Religion of the Upaniṣads*, trs. A. S. Gedden (Edinburgh, 1908), pp. 61-5.

3 *Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka Up.*, i, 5, 3f.; *Taittirīya Up.*, iii, 1f.

4 *Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka Up.*, ii, 3, 4; *Chāndogya Up.*, iii, 14, 2, iii, 18, 1-4; *Kauṣītaki Up.*, ii, 14.

5 *Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka Up.*, i, 5, 11, ii, 5, 3.

6 *Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka Up.*, v, 5. In iv, 1 there is a discussion of six upāsanās of Brahman, viz, speech, breath, sight, hearing, mind, and heart, which are, one by one, dismissed by Yājñavalkya as incomplete.

7 For a summary of these symbols and upāsanās, see O. K. Anantalakshmi Ammal, *Studies in the Upaniṣads* in the *Journal of*

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lation there was a growing tendency to transcend symbols and upāsanās, and evolve, through the different Brahma-doctrines of 'Prāṇa', 'Prajñāna', 'Sukha-bhūman', 'Antaryāmin', 'neti-neti', the final and highly idealistic Brahman-Ātman theory of One Reality. There is, however, little that can be directly connected with the idea of *bhakti* in these speculations of the Āraṇyakas and the earlier Upaniṣads.

It is not necessary for us to give here a survey of the various forms or stages of Upaniṣadic theosophy, nor trace in detail how from the Vedic and Brāhmaṇic idea of Puruṣa, Hiraṇyagarbha, Prajāpati or Brahmaṇaspati was ultimately evolved its concept of an impersonal, unmanifest, neuter Brahma. Nor is it necessary to show how from the earlier conflicting yet converging theosophical ideas were finally shaped, through various gradations of thought and experience, its intrepid idealistic monism and its formulation of an unconditioned, self-existent, self-thinking, Thought-substance, called Brahman or Ātman, which modifies itself, without change of identity into cosmic thought, and which determines itself further into conditioned beings under the accumulated influence of *karma* and *saṃsāra*. But the change indicated by this idea of a conditionless self as the ultimate substratum of all existence is indeed significant. The Upaniṣads did not, of course, repudiate altogether the Brāhmaṇic way of sacrifice, but philosophically its point of view cannot be said to approve of ritualism, nor of the rival method of penance and asceticism admitted by the Āraṇyakas. For these the Upaniṣadic thinkers substitute knowledge as the most important thing. The purpose for which the Brāhmaṇa literature came into existence appears now to have been fully accomplished ; and a new tendency, which opposed thought to ritualistic practice, the way of knowledge to the way of works, became the marked feature of the idealistic theories of the Upaniṣads. The transition was now made from the traditional god-lore of the *Ṛg-veda* and the sacrificial lore of the Brāhmaṇas, both of which represent, more or less, an objective phase of religious development, to a subjective standpoint in which the interest was chiefly centred in self. From polytheism, myth and sacrifice we pass on to reflection, philosophy and mysticism.

The cool intellectualism of the fundamental Upaniṣadic position.

It is clear, however, that in the purely abstract or intellectual

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Oriental Research, Madras, Oct.-Dec. 1929, pp. 311f. Also Deussen, *op. cit.*, pp. 87f., 99-119.

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position of the Upaniṣads there cannot be any scope for a system of *bhakti*. But we must not lose sight of the fact that the Upaniṣads do not present one complete or consistent system, nor do they offer any one dogmatic doctrine of pure monism or idealism, as this will be clear from the fact that almost all the later systems of Indian philosophy deduce their doctrines from the Upaniṣads. They embrace, in their wide and discursive scope, half-poetical, half-philosophical fancies, mystical interpretation of the cherished ritual, symbolism, allegory and legends, verbal mystification, dialogues and disputations, abstract idealism and monotheistic mysticism. Even materialistic pantheism and dualism are not excluded. In their more or less tentative dealing with metaphysical questions the Upaniṣads proceed by an intuitional rather than a logical method, and their divergent doctrines possibly represent different stages or forms of mystical spiritual experience. They agree in little else but in the fundamental Ātman-Brahman doctrine of the Primal Absolute, but they explain it divergently. It may sound paradoxical but it is nevertheless true that such loose generalisation of thought made an advance possible. As they spring from fancy to fancy, they open up endless avenues of thought, all of which no doubt converge towards the ultimate concept of Brahman, but which at the same time indicate other currents and tendencies of religious experience. There can also be no doubt that at many points the purely Upaniṣadic Brahma-doctrine was profoundly modified, not only by individual religious realisation, but also by popular religious tendencies, crystallising into sectarian doctrines, which sought to conceive the unconditioned impersonal Brahman in more emotional and human terms. It is in these currents of thought which originate independently but flow into the main stream of of Upaniṣadic intellectualism, and which contain the germs of a real theism, leading to devotionalism, that anticipations of the *bhakti*-doctrine of later times must be sought. Concerned mainly with metaphysical questions, the sages have naturally little to say about devotionalism, but when they conceive (secondarily, it is true) of a personal god as an aspect of the impersonal Brahman, or speak about their intimate spiritual illumination, there are unmistakable implications of an approach towards a devotional attitude.

No scope for a system of bhakti in such a scheme,

but divergent lines of thought in the Upaniṣads, which make concessions to theism and devotionalism.

For, it would not be absolutely correct to suppose that the Upaniṣads are concerned only with Knowledge and not with Being, that

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they are content only with the explanation of Reality and do not give intimations of its mystical attainment. In the variegated speculation of the Upaniṣads there is as much metaphysics as morality and mysticism, giving indications of an ardent religious consciousness; and indeed the central metaphysical position is reached more by ethical and mystical experience than by the way of thought. It is a mistake to suppose that the Upaniṣadic seers were merely abstract thinkers; they were also devout seekers after spiritual good. It is only when the pure metaphysics of the Ātman-Brahman doctrine was translated into the ethics of self-realisation that it could be supposed to have ministered unto the spiritual needs of such a quest. The Upaniṣads, therefore, agree in putting important emphasis on the ineffable experience which results from an intuitive realisation of Ātman, and in which the experiencer loses himself in a state where there is neither the knower nor the known but where there is only an infinitude of blissful illumination. It would seem, therefore, that the Ātman is not only to be intellectually apprehended, but also to be mystically or intuitionally realised[1]; and a more or less clear distinction appears to be drawn between the way of knowledge and the way of realisation.

Presence of as much metaphysics as morality and mysticism in the Upaniṣads.

The problem of self-realisation is indeed one which could not thus be ignored by the Upaniṣadic seers, but there cannot be any deliberate exposition of the subject; for self-realisation is not merely a metaphysical fact but involves an ethical and mystical process by which the self stands out in its native purity from out of the ingrained limitations of the not-self. No amount of intellectual equipment can reach this intuitive and immediate apprehension,

Brahma-realisation not merely a metaphysical but also an ethical and mystical process.

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1 It is clearly recognised that the Ātman in itself is unknowable and that neither sense nor thought is able to realise it. But *Kaṭha Up.*, i, 3, 12 speaks of realisation by means of a subtle and piercing *buddhi* or intuition. This agrees with the teaching of the *Bhagavad-gītā*, ii. 49; vi, 21 : x, 10; xviii, 57 etc., but another passage of the *Gītā* (iii, 42) states that the Supreme Being is even beyond *buddhi*. The implication of such conflicting opinions, which occur also in the Upaniṣads, is that the faculty of realisation is indescribable, and therefore mystical in its nature. The same faculty is also denoted by the term *pratibodha* (or *prati* + √*budh*) in some passages.

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which in its very nature is beyond mediate description by word, and what the Upaniṣadic sages do is to throw out hints and suggestions, or express as naively and directly as possible the intimate spiritual experience of reality which had sprung up within them. The question is indeed intellectually discussed that if Ātman is in itself unknowable, and can be characterised only by a denial of all empirical attributes (*neti-neti*),[1] how then self-knowledge can be possible; for such knowledge assumes a distinct subject and object of knowledge and therefore a dualism. But apart from the metaphysics of self-consciousness, it is distinctly recognised that self-realisation is possible not as an intellectual endeavour but as an intuitional experience. The texts have preserved for us some of the mystic outbursts of ecstasy or raptures of spiritual experience, which it is difficult to distinguish from the true spirit of *bhakti*. The exclamation of Vāmadeva in one of these passages[2] is not unjustly likened by a critic of the Upaniṣads[3] to a certain declaration of the Maratha *bhakta* Tukārām. In another well known passage[4] the bliss of realisation is likened to the bliss arising from the union with a beloved wife: "Just as a man knows nothing outside nor anything inside when he is embraced by his beloved wife, so when this self is embraced by the all-knowing self, he knows nothing outside nor inside; that is his true nature, when all desires are satisfied, when the only desire is for the self, where there is no desire, no grief." This passage is worth quoting for its undoubted tendency towards erotic mysticism, betokening an intense loving devotion, of which we have found traces even in some of the Ṛg-Vedic hymns.

Raptures of spiritual experience.

Tendency towards erotic mysticism.

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1 Deussen, *op. cit.*, pp. 74f., 146f., 270f., 303, 326.

2 *Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka Up.*, i, 4, 10. Cf. also *Chāndogya Up.*, viii, 13, 1; *Taittirīya Up.*, iii, 10, 5-6.

3 Ranade, *Constructive Survey of the Upaniṣadic Philosophy*, p. 351.

4 *Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka Up.*, iv, 3, 21. No doubt, Brahman is conceived as *ānanda* or bliss, but this doctrine is connected with the psychology of deep sleep and implies by the word the type of bliss that holds sway in deep sleep when the opposition of subject and object is destroyed. See Deussen, *op. cit.*, pp. 140f. It is noteworthy that *Kauṣītaki-Br. Up.* iii, 8, uses the word *ānanda* almost in the sense of sexual enjoyment. The description of all the gods as "beings of joy" (*ānandātma*), given as early as *Śatapatha Br.* x, 3, 5, 13, signifies, as Deussen rightly points out, something quite different.

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The tendency of the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads was, no doubt, to diminish the personal aspect of divinity, but the influence of popular religion, as well as the personal spiritual experience of individual seers, must not be forgotten in the growth of Upaniṣadic teaching. Although most of the Vedic gods had become priestly fiction or were reduced to the position of being symbolical representatives of Ātman-Brahman, yet the vivid belief in powerful and real gods, such as Rudra-Śiva, who were not abstractions, certainly survived even from the period of the Brāhmaṇas. In this personal adoration of the great gods is to be sought the origin of the marked theism of some aspects of its philosophy, as well as of the sectarian devotionalism of Upaniṣads like the *Śvetāśvatara*, but it must also have influenced its fundamental conception of Ātman-Brahman. The terms in which realisation of Brahman is described in many of its highly coloured passages of a theistic nature indicate that Brahman was not only intellectually apprehended as a psycho-physical principle, but also directly realised, more or less, as a personal Being. The well known description of the Indwelling Lord or Antaryāmin in *Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, iii, 7, or of the Akṣara or the Immutable Lord as Lawgiver to the universe in the same text iii, 8, may be cited as illustrations to the point. Like Kṛṣṇa in the *Bhagavadgītā*, again, Indra proclaims himself as the true object of knowledge and worship in *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad*, iii, 9 (cf. also *Bṛ-Ār. Up.*, ii, i), as well as in *Bāṣkala-Mantropaniṣad* where Medhātithi appears in the rôle of a loving devotee to Indra, who describes himself as the Brahman. Although the original idealism reveals itself, a similar attitude of adoration underlies the conception of Ātman-Vaiśvānara as the Virāṭ-Puruṣa or world-soul in a famous passage in the *Chāndogya Up.* (v,11-18 = *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, x, 6, 1), which finds its analogue in the conception which is involved in the Yājñavalkya-Maitreyī dialogue in *Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, ii, 4 and iv, 5. In all these passages, no doubt, the impersonal Brahman[1] is spoken of, but it is spoken of in the most philoso-

Influence of individual spiritual experience, as well as of popular religion.

Attitude of adoration akin to the spirit of bhakti.

1 Whether the term *brahman* originally meant prayer, hymn or spell need not be discussed here. Hillebrandt (art. "Brahman" in *ERE*), who gives from Sāyaṇa seven different and in most cases justifiable interpretations of the word, is of opinion that the original sense was 'magic'; but the view cannot be taken as widely accepted.

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phically passionate terms; if it is not full-fledged theism or devotionalism, it is the first step towards such an attitude.

The question is considered not only from the psychological but also from the moral point of view. Clearness of illumination or vision of the Ātman comes to one who has fulfilled certain requirements of moral purity, just in the same way as a *bhakta* in later devotional theories must possess certain preliminary moral or spiritual qualifications before grace is vouchsafed to him. That every one is not fit to receive illumination or beatitude is agreed on all hands; but the texts are not agreed as to the enumeration of the requisite qualification. Tranquillity, self-restraint, penance, renunciation, patience, introversion or looking inwards, humility, right pursuit, freedom from sins, purity of nature are some of the qualifications for self-realisation variously laid down by the Upaniṣads.[1] These requirements are further connected with the necessity of initiation by a competent spiritual teacher or guide, who has himself walked on the same path—a doctrine which leads to the later *guru-vāda* of sectarian systems of *bhakti*. The comparatively late passage from the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* in which the word *bhakti* occurs for the first time (vi, 23)[2]:

Preliminary moral condition for Brahma-realisation, compared to the spiritual qualification necessary in a bhakta.

Necessity of a spiritual guide, germs of the later guru-vāda.

yasya deve parā bhaktir yathā deve tathā gurau/
tasyaite kathitā hyarthāḥ prakāśante mahātmanaḥ//

states that the spiritual secret reveals itself to one who has devotion in God as in the master ; and the *Bhagavadgītā* repeating

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It is interesting, however, to note that if the term meant prayer, then Gedden (*Studies in the Religions of the East*, London 1913, pp. 235-36), following Deussen, is probably right in stating that the prayer in this case is to be conceived not as petition but as the mystical exaltation of feeling and thought in communion with the Divine. This seems also to be the view of Geldner in his *Der Ṛg-Veda in Auswahl*, pt. 1, p. 122f. If this view is correct, then we can understand the ecstatic emotion or exaltation of feeling which is described as accompanying Brahma-realisation in the Upaniṣads, which employ the term to signify their loftiest conception of absolute reality.

1 See Deussen, *op. cit.*, pp. 328f.

2 Garbe (*Die Bhagavadgītā*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1921, p. 44) traces the word *bhakti* in its religious sense in *Therīgāthā*, v. 370 and in the

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the sentiment (xviii, 67) forbids imparting of spiritual knowledge to one who has no faith either in God or in the master. Apart from the very practical hints in the nature of *yoga*-practices[1] supplied for the realisation of Supreme Being by some of the younger Upaniṣad, the Upaniṣads are almost unanimous in stating that meditation upon the mystic symbols, especially the symbol *Om*[2], is one of the most desirable means which a spiritual teacher should prescribe to his aspiring disciple; and these would give some indication of the practical aspects of Upaniṣadic teaching.

Admission of Yoga practices.

An attempt has been made to explain these anticipations of theism and devotionalism in the Upaniṣadic teaching of absolute idealism by the ingenious and attractive, but hardly credible, theory that the authors of the Upaniṣads really meant to distinguish between two kinds of knowledge and two kinds of Brahman, a higher and a lower,—the lower form being specially intended for the ordinary man to whom abstruse metaphysical conception of a conditionless Brahman was frankly unintelligible. This view has indeed the high authority of old commentators like Śaṅkara and modern interpreters like Deussen ; but it has hardly the sanction of the older Upaniṣads themselves.[3] On the other hand, it stands to reason to suppose that these different lines of thought in the Upaniṣads, as we have already stated,

These elements of theism and devotionalism in the Upaniṣads, how to be explained.

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general sense of love and devotion in the *Jātakas*, v, 340, 3, 6 ; 352, 11. It was probably borrowed by Buddhism from early Hindu sources. The word, of course, was no longer unusual or rare in the time of Pāṇini or of the epics. That the idea of *bhakti* was not altogether absent in theistic developments of Buddhism is now admitted ; and the word occurs, of course, in later works iike Äryaśūra's *Jātaka-mālā* or Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra*. See Carpenter, *Theism in Mediaeval India* (London 1921), pp. 47f, esp. pp. 51, 101.

1 Deussen, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 116, 309f, 363, 382, 392f; Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 549, 589f ; Oldenberg, *Die Lehre der Upaniṣaden*, pp. 223-235. The younger Upaniṣads like *Kaṭha*, *Muṇḍaka*, *Śvetāśvatara* and *Māṇḍūkya* expressly teach or refer to such doctrines.

2 See for instance, *Kaṭha Up.*, i, 2, 15-17 ; *Muṇḍaka Up.*, ii,2, 3-4; *Praśna Up.*, v, 1-5; *Māṇḍūkya Up.*, 1-12 etc.

3 Some of the very late and sectarian Upaniṣads, like *Rāmatāpanī* (i, 7), speak of symbols and forms of the diety as helps to the inferior devotee in his practice of devotion.

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are incidental and natural to its discursive way of exposition, and that they probably represent either different stages or forms of spiritual illumination, or indicate a mixture of high speculation with the demands of the popular faiths which asked for a personal god. Some of these popular notions might have been also traditional and independent of orthodox teaching. There cannot indeed be any doubt that the monistic and idealistic doctrine of Brahman, developed to its utmost logical conclusion in diverse ways, forms the dominant teaching of the Upaniṣads and underlies all its implications; but at the same time, even the most metaphysical of these thinkers do not proceed by a logical or scholastic method but state by means of dialogues, similes, legends and mystical language what they grasp intuitively. Thereby they admit elements, personal or otherwise, which, are no doubt harmonised with their central doctrine but which, strictly considered, appear to be alien to their fundamental position. Thus, mention is made of an apparently traditional cosmology in which Brahman, sometimes described by mystical and unintelligible expressions like *tajjalān*[1] or *tadvanam*[2] appears as the creator and sustainer of a real world, in which he is immanent, which has no existence apart from him, and which ultimately returns to the source from which it came. In such cosmological theories Brahman is often individualised and endowed with properties and capacities, and an apparent or provisional reality is allowed to the universe and the individual. These ideas are not indeed always developed on theistic lines, but in them, as well as in Upaniṣadic pantheistic ideas in general, we have the germs of a real theism; and they probably came from or had been influenced by, traditional faiths which, in their origin, must have been independent of the peculiarly Upaniṣadic doctrine.

The idea of a personal creator in its traditional cosmology.

Even in some of the most severely idealistic theories these tendencies reveal themselves. From the views, sometimes enunciated, that the Ātman is the universe, a pantheistic tendency prompts even Yājñavalkya, inspite of his doctrine of absolute identity, to describe the Ātman as the internal ruler, the inner guide (*antaryāmin*),[3] or as supporting the sun and moon, heaven and earth, or as expanding into

Presence of these tendencies in severely idealistic doctrines,

1 *Chāndogya Up.*, iii, 14, 1. 2 *Kena Up.*, 31 (=v, 6).

3 *Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka Up.*, iii, 7. The Antaryāmin-doctrine is really due to Uddālaka-Āruṇi, the teacher and rival of Yājñavalkya.

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the whole universe which results at his command (*praśāsana*). The empirical conception of causality is not altogether dispensed with and is responsible for the views, variously expressed, that the Ātman produces the universe and enters into it, like salt dissolved in water. The doctrine of Brahman as bliss, diversely explained as *sukha-bhūman*[1] or under the mystic name *kam* (joy)[2] is, however, hardly of any importance from our point of view, for it conceives of a state in which there is no division of subject and object, and this is clear from the further development of the doctrine in the Ānandavalli section of the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*. When Yājñavalkya asserts the theory, the bliss which he contemplates is that of a man in dreamless sleep when the consciousness of individuality is lost.

and even in Yājnavalkya's absolute idealism.

Even if it fails to afford a satisfactory explanation of the empiric world, Yājñavalkya's *neti-neti* doctrine strongly emphasises the unknowableness and unity of Ātman, and as such it reaches the highest standpoint of pure idealism ; but his speculation, in which the Ātman is not a mere psycho-physical abstraction but an Ātman of real content, is often broken down by empirical modifications. It cannot indeed be maintained that he teaches a doctrine of love, or a dualistic theology, but when he speaks of Brahma-realisation in terms of the bliss of union with the beloved or states that "this (self) is dearer than a son, dearer than wealth, dearer than anything else," that "let a man worship the self alone as dear"[3] and that the self is *kāmāyatana* and *kāmamaya*,[4] he indicates, as a part indeed of his great doctrine of identity, a worship of self which is not self-worship, but he also gives expression to a dualistic note which is involved in all attitude of dearness or affection, in however idealised form such affection may be represented. Otherwise, the assertion that the impersonal self loves itself would be apparently meaningless. It is indeed hardly correct to say[5] that Yājñavalkya, like the author of the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*,[6] maintains

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1 *Chāndogya Up.*, vii, 23, 24. This doctrine is associated with the name of Sanatkumāra.

2 *Chāndogya Up.*, iv, 10, 5.

3 *Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka Up.*, i, 4, 8.

4 *Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka Up.*, iii, 9, 11.

5 As stated in Barua, *Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, Calcutta, 1921, p. 158.

6 ii, 8, 1-5.

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that there is no distinction in kind between physical good and spiritual bliss. He speaks indeed in metaphorical language of the bliss of self-realisation as the bliss of erotic union, but the simile, which strikes, if pressed, at the very root of his teaching of non-duality, should be taken as a fanciful or empirical analogy, and not as an isolated or conclusive argument. The bliss certainly is not the ultimate reality, but only the highest conceivable or revealed to thought; but even this view contradicts his absolute position that the ultimate reality is undefinable, and corresponds rather to Rāmānuja's conception of the concrete Brahman. Nevertheless, such temporary personifications of the Brahman, even if they indicate a certain eclecticism or want of consistency characteristic of Upaniṣadic teaching in general, are not indeed empty phrases, but they bear testimony to realistic intrusions in the severe idealism of Yājñavalkya's fundamental doctrine. Expressions are not wanting to shew that even in Yājñavalkya's lofty idealism there is a spirit of of reverence and love—which has been termed "spiritualised *bhakti*" by one critic[1]—for the absolute personified or conceived as a deity (*devatā*), who is the creator (*viśvakṛt*) and the protector (*bhūtapāla*), the lord of all (*sarveśvara, sarvasvādhipati*), the supreme person (*puruṣottama*).[2] Indeed, cosmogonism, idealism, mysticism, theism and devotionalism are all mixed up in a curious way in Upaniṣadic teaching. Just as the mystical monism of the Upaniṣad was broken in by Vedic polytheism and Brāhmaṇic ceremonialism, and its cosmology gave room sometimes to a personal creator, so also in eschatology the conception of rebirth is not unmixed with ideas of hell and punishment. These may be illogical combinations, but these also shew that popular religious movements, which were never fully affected or dominated by the absolute idealism of the Upaniṣad, reacted in their turn upon the refined speculations of the lofty thinkers.

Spirit of reverence and love.

Indeed, we have many passages, fairly distributed over almost the whole of Upaniṣad literature, which give us a somewhat *saguṇa* description of the Brahman as Anna-Prāṇa-Mano-Vijñāna-Sukha-maya; but a more pronounced dualistic note is to be found in the doctrine

1 Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, 1923, vol. I, p. 233.

2 *Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka Up.*, iv, 4, 22.

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of Śāṇḍilya preserved for us in *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, iii, 4. In contrast with the negative non-empirical theory of Yājñavalkya, Śāṇḍilya characterises Brahman in thoroughly positive terms. He establishes the identity of microcosm and macrocosm by asserting that the self within us, smaller than the mustard seed, is also the self without us, which is greater than the greatest world; and then he goes on to speak of the realisation of divine nature as the supreme end. The expression is still loaded with the conventions of Upaniṣadic thought, but the Brahman of Śāṇḍilya is more of a *saguṇa* conception, described as *bhā-rūpa, satya-saṅkalpa, sarva-karma, sarva-kāma, sarva-gandha, sarva-rasa, sarvam idam abhyāttaḥ* (whose form is light, whose will is truth, who performeth all things and willeth all things, to whom belong all odours and all tastes, who envelops all this existence); and the sage is sure of being merged in Brahman after death (*itaḥ pretyābhisambhavitāsmi*), for all existence comes from Him, lives in Him and is resolved into Him.[1] This doctrine is, no doubt, developed from *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,[2] but if it still speaks of a self without limitation, it also conceives of a self with every great attribute. There may not be any truth in the tradition which makes Śāṇḍilya the originator of *bhakti-vāda* and ascribes to him a later *sūtra*-work on *bhakti*, but there cannot be any doubt from the Śāṇḍilya-Vidyā section just quoted that his motive was religious as well as philosophical.

The Śāṇḍilya doctrine and its distinct dualistic note.

These highly coloured passages may indeed be interpreted as temporary and poetical personifications of Brahman; but the doctrine of a personal god, and with it the doctrine of predestination and grace emerge gradually in some of the younger Upaniṣads, where we have a more or less personal divinity in place of the impersonal Absolute. It is chiefly from these passages that later doctrines of *bhakti* derive their authority and inspiration. The relation of the universal to the individual soul is no longer conceived as one of identity but as one of some degree of contrast and independence. Theoretically, the original identity is, indeed,

Gradual growth of the idea of a personal god and its implications.

1 With regard to the meaning of the term *tajjalān* in this passage (*Chāndogya Up.* iii, 14, 1), see Śaṅkara's commentary and Deussen, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-81.

2 x, 6, 3, 1-2; iii, 14, 3.

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not denied, but the individual Ātman is distinguished from Ātman in the highest aspect, at first tentatively, as we have seen in the older Upaniṣads, then definitely and expressly in the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, more prominently with the presentation of Ātman as the god Rudra in *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, and in a still more definitely sectarian form in the still later *Maitrāyaṇī* and other *Upaniṣads*.[1] The demand for a personal god, who was introduced sometimes congruously, sometimes *ab extra*, in the older texts, was now fully recognised, and the impersonal Ātman became more and more personalised and invested with properties and attributes.

The *Kaṭha* is one of the major Upaniṣads, which is interesting from our point of view as being one of the sources which supply many of the images and ideas of the *Bhagavadgītā*. Apart from the poetical form, the narrative prelude and dialogue, the well known image of the Aśvattha tree, the parable of the chariot, the description of the Ātman as neither the killer nor the killed, which are common to the two works, it has been even suggested that the famous figure of the Ātman as the chariot-driver in the parable referred to, is responsible for the Gītā-episode itself of the *Mahābhārata*. It is not necessary for us to consider here the sources of the °*Gītā* in detail; but it may be noted that the *Kaṭha* inspired or supplied the metaphysical rather than the devotional passages of the later theistic work. The text of the Upaniṣad is admittedly not homegenous,[2] and like most of the Upaniṣads it hardly presents a consistent or complete doctrine; but the attitude of the work as a whole cannot be described as either truly theistic or devotional. The idealistic Ātman-Brahman doctrine of identity is still the predominant note, and the self is still characterised in terms of negative theology (i, 3, 15), although in other passages its immanence and transcendence are also asserted (ii, 2, 9-10). It is, however, important to note that the Upaniṣad is marked by a growing tendency to distinguish between the supreme and the individual self as "light and

in the younger group of the major Upaniṣads.

The Kaṭha Upaniṣad,

theistic elements in it.

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1 In the still later dogmatic and sectarian Neo Upaniṣads a whole host of deities like Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Nārāyaṇa etc. appears as representatives or personifications of Brahman; but it is not necessary to take them into account here.

2 Cf. Weber, *Indische Studien*, ii, pp. 197-200.

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shadow" (i, 3, 1), thereby conceding something like a secondary reality to the latter, as well as by a very practical attitude which insists upon the realisation of self not in a future life but in this very life (ii, 3, 4). This can be attained, we are told, not by intellect, but by a kind of subtle and piercing *buddhi* or intuition (i, 3, 12), as well as by mystical *yoga*-practices (i, 2, 16 ; ii 2, 3), aided by the instruction of the spiritual teacher (i, 2, 8-9 ; i, 3, 14). Stress is laid on the necessity of introversion or turning the eye inwards, in contrast to the mere use of the senses (ii, 1, 1). We find also a mention of the different types or stages of mystical illumination in different worlds (ii, 3, 10), as well as of the forms in which the Ātman reveals itself before the mystic (ii, 1, 13).

Anticipations of a doctrine of grace and predestination.

The interpreters of the Upaniṣad are not agreed as to whether the above passages indicate full liberation, *jīvan-mukti* or liberation by stages, *krama-mukti* ; but there is one passage (i, 2, 23) which is supposed to formulate the doctrine of special grace. This verse says[1] :

"This Self is not to be gained by word of mouth, nor by intellect, nor by the manifold scripture. Only by the man whom He chooses is He apprehended ; to him the Ātman reveals His own form."

It is not clear if this passage, taken as a part of the whole text and not by itself, really inculcates a definite and deliberate doctrine of grace[2] and predestination ; but it certainly appears to imply the

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1 *nāyam ātmā pravacanena labhyo*
na medhayā na bahunā śrutena/
yam evaiṣa vṛṇute tena labhyas
tasyaiṣa ātmā vṛṇute tanuṃ svām//

Röer (see *Twelve Principal Upaniṣads*, ed, Tatya, p. 125) translates the verse differently, but inaccurately, thus : "It (soul) can be obtained by the soul by which it is desired. His soul (i.e. the soul of him who is desirous of knowing his own soul) reveals its own truth." We have followed above the generally accepted interpretation. Cf. Deussen, *op. cit.*, p. 177 ; Ranade and Belvalkar, *op. cit.*, p. 269 ; Keith *op. cit.*, p. 538. Nārāyaṇatīrtha in his *Bhakti-candrikā* commentary (ed. Benares, 1924) on the Śāṇḍilya-sūtra (i, 1. 3) quotes this verse as an authoritative enunciation of the doctrine of grace (*anugraha*).

2 On the evidence of *Kaṭha Up.*, i, 3, 9 (*so'dhvanaḥ pāram āpnoti tad viṣṇoḥ paramaṃ padam*) the Upaniṣad has been supposed to uphold sectarian Vaiṣṇavism, just as *Śvetāśvatara Up.* maintains a philosophical

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the mental attitude, which finding the futility of unaided human endeavour, ascribes the attainment of Ātman to an act of spiritual election,—a mental attitude in which are, indeed, to be found the roots or anticipations of the special doctrine of grace. The other, but still more doubtful passage (i, 2, 20),[1] which speaks of Ātman-realisation of the person who is free from desire and grief, is not clear as to its alleged theistic sense, because its interpretation depends upon whether we read *dhātu-prasādat*, "by the tranquility of the elements", or *dhātuḥ prasādāt* "by the grace of the creator." The fact, however, that these passages and ideas from the *Kaṭha* are repeated in later Upaniṣads like the *Muṇḍaka* (iii, 2, 3) and the *Śvetāśvatara* (iii, 20)[2] in a clearly theistic sense is important and significant.

Like the *Kaṭha*, the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* is interesting for having supplied many ideas, expressions and images to the *Bhagavadgītā*; but so many diverse and conflicting views appear side by side that its eclecticism is beyond doubt. Deussen[3] speaks of this Upaniṣad as being characterised generally by a pantheistic spirit, but extreme metaphysical views—some purely monistic (i, 1, 6; iii, 2, 8), some qualified monistic (iii. 1, 3), while others dualistic (iii, 1, 1-2) and even pluralistic (ii, 1, 1)[4]—make it difficult to deduce any one consistent doctrine from the work. Inspite of the dominant idealistic teaching of the impersonal Brahman, the age in which the work was composed must have been one of spiritual contradiction. That ritualism was not yet

The Muṇḍaka-Upaniṣad, its eclecticism.

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doctrine of Śaivism. But the evidence is too slight for any such conclusion. The phrase *viṣṇoḥ paramaṃ padam* refers probably to nothing more than the Ṛg-vedic myth of the highest step of the sun-god Viṣṇu. See Deussen, *Sechzig Upaniṣads*, p. 277, fn.

1 *tam akratuḥ paśyati vīta-śoko| dhātu-prasādān mahimānam ātmanaḥ||*

2 Reading *dhātuḥ prasādāt*. Also in *Mahānārāyaṇa Up.* 8, 3 (= *Taitt. Āraṇyaka*, x, 10, 1). Śaṅkara interprets the phrase as tranquility of the senses obtained by yoga-practices. Sāyaṇa on *Taitt. Ar.*, x, 10, 1 reads *dhātuḥ prasādāt*; while Nārāyaṇa gives both the explanations.

3 *Philosophy and Religion of the Upaniṣads*, p. 177.

4 It must be remembered that most of these passages lead ultimately to a unitary conclusion.

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dead is clear from the fact the author extols (i, 2, 1-6) and condemns (i, 2, 7-12) sacrificial religion almost in the same breath. The cosmology of the Upaniṣad is marked by a halting metaphysics, which anticipates at once the realistic Sāṃkhya and the idealistic Vedānta ideas. Although the original non-duality and impersonal aspects of the Brahman-doctrine are repeated, the Upaniṣad shows a distinctly practical mystical spirit of Brahma-realisation and does not hesitate to prescribe the aid of the spiritual teacher (i, 1, 12-13), the necessity of moral purity and the efficacy of *yoga*-practices for a direct communion with the Brahman by a kind of intuition, called Vijñāna (ii, 2, 7).[1] If its cosmogonism may be described as a personal-impersonal theory of creation, its doctrine of immortality may also be characterised in the same way[2]; but it is difficult to decide if it formulates the *krama-mukti* or *jīvan-mukti* doctrine of liberation. Nevertheless, inspite of these contradictions, this Upaniṣad, even if it insists on the primacy of the impersonal Brahman, appears on the whole to betray a growing tendency towards realism and belief in personality, which is hardly content with abstractions and with the hasty unity of pantheism. It tends with ever-increasing clearness to separate the supreme from the individual self, emphasising the personal more than the impersonal aspect of the supreme self. If the *Kaṭha* (i, 3, 1) distinguishes the individual and the supreme self as light and shadow, the *Muṇḍaka* goes a step further (iii, 1, 1-3) in making use of the Ṛg-vedic (i, 164, 21) imagery of two birds dwelling in one tree, one eating the sweet fruit and the other merely gazing on the scene,—thus fixing in an almost deistic fashion the responsibility of the enjoyment of the fruits of action on the individual self. While non-dualistic commentators like Śaṅkara appear to have been troubled over the reconciliation of this passage, later dualistic *bhakti* schools have tried to make proper use of it and push it to its logical conclusion; but there can hardly be any doubt that the passage really favours a dualistic view. The description of the Puruṣa in the cosmological account given in ii, 1 appears in the same way to favour a more personal than impersonal conception; and, as we have already noticed before, this Upaniṣad accepts and repeats from the *Kaṭha* the passage

Growing tendency towards realism and belief in personality.

1 Also called jñāna, iii, 1, 8.

2 Belvalkar and Ranade, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

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which appears to anticipate a doctrine of grace and predestination, which is further developed in the *Śvetāśvatara*.

The *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* has been characterised by Deussen as the leading example of the theistic teaching of the Upaniṣads, and scholars have accepted it as the *opus classicus* in which the roots and philosophic basis of the Śaivite doctrine of Rudra-Śiva worship are to be sought. But, properly speaking, the work, like most Upaniṣads again, presents no consistent or complete system; it attempts at a somewhat crude harmonisation of conflicting views.[1] It, no doubt, accepts the main Upaniṣadic position of the reality of the Supreme Brahman, who is in one passage (vi,11) described as *kevala* and *nirguṇa* and in another characterised negatively as "without parts, without action, without change, without faults" (vi, 19). At the same time, its theistic and devotional attitude is also undoubted. Its Śaivism, however, is so much suffused with traditional Vedic, Upaniṣadic, and Vedāntic thought (the earlier Saṃhitā and Upaniṣad texts having been exploited freely from the *disjecta membra* of its whole descriptions of the deity) that it is difficult to disentangle the original from the borrowed or traditional ideas, excepting, of course, its theistic doctrine of Rudra itself, which forms the peculiar feature of the work. But leaving aside the earlier theological conceptions as well as primitive Sāṃkhya, Yoga and Vedānta ideas, which it shares in common with the *Kaṭha* and the *Muṇḍaka*, and which need not detain us here, we have in the last chapter even a pure unsectarian theism in which the deity drops his designation of Rudra-Śiva and becomes the supreme universal god, although the concluding part of the description declares, in the true Upaniṣadic spirit, the identity of this divinity with the Ātman.

The Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad, its strong theistic note.

It cannot be said, however, that this Upaniṣad is merely eclectic or uncritical. It wavers indeed between divergent views but it attempts to harmonise them all under the conception of a personal god. Its interest and importance in Upaniṣadic thought consist chiefly in its contribution of the philosophy of the Īśvara, who is variously named

Its conception of a personal god.

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1 See Deussen, *Sechzig Upaniṣads* (Leipzig, 1897), pp. 288f. and Hopkins' remarks thereon in *JAOS*, 22 (1901), pp. 380-87. Deussen's view that the Upaniṣad is hardly sectarian is not convincing. Barth (*Religions of India*, Eng. trs., p. 207) would take it as a kind of Śaivite Bhagavadgītā.

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or described as Īśa, Īśāna, Deva, Rudra, Hara, Maheśvara or Śiva. An attempt, however, is made from the very outset to arrive at the theistic position by a criticism of a number of other views. Such doctrines as regard Time (Kāla), Nature (Svabhāva), Necessity (Niyati), Chance (Yadṛcchā), the elements (Bhūtāni), Puruṣa, or a combination of these to be the ultimate principle are found insufficient; and the Upaniṣad proceeds to postulate Īśa, Rudra or Deva as the ultimate principle, to whom the name Brahman is also applied. In this higher unity of Īśa, the antinomies of the perishable and the imperishable, the manifest and the unmanifest, the powerful and the powerless, the knowing and the not-knowing, the enjoyer and the enjoyed are synthesised (i, 8-9). The Upaniṣad then goes on to speak of the Triune Unity of Godhead (i, 9; 1, 12) as the enjoyer (*bhoktṛ*), the enjoyed (*bhogya*) and the impeller (*preritṛ*)—which anticipates clearly the trinitarian monism of the qualified monistic school of Rāmānuja. The *Śvetāśvatara* admits indeed the absolute Brahman as the highest entity, the metaphysical or basic conception, but the Īśa as the personal Lord is a kind of composite Brahman who is the eternal supporter of *jīva* and matter.[1] There is no trace of the extreme negative position of Yājñavalkya in this Upaniṣad; and being essentially theistic, it frankly presents Brahman or Īśvara as distinct from the individual, although the distinction is probably regarded as one of degree.

Its Śaivite doctrine of Īśa or Īśvara.

The Śaivite doctrine of Īśvara is to be found chiefly in the third and fourth chapters of the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, although references to Īśa, Hara or Śiva occur in the other chapters as well. As we have stated above, an attempt has been made in this work to clothe the sectarian doctrine of a personal god in the language and convention of Vedic and Upaniṣadic thought; and borrowings, either wholesale or in fragments from earlier texts, are scattered throughout. At times the Brahman is set above or identified with Rudra, although to Brahman himself the name of Lord (Īśa), which is also a synonym of Rudra, is expressly given. Rudra, however, has a real existence. He is described as holding his powers or nets (*pāśa*)[2] in his hand, and thus creating, preserving and destroying the world (iii, 1-2). He has his eyes and his face, his arms and feet everywhere, and from him the

1 S. Radhakrishnan, *op. cit.*, pp. 512-13.

2 This foreshadows the Śaivite doctrine of Paśu, Pati and Pāśa.

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Hiraṇyagarbha was first born. He is the maker, the all-knower, self-born, intelligent, the author of time and yet set beyond all time, the ruler of matter and spirit, the lord of qualities and the cause of bondage and release. Divine immanence as well as transcendence is admitted; and in a mood of inspired revelation (iii, 8) the author of the Upaniṣad assures us that he has himself known this great "Person" of sun-like radiance who is beyond all darkness. With a clearer tendency to Vedāntic thought, the god Īśa or Īśāna is also regarded (iv, 9-11) as a maker of magic (*māyin*), and the product, the Universe, as the illusion (*māyā*),[1] the cause of the bondage of the soul.

As a corollary to this gradually developing theistic attitude, the supreme self in the Upaniṣads, in relation to the individual self, was gradually assuming the appearance of a personal providence.[2] In the *Śvetāśvatara* (vi, 11) the personalised Ātman is the overseer of actions (*karmādhyakṣa*), who apportions qualities and ends to each and all (vi, 4),[3] executes justice, restrains evil, allots good fortune (vi, 6) and brings to maturity whatever is to ripen (v, 5).

The supreme self in the character of personal providence.

To see this god, who is a representative of and even sometimes set beyond the Ātman, in a mystic vision is declared to be the end of man. Nearly the whole of the second chapter (ii, 8f.) prescribes *yoga*-practices for a mystical realisation of the godhead, and the ethical attitude is indicated by an insistence on moral purity in the devotee. Towards the end (iv, 18, 21, 23) of the work, we are told that the reality of god cannot be comprehended by knowledge but by faith and meditation. This Upaniṣad

The mystical and ethical elements of this Upaniṣad.

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1 It is not necessary to read, with Deussen, the nihilistic interpretation of Śaṅkara into this first formal appearance of *māyā* in a philosophical sense; but there can hardly be any doubt that it foreshadows the Vedāntic idea. In this passage the word is probably meant to suggest that the nature of the relation of the empiric world to absolute reality (conceived here in a theistic sense) consists of an illusion or delusion of duality, such as Yājñavalkya would suggest in a passage like *Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka Up.*, ii, 4, 14.

2 See Deussen, *op. cit.*, pp. 211f. Cf. Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 528.

3 *yathā-tathyato* as *Īśa Up.*, 8 puts it, even at the expense of the metre. Cf. *Kaṭha*, ii, 2, 13.

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repeats, like the *Muṇḍaka*, the *Kaṭha*-verse about two birds dwelling in the same tree; but it goes a step further by combining this image with the parable of the "two he-goats" (iv, 5), one loving and lying by the tri-coloured she-goat and the other abandoning her after his enjoyment—a parable which is supposed to imply inchoate Sāṃkhya doctrines mixed with Vedānta. Whether the other *Kaṭha*-verse (i, 2, 23) repeated with the reading *dhātuḥ prasādāt* (iii, 20), "by grace of god", is to be interpreted as expressly formulating the doctrine of grace may be doubted; but the theistic character of the Upaniṣad makes such a conclusion highly probable. This is indeed confirmed by the passage[1] in vi, 18, in which the devotee, desirous of liberation, surrenders himself and seeks the protection of the god, somewhat in the same manner as the doctrine of *prapatti* or self-surrender would make the *bhakta* act. And lastly, in a concluding passage (vi, 23)[2] we are told that divine knowledge reveals itself to one who has *bhakti* or high devotion to God (*deva*), as well as to his spiritual teacher (*guru*)—a sentiment which clearly anticipates the general attitude of the *Bhagavadgītā* and the later *bhakti-śāstra*.

Dualistic passages.

The doctrine of grace and predestination more definitely asserted.

Anticipation of the doctrine of Prapatti and use of the term bhakti.

Amid the perplexing variety of their teaching, these definite theistic developments in the younger Upaniṣads, culminating in a vivid sectarianism, are not only philosophical anticipations of later religious beliefs, but also indicate a compromise between high specula-

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1 *taṃ ha devam ātma-buddhi-prakāśam|*
mumukṣur vai śaraṇam ahaṃ prapadye.||

Hume (*Thirteen Principal Upaniṣads*, Oxford, 1921, p. 410) translates the phrase *ātma-buddhi-prakāśam* as "who is lighted by his own intellect"; but it may mean "one who reveals or is revealed by the knowledge of self". The variant reading *ātma-buddhi-prasādam*, noticed by Hume, is noteworthy, because of the word *prasāda* in this connection. Hume would render this phrase as "who through his own grace lets himself be known". The phrase *deva-prasāda* apparently in the sense of "grace of god" is directly used in *Śvetāśvatara Up.*, vi, 21. The verse i, 6, (*juṣṭas tena* etc.) which is sometimes cited as indicating a doctrine of grace hardly supports the position.

2 There is nothing to doubt the genuineness of the passage.

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tion and popular faith. The Upaniṣadic Ātman had swallowed up the hieratic as well as the popular gods, retiring as it did beyond the mortal ken but was realisable in the depth of self. A compromise was effected between what may be called the religion of the Ātman[1] as a jealous god and the religion of vivid and powerful deities, flourishing among the people and derived, in some cases in a modified form, from the old Vedic pantheon. The theosophic speculations could dispense with faith in a living god ; but we have seen that even the older Upaniṣads, inspite of their cool intellectualism, was never devoid, from the beginning, of a devout theistic leaning, which varied from passage to passage and became stronger in the younger group of texts. If *bhakti* did not form a cardinal point or even a constituent doctrine of the early Upaniṣads, as it must have done of popular faiths, we can at least say that the religious attitude indicated by the word was not altogether absent ; and its development must have received an impetus from these sectarian faiths. It also proved a solvent for the rigorous monism and idealism of the impersonal Upaniṣadic doctrine. The impersonal Ātman in course of time became invested with a distinct personality and was conceived as Īśvara. A distinction was naturally implied between the Ātman as the ultimate principle and the Ātman within us. So long as the individual clings to his individuality, the absolute Ātman is a personal god ; but the two become one when the individual surrenders.

Compromise between philosophy and popular religion, resulting in a devotional attitude towards a more personalised Ātman.

Deussen[2] is probably right in thinking that the theism of the Upaniṣad did not develop from Vedic pantheism (for the Ātman is not a *deva*, god, in the Vedic sense, but he is the lord, *Īśvara*), but that its origin is to be sought in such texts as poetically personify and celebrate the Ātman as *antaryāmin*, "the inner guide." In the *Kaṭha* (ii, 12, 21) and the *Śvetāśvatara* (i, 8) stage,[3] however, the epithet *deva* as well as *īśvara* is directly applied ; and by that time, personal adoration of real gods, whether handed down

Theistic development in the younger Upaniṣads—their general character.

1 Griswold, *Ātman : A Study in the History of Indian Philosophy* (New York, 1900), p. 62.

2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 173, 175f.

3 It is noteworthy that in *Vedānta-sāra* 43, the *antaryāmin* is apparently identified with the Vedāntist's Īśvara.

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in a modified form by Vedic tradition or evolved by popular imagination, must have given a direct impetus to the evolution of a personal god. The evidence of the *Śvetāśvatara*, in which the theism, suffused with trinitarian monism, is connected with Rudra-Śiva, the new great god created partially by Brahmanism and partially by popular religion, is therefore of great importance.[1]

Connection with popular deities.

In the Upaniṣads, the Vedic gods as are not mere symbolical representations of Brahman but are conceived as gods by birth, by meritorious action or by knowledge of Brahman, are hardly on a higher level than men. The gradually evolving theistic sense can hardly be accounted for by such lower deities; it is, on the other hand, directly connected with Śiva, and later with Viṣṇu, who are not conceived in their primitive Vedic aspect but in their new character as living gods of popular faith. This new relation is seen in the use of the terms Īśa, Īśvara, which are epithets at once of Rudra-Śiva in sectarian faiths and also of the supreme self in later philosophical systems.[2]

Necessity of enquiry into popular cults tending towards devotionalism, especially into Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva worship.

As this stage of development is due not only to the personal element in the religion of the priests but also to the social, religious and racial factors which determined the trend of the *bhakti*-cults, and must have reacted upon that personal element, it would be necessary to turn our attention now to the popular faiths tending towards devotionalism, of which one of the most important and the most ancient is the Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva worship. This cult, essentially popular in origin, allied itself with a doctrine of *bhakti* and found a more or less complete philosophical expres-

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1 The *Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣad* goes much further and refers to the trinitarian conception of Brahmā, Rudra and Viṣṇu. In some of the very late Neo-Upaniṣads, like the *Mahānārāyaṇa*, the *Kaivalya*, and the *Atharvaśiras*, the influx of sectarian ideas is definite, and the term *bhakti* is freely used. There are also definite Vaiṣṇava Upaniṣads like the *Gopāla-tāpanī*, *Rāma-tāpanī*, etc. from which the later Vaiṣṇavite sects claim to derive their inspiration and authority. They will be found collected together in Jacob's *Eleven Atharvan Upaniṣads* (2nd ed. Bombay, 1916) and A. Mahādeva Śāstrī's *Vaiṣṇava Upaniṣads* (Adyar Library, Madras, 1923). As they are works of distinctly late sectarian inspiration, it is not necessary to take them into account here.

2 Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 524-25.

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sion in the theism and devotionalism of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhagavadgītā*. But to deal with the origin and development of this cult would require a separate essay.[1]

MRINAL DAS GUPTA

The Indo-Aryan Invasion—A Myth*

In view of the comments made by Dr. Thomas[2] and Mr. Vaidya on my paper on "Indo-Aryan Invasion" published in this Journal[3], I consider it necessary to give a few more facts in support of my contention. The ancestors of the present-day Indians have been in possession of the Punjab and the U. P. since recorded history. Their language is of foreign origin. Grierson[4] writes that "nowhere are there presented stronger warnings against basing ethnological theories on

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1 I must express my deep obligations to my teacher Dr. S. K. De, under whom these investigations were carried on. My thanks are also due to Mr. Haridas Bhattacharya for his suggestions.

* Abbreviations used: AM = Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 41—extracts from which have been published in the *Pioneer* of Allahabad, dated the 2nd. Sept., 1929, at pp. 10 and 21; ASR = Report of the Archæological Survey of India 1925-6; AV = Atharva Veda; DRAS = The Different Royal Genealogies of Ancient India by J. Pati in JBORS (1920), pp. 205 ff.; EHI = Early History of India by V. A. Smith (1914); HIL = History of Indian Literature; IAR = Indo-Aryan Races (1916), pt. I only published; IHQ = Indian Historical Quarterly, explained at pp. vol. IV, pp. 678ff. and vol. V p. 274; LLL = The Land of Loan in Languages by J. Pati in JBORS (1923), pp. 179ff; LSI = Linguistic Survey of India; Mbh. = Mahābhārata; OAS = Origin of the Aryans; Princ. Anth. = Principles and Methods of Physical Anthropology (1920); RPV = Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas by Dr. Keith; Ṛv = Ṛg.veda; TIIW = Times of India Illustrated Weekly; VI = Vedic Index; VGS = Macdonell's Vedic Grammar for Students.

2 IHQ., V, pp. 248ff, 253ff.

3 Ibid., IV, pp. 678-694.

4 LSI., I, i, pp. 28-9

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linguistic facts than in India. There are many instances of tribes which have in historic times abandoned one language and taken to another. A striking example is afforded by the tribe of Nahals in the Central Provinces. These people appear to have originally spoken a Munda language akin to Kurku. It came under Dravidian influence, and has become a mixed form of speech, half Munda and half Dravidian. This, in its turn, has fallen under the spell of Aryan tongues, and is now in a fair way to becoming an Aryan language. If we were to judge by language, a hundred years ago we should have called the tribe Munda, ten years ago the same tribe Dravidian and fifty years hence an Aryan. The 'unholy alliance' between the two sciences has been condemned, and has now fallen into disrepute. Further on, "in India, the Indo-Aryan languages,—the tongues of civilization and of the caste system with all the power and superiority which that system confers upon those who live under its sway,—are continually superseding what may, for shortness, be called the aboriginal languages such as those belonging to the Dravidian, the Munda, and the Tibeto-Burman families. * * * It may be added that nowhere we see the reverse process of a non-Aryan language superseding an Aryan. It is even rare for one Aryan-speaking nationality to abandon its language in favour of another Aryan tongue." "Here we have the ancient process demonstrated before our eyes—a most rare and so most valuable opportunity for students of linguistics. There is no conquest going on, still the aryanisation is proceeding apace silently. And this is more in consonance with ancient and modern facts, linguistic and ethnological, however inferior the latter may be to the former in intensiveness and precision.

In my previous paper I referred to the cerebrals in Vedic militating against the Conquest theory, a fact appreciated by its propounders as also by its staunch supporter Mr. Vaidya. The old explanation of the sounds having been borrowed from Dravidian was shown by Bühler[1] as unscientific and appears to have been abandoned, but it has been replaced by another, viz., modification due to the pronunciation of pre-Vedic by Indians born of foreign Aryan and aboriginal parents.[2] This lacks in proof altogether besides bringing in unnecessary complication. The first thing that has got to be proved is that the Vedic Ṛṣis were of mixed origin and took wives from those tribes. And secondly that persons of mixed descent mispronounce

1 LLL, p. 148.

2 RPV, p. 9.

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the language of their fathers—as apart from the fact of their imitating the mispronounced language which they hear in their family circles. Do the Anglo-Indians pronounce the English tongue in the same way as pronounced by the educated Indians? If two hundred years of mixed descent in similar climate and circumstances have not produced any introduction of cerebrals in the Anglo-Indian English (or Indo-Persian Persian after a miscegenation of about 1000 years), what justification is there for supposing that such a thing occurred in respect of another Aryan tongue in the past? Not that foreign sounds are not found in the mouth of persons of mixed descent, but that is, not because of the fact of miscegenation, but quite independent of that cause. The real and only cause so far known and proved by history and present experience is the pronuciation by foreign persons, due to several circumstances, of which conquest and its concomitant miscegenation is one but not the only one. "Among the chief causes which have effected such wide extensions of certain languages are slavery, conquest, numerical superiority, commerce, political supremacy, religion, and superior culture".[1] Nor can it be asserted that conquest alone, that is, conquest, in every case, does mean the implanting of the language of the conquerors. We have the examples of the Persian conquests of Syria, India, the Slavic conquest of Greece, the Mongolian conquest of Europe, and many other, without having produced any such result. So conquest is never the real cause of the expansion of the language of the conquerors. The real cause is either the (i) numerical or (ii) cultural supeririority of the conquerors. The first is illustrated by the English conquest of Australia by exterminating the aborigines, while the second is supported by "the pure-blooded Aztecs (in Mexico) who form the large part of the population" and yet "speak Spanish".[2] None of these essential qualifications can be postulated for the supposed Aryan conquerors of India. For the numerical superiority is disproved by the introduction of the cerebrals into, and the disappearance of *z*, *zh*[3] and short *e* and short *o* from, Vedic, while the cultural superiority is disproved[4] by the superior civilization disclosed by the new archæological evidences and those

1 OAS, p. 208. 2 Ibid, p. 12. 3 VGS, p. 18.

4 Cf. Winternitz, HIL, p. 300—"This territory was inhabited not merely by forest tribes, but by peoples possessing a civilization not much inferior to that of the invaders".

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deduced from the Ṛgveda when compared with the results of philological and Avestan studies.

For this purpose we have the help of common (phonetically equivalent) words in Avestan and Vedic, as also the Gāthās of Zendavesta and the earlier portions of Ṛgveda coupled with archæological evidence. So far as personal refinement is concerned the Indians wore ornaments of gold,[1] jewels (maṇi),[2] plaited their hair,[3] wore mantles[4] (drapi), embroidered garment[5] (peśas), shawls,[6] head-dress,[7] lived in brick-built palaces,[8] forts (pura),[9] with sanitary drains,[10] bath-rooms,[11] probably temples,[12] and open baths,[13] roofs supported probably by beams and rafters.[14] They used plain and painted vessels.[15] In agriculture, they were not mere sowers and grain-collectors, as were the supposed proto-Indo-Aryans, for that is the evidence of linguistic palæontology (there being only two words common to Sanskrit and Avestan—*yavam*, *kṛṣ* and *śasya*, corresponding to *yao karesh* and *hahya*), but had irrigation arrangements,[16] separate fields,[17] ploughs with shares[18] drawn by buffaloes or oxen.[19] They used sickle,[20] winnows[21] and measured in urdras.[22] They had weighing units from 0.9 grains to 271 grains[23] and grew wheat[24] of the same variety that is now grown in the Punjab. They knew the preparation of curd,[25] butter, mess cooked with milk (odanam),[26] and a kind of cheese. The industrial advancement can be measured by the foregoing descriptions, as also by the fact that they knew tanning of hides[27] and the manufacture of bow strings, slings, reins, bags, and manufacture of glass articles, shell bangles as also copper,[28] and iron or bronze kettle,[29]

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1 VI, ii, p. 504.
2 Ibid, ii, p. 119; ASR, p. 89, 90 and plate XLII.
3 VI, i, pp. 124, 135. 4 VI, i, p. 383. 5 VI, ii, p. 22.
6 ASR, p. 90 and plate XLIII fig. a.
7 ASR, p. 90; VI, i, p. 144.
8 VI, i, p. 538; Ṛv, iii, 12, 6; ASR, p. 77.
9 Ṛv, iv, 32, 10. 10 ASR, pp. 80, 81. 11 Ibid, p. 82.
12 Ibid, p, 79. 13 Ibid, p. 77. 14 Ibid, p. 78.
15 Ibid, pp. 82, 87. 16 VI, i, p. 99. 17 Ibid, pp. 210, 216.
18 VI, i, p. 182; ii, p. 58. 19 VI, i, p. 182.
20 Ibid. 21 Ibid. 22 ASR, p. 92-3.
23 TIIW, 15 Jan. 1929, p. 52. 24 VI, i, p. 208-9.
25 VI, i, p. 124. 26 Ibid, p. 257. 27 ASR, p. 76.
28 Ibid, p. 85. 29 VI, i, p. 31.

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with lid and hooks[1] by smelting the ores.[2] And then there were the traders[3] with their practice of selling articles at a good price after much haggling[4] of articles of local make as well as those carried beyond the sea.[5] All this was possible only under a strong political state with a king,[6] hereditary or elective[7] and an Overlord[8] with policemen,[9] village headmen,[10] village-judges,[11] and arbitrators,[12] backed by an army of kṣatriyas (nobles),[13] grāmins (village headmen)[14] and *kulapas* (heads of families), with coats-of-mail on,[15] armed with bows and arrows tipped with iron,[16] a weapon which made them very formidable and so valuable mercenarles in the Persian invasion of Greece even in the 5th century B. C.[17] These coupled with the facts that the Punjab was an occupied country[18] in pre-Aryan times even and the entry into India had to be made through a very difficult path down to the times of Alexander's invasion,[19] and that no ship or vessel was known to have been in use among the supposed unseparated Indo-Iranians,[20] yet they must need be credited with having carried the heavy pontoons which were required by their supposed distant descendant in the 3rd century B. C.[21] to cross the formidable Indus in the teeth of the far more formidable Dāsas and Dasyus of large numbers with their fortifications[22] and improved archery. When it is further remembered that the Bhojas of the Punjab with their border language, half Iranian, half Indian (as can be inferred from the Mittani and other Aryan names of the 15th cent. B. C.—Asia Minor, Dusaratta, Mattiuazza, Artatama, Subandu, Suwardata, Suttama),[23] are traditionally known[24] to have fled towards the west out of fear of the king of Magadha (for whom

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1 VI, i, p. 256.
2 Ibid, p. 405, See Rv. ix, 112, 2. 3 VI, ii, p. 237
4 VI, i, p. 196. 5 Ibid. 6 VI, ii, p. 432 and ASR. p. 78.
7 VI, ii, p. 210. 8 Ibid, p. 211.
9 Ibid, p. 453. 10 VI, i, p. 83. 11 VI. i, pp. 247, 248.
12 VI, ii, pp. 127-8, 213. 13 VI, i, 204 ; ii, 212.
14 VI, i, p. 247 ; P.C. Basu, Indo-Aryan Polity p. 82.
15 VI, ii, p. 271-2. 16 VI, i, p. 81. 17 EHI, p. 37.
18 AM (41), 19 EHI, p. 50, fn. 2 ; pp. 54-56.
20 One reason why in the Iranian version the ship does not appear, may be that they did not know the ship till very late times.
21 EHI, pp. 60, 63. 22 RV, iv, 44, 10.
23 IAR, p. 30 24 Mbh, II, 13.

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Alexander even could not proceed further than the western Punjab[1]), who may very probably be connected with the Hittani and other foreign princes of Western Asia, or Indian or border-Indian names of the 15th cent. B. C., it becomes well nigh impossible to believe that a portion of the culturally inferior unseparated Indo-Iranians ever ventured to enter into hostility, cross the Indian border, not to speak of defeating and getting a permanent footing in the land of the ancestors of the Sikhs.

To the above mentioned fact it may be added that the Ṛgveda, the book of the supposed invaders, does not contain even a word of reference to their non-Indian home,[2] or the fearful battles which they must have fought on their way through the Kabul valley,—the steep and difficult path over the mountains and the crossing of the Indus and the other rivers of the Punjab. It, has to be remembered further that the view hitherto prevailing about the hymns having been composed in the Punjab has been found to be wrong, and that for many reasons, the chief of which are: (i) the monsoon phenomena described in the hymns occur not in the Punjab, but in the U. P.,[3] (ii) the dawn hymns which might be of the Punjab are on metrical grounds classed as later in time,[4] (iii) the hymns describing the battle of the Ten kings clearly describe the Bharatas, the principal Aryan clan, as coming from the east of the Beas and the Sutlej,[5] (iv) the western rivers are very rarely mentioned in Rv.; Krumu, Kubha and Sindhu are mentioned as if they were far away, (v) there is no break in the period of the Ṛgveda and the Brāhmaṇas which discover the chief tribes of the Indo-Aryans in the Gangetic Doab,[6] and no movement is recorded of these tribes from the Punjab, (vi) the lands about the Sarasvatī and the Dṛṣadvatī rivers are regarded as the most sacred spot,[7] and (vii) the fact that if they had come from the west through Afganistan they must have become acquainted with the Salt Ranges, and yet, in the whole of the Ṛgveda, no reference is made to Lavana[8] (salt). The Punjab has been in later times despised by the Brāhmaṇas, and its religion and ways of life have

1 Plutarch, Alexander, Sec. LXII (tr. by Aubery Stuart, pp. 363-4)

2 RPV, p. 9, fn, 3. 3 RPV, p. 3. 4 Ibid.

5 VI, i, p. 169, fn. 44. 6 RPV, p. 12.

7 IHQ, iv, p. 679. 8 VI, ii, p. 230.

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been made an object of ridicule and condemnation.[1] Nothing against this attitude is to be found in the Saṃhitās or the Brāhmaṇas, excepting the respectful mention of its rivers. The Punjab proper is the land of the despised Vāhikas. The Indo-Sumerian palace and houses that have been found at Harappa, and lower down in Mohen-jo-Daro, might have been the stronghold of the Dasyus in very old times, and of the speakers of the Irano-Indian language of a later period.

We thus see that the phonetics of the Vedic language does not support, if not oppose, the conquest theory. The contents of the Ṛgveda also go against it.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, an authority on ethnology, says, "The earliest proto-human[2] ancestor of *Homo sapiens*, as we have reasons to infer, probably emerged from a previous pre-human or humanoid stage in middle or late Pliocene times, somewhere in the warm climate of South Central Asia—either in India, Burma, or Malasia * * * All the evidence hitherto available would appear to indicate that man originated somewhere in South Central Asia in Pliocene times and his descendants gradually peopled the whole earth by Pleistocene and post-Pleistocene ages. Two old human crania from India were recently examined by Dr. A. Keith. One was found in alluvial deposit 35 feet below the level of the bed of the Gambhir river near the village Bayana (U. P.), during an excavation for a railway bridge. Dr. Keith found this cranium to belong to Risley's 'Aryo-Dravidian' type. Dr. Vrendenburg opines that if, as the perfectly smooth surface of the skull indicates, it lay embedded in the fine grained silt of the nature of "Loess" so abundant on the Bayana region, the formation in which it was found would be one of the early Pleistocene age. In Europe, however, all the fossil human remains of that period belong to the Neanderthal race. As for the Sialkot remains found in the watershed of the Indus (Punjab) by Lt. Hingston, in 1912, on the side of a deep nullah six feet below the level of the adjoining field, clear indications of a burial were present. The dimensions and form of the Sialkot skull are considered by Dr. Keith to indicate a greater predominance of the Aryan characters." Unfortunately the date has not been calculated but this has been remedied by the recent finds of the skeletal remains in Mohen-jo-Daro of

1 Av, v. 22, 5-14; Mbh, Karṇaparvan, XLV, 40f.
2 Prince. Anth., p. 118, fn.

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dolichocephals supporting the conclusions of the linguistic and literary data as to the aboriginal character of the present day Punjabis and the so-called Indo-Aryans. I have referred to them in my previous article.[1] My point is made clear by these being set against the totally different conditions of other regions, especially of Iran. We have seen that the theory of the mixed descent of the inhabitants of the United Provinces is proved false by the finding in that province of the earliest man represented by his present descendants of U. P. And he was in a far advanced stage than his contemporary in Europe. Denniker, the great French anthropologist, after an examination of the table of cephalic indices of 336 series of heads concludes: "Dolichocephaly[2] (70 to 74-9) is almost exclusively located at Melanesia, Australia, in India and in Africa. Sub-dolichocephaly (75 to 77-7) diffused in the two extreme regions, north and south of Europe; in Asia, it forms a zone round India (Indo-China, Anterior Asia, China and Japan, etc.), but is met with only sporadically in other parts of the world, especially in America. Mesocephaly (77-7 to 79-9) is frequent in Europe in the regions bordering on the Sub-dolichocephalic countries, as well in different parts of Asia and America. Sub-brachycephaly (80 to 83-2), much diffused among the Mongolians of Asia and the populations of Eastern Europe, is very rare elsewhere. Lastly, brachycephalic (85-3 to 84-9) and hyper-brachycephalic (85 to 85-9) heads are almost exclusively limited to Western and Central Europe, to some parts of Asia, Turko-Mongolia, Irano-Semites and Thal-Malays. From the statistics given in Ruggeri's monograph, from which I quoted in my previous article, it is clear that of the 209 Afghans, 58 Galchas, 440 Tajiks, 19 Wakhis (Kashgar), 950 Armenians, and 397 Semetics measured by different authorities, the average cephalic index of all shows that they are brachycephals, and the Persians, Yesids, Jews of Fellachi, Baluchis Barhuis are more near brachycephals than dolicho-cephals.[3] Thus there is no racial connection between the Aryan speaking Indians, and the Armenians and the Europeans, and then there is meagre evidence to prove that the Indians were aborigines; the recent archæological evidence at least proves that they were here before the appearance of Aryan speech in India.

It is wrong to suggest that Sanskrit is an aboriginal language,

1 IHQ, iv, pp. 692-3. 2 Princ. Anth., p. 139.

3 Anth. Asia, tr. Chakladar, pp. 78, 90-2.

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without considering the fact that the main divisions of Aryan tongues are spoken in Europe by races who occupy positions much the same they did when the languages separated from the parent branch.[1] It was asserted on a proper reading of the Ṛg-veda "that the main difference between the Dasyu and the Aryan must have been one of religion,"[2] and this has independent support from the recent archæological finds. The yonis and the liṅgas, rightly or wrongly, condemned in the Ṛg-veda, appear to have been worshipped as a matter of fact by the Indo-Sumerians.[3] There has been found an image of a Yogin "engaged in practising concentration,"[4] as also a seal with a pipal tree (ficus religiosa) with twin heads springing from the trunk." Therefore they, according to Mr. Earnest Mackay of Govt. of India Archæological Dept., "seem to represent a two-headed dragon residing in the tree. A six-headed dragon of the same type is represented in another fragmentary seal. Two of the surviving heads on this seal are two-horned and one head is one-horned. Mr. K. N. Dikshit points out that a terracotta tablet from Mohen-jo-Daro bears clear evidence of tree worship. "These prove that the civilization of Indus Valley was not only the real predecessor of modern Indian civilization but also that it was of indigenous growth, as it has something common with Babylonian and Egyptain religion, and was in the main distinctly Indian. This was of old growth. On the other hand the Vedic religion has all the characteristics of one of a new fervid origin, and it is certainly organically connected with the Pre-Zarathustrian faith of Iran. This has been pointed out by almost every writer on Indo-Iranian subject since the dawn of modern Comparative Philology.[5] I do not agree with all they say particularly the unscientific connexion of Avestan Andra with Indra,[6] for the equation is against the rules of Comparative Philology, the name Indra being of non-Aryan origin and certainly of Indian growth, but the cult of Mathra, Asha, Divine order, Yasna and Haoma, have got all the fascination of new mysticism. There might not be any truth

1 Anth. Asia, pp. 271-2. 2 IAP, p. 52 ; VI, i, p. 347.
3 ASR, p. 79. 4 AM (41).
5 Haug's Essays, pp. 257ff., RPV, pp. 32ff., Mills, Our Own Religion etc., pp. 75ff., Lassen, Alt. Ind., I, pp. 511f., etc.
6 LLL, pp. 197f. ; Mills, Our Own Religion etc., p. 79. According to the rules of phonetical changes, *i* in Sk. is never represented by *a* in Avestan.

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in the magical claim of potency of the Ṛg-vedic mantras, at least this has not been scientifically investigated, but results due to other causes might have been transferred to these, and as among simple-minded, change-loving people, once a new cult gains fame it spreads like the American fire in the Prairies, it must have caught the Indian mind very early. The fact is that the repeating of the mantra in its correct form (impliedly) must have led to the cultivation of language itself. And this is supported by the Ṛg-veda (X, 71, 308), Brāhmaṇas and the non-Aryan tradition of Kaca's mission to Śukrācārya,[1] the Iranian Kaikaus,[2] to learn the mantra of bringing back the dead to life. This Kaca was the son of the priest of the devas representing their worshippers, the Indians. It has no counterpart in other Aryan mythologies. But the latter portion of the myth describing the unreciprocated love of the daughter of Śukrācārya,[3] ending with her curse on her ungallant beloved, is but a humanised version of the permanent race of Venus after the Sun, sometimes too far going ahead, at other times lagging too far behind, never meeting, elaborated in the Chaldean epic as the disappointed love of Ishtar, the Babylonian name of Venus. Now this hypothesis, besides explaining all the linguistic and literary facts most simply, explains the origin of the caste also. In most countries it is found that originally the king is the priest, a fact which ultimately leads to his being considered divine. In India alone has in ancient time this function been separated from him. "The only conceivable reason,"[4] says Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, a great supporter of the Invasion theory,[5] "why the king in the Indus valley in the beginning agreed to waive the natural prerogative of royalty to act as the high priest and the

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1 Mbh, I, 76ff. This tradition is independently supported by certain statements about purity of speech in the Brāhmaṇas. "The speech of the Kuru-Pāṇḍavas was especially renowned (Ś.Br., iii, 2, 3, 15), as well as that of the northern country [perhaps near about Khotan, where I would locate the Kaikeya Aśvapati-Vistāspa], according to the Kauṣītaka Brāhmaṇa (vii, 6) *so that men went there to study the language*" (VI. ii, 297). Cf. Rv, X, 98, 3.

2 RPV, p. 232 ; Haug, Essays etc., pp. 278f.

3 DRAI, pp. 225f.

4 AM (41).

5 IAR, p. 33.

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freedom to recruit subordinate priests from any class, is to be sought in his belief that the gods of the Ṛṣis were more powerful and the hymns and the rites of the Ṛṣis more efficacious than the gods he could himself invoke and the rites he could himself perform. The recognition of the claims of the Ṛṣis to act as the sole intermediaries between the Vedic gods and men has probably to be assigned to two different causes, which is really only one, viewed from two different points, that is, the religion of the Ṛṣis was new and different from the old and probably decadent religion of the indigenous people." "If", continues he, "we are right in our assumption that in the Indus valley the distinction between the Ṛṣi families on the one hand and the warrior clans and the common people (viśaḥ) on the other, from the dawn of history, is to be traced to the fundamental cultural difference between the two groups, then we have got to abandon the orthodox view that the Upper Indus valley was wrested from the dark-skinned and noseless Dāsas, or Dasyus still in a stage of savagery by a vigorous race of immigrants who descended from the mountains of Afghanistan near about the beginning of the second millennium B.C." And then he proceeds to state his own hypothesis which differs only a little from mine only because he overlooks certain linguistic facts and does not correlate his explanation with tradition. The hypothesis that, according to him, fits in with the evidence discussed above may be stated thus : "On the eve of the Aryan immigration, the Indus valley was in possession of a civilised and warlike people. The Aryans, mainly represented by the Ṛṣi clans, came to seek their fortune in small numbers more or less as missionaries of the cult of Indra, Varuṇa and Agni and other gods of nature and settled in peace under the protection of the native rulers, who readily appreciated their great merit as sorcerers and employed them to secure the assistance of the Aryan gods against their human and non-human enemies by offering sacrifices with the recitation of hymns." He clearly recounts his former view about the foreign origin of the Bharatas and the Yadus, and says that the new archæological evidence shows that they along with the other Aryan tribes mentioned in the Ṛg-veda, the Purus, the Turvasus, Anus, Druhyus and others celebrated in the hymns were of the indigenous Chalcolithic civilisation. Fascinating as the missionary theory is, it is not sufficient to explain the appearance of cerebrals and loss of *z*, *zh*, short *e*, *o*, representing degeneration of pure Ārya sounds, but at the same time, the extensive maintenance of various forms of the old language, and secondly the absence of all mention of foreign

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homes of these Ṛṣis, as we have in the tradional account preserved by the Śākadvīpi-brāhmaṇas or themselves. And the third is the absence of all ethnological difference between the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas of the Punjab and U. P.[1], representing the Ṛṣis and the Princes respectively. And lastly it does not prove sufficien tly the need of the spread of the Aryan language. Missionaries propagate a religion ; they have no business to change the language of people. Besides it does not explain the paradoxical fact that the cult is identical, but the name of the same deity is different, Agni in India and Ātar in Iran. The main contention of the Rai Bahadur is however proved by an almost conclusive piece of evidence, not hitherto noticed. Kings in Iran were called Kāva,[2] while priests and not kings in India claim that title, Kavi.[3] This is supported by the fact that the principal Iranian king Kava Us (Kaikaus of Firdausi) is known among the Indians, in their tradition with the phonetically identical name, Kavi Uśnā

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1 Anthropology of Asia, tr. by Chakladar, p. 43.

2 Taraporewala, Sel. Av., I, p. 36.

3 Haug, Essays etc., pp. 289f. A further important fact to be noted in this connection is that the ancient seers appear conscious of the priest-cum-kingly significance of the term, for they never join it with their own or that of their ancestors' name as they freely do with that of god Indra, or Uśnā. And the tradition underlying the brāhmaṇising of the King (Ait. Br., vii, 4, 23), before he begins a sacrifice, clearly points to the old inseparable union of the two functions among the people from whom the cult was borrowed by those among whom it is found separated from the earliest times. Taraporewala clearly states regarding Ancient Iran that the King was the Priest (Sel. Av., pp. 95f.). Only his anxiety to find a parallel in India in the word rājarṣi fails, it being a very late word and never having that meaning. Similarly the necessary act of eating the sacrificial food is to be done by the Purohita, for the former being *ahutad*, the latter is ½ of the kṣatriya (Ibid., 26) ; he is for this reason excluded from the Soma drink (Ibid., vii, 5, 27). And the last and the most important point to be noted in this connection is that while in Avesta (Yasna, ix) it is the kings who are named (excepting the father of Z. for obvious reasons, or may be because he too was a king) as having performed the Homa sacrifice in the Vedic literature (Ait. Br., viii, 4, 21-23) the Brāhmaṇas are said to have done it for the kings.

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(and Śukrācārya) as their tribal priest. Of course, in that case, because they could not imagine of the priest being also the king, they had to find a name for their king, and this they did by bringing forward the name of another king of their neighbour, the Assyrians, whom also they called Asuras, and so confounded with the Iranian's Asuras. For Bali, Asura Bāṇa, are most probably to be connected with Bal, the principal god of the Babylonians, and Assurbani-i-pal, the Assryan king. This is also the meaning of the fact mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. "Hence all people living in northern countries beyond Himalayas, such as all the Uttarakurus, Uttaramadras, are inaugurated for living without a king and called Virāj. The kings of the Kurupañcālas, with the Vaśas and Uśīnaras, are inauguarated to kingship, and called King (rāja)".[1] And again, "The gods[2] do not eat the food offered by a king who has no house-priest (Purohita). Thence the king even when (not) intending to bring a sacrifice, should appoint a Brāhmaṇa to the office of a house-priest." Further it is said "that a king who appoints a Brāhmaṇa to be his purohita and protector of his kingdom, succeeds in making (another) king his friend and conquers his enemies. The subjects of such a king obey him unanimously and undivided."[3] And any number of instances may be cited to prove the truth of such claim, some might be true, others false, those true might be due to other causes, but yet believed to be due to the Mantra of the Kavis. Any number of these are reported in the Saṃhitās[4] and the Brāhmaṇas,[5] and the Purāṇic literature.[6] We are not concerned with their truth. What matters is that these were implicitly believed in, and these must have led to the desire on the part of the ancient Indian kings to secure the aid of these Shamans from the original home. The Kavis, themselves being rulers, were not likely to accept service under their technical equals, though superior in strength, wealth and culture. It may be that the Indian kings might not themselves for the safety of their own position invite them to come in person but chose to send some youths to learn

1 Ait. Br., tr. Haug, viii, 4, 14.

2 Ibid., viii, 5, 24. 3 Ibid., viii, 5, 27.

4 Ṛv., vii, 68, 6-8 ; Ibid., viii, 19, 2-4 ; vii, 18, 12 ; 24 ; viii, 100, 6, etc.

5 Ait. Br., ii, 3, 19 ; vii, 5, 34 ; viii, 4, 21, 22, 23, 28, etc. etc.

6 Mbh., i, 167.

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the art and this the Kava might be proud to communicate to them. But once thay were denationalised by education and thought they were higher persons, their whole mental outlook changed. This assiduous cultivation of language and Shamanic lore is well described in the partly sarcasting and partly serious frog hymn of the Ṛg-veda.

By that time, rather before hymn composition began in India, i.e., in the Delhi-Ambala region, the Aryan language had already spread in the Punjab and the Doabs,[1] but was much distorted and hence the Ṛṣis called them speakers of hostile speech (mṛdhravāc), it did not matter whether the speakers of that Ādi-Prākṛt were the Dasyus[2] (i.e. those not sacrificing, devoid of rites, addicted to strange vows, deva-hating), or Aryan Purus,[3] the Paṇis, and other hostile persons. This simple fact explains a host of other inexplicable contradictions, viz., (i) foreign sounds in the language, (ii) pure grammar, (iii) foreign pronunciation of the names of the Ṛṣis themselves, Vasiṣṭha, Kaṇva, as preserved by themselves in their family books, (iv) the archaic character of the late Gāthās of Zarathushtra, as compared with the improved metre of the earlier hymns of the Ṛg-veda, (v) the close resemblance of the language of the Gāthās of Z. which must have been that of Vistasp (Pers. Gushtasp) the traditionally direct descendant of Kava Us (Kai-kaus—Śukrācārya) with that of the Ṛg-veda, thus separated by more than six hundred miles, taking Balkh or still further north-east near about Khotan to be his original seat, (vi) close resemblance between the cults and religious tradition, so far as Aryan connexion is concerned, of the two peoples, (vii) absence of similarity in historical tradition,[4] (viii) the Persians do not know the word for the Indian priest, brāhmaṇa, but the Indian Ṛṣi knew the name of the

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1 VI, i, 348; ii, 280—"Sanskrit of the ritual and that of ordinary life."

2-3 VI, i, 348.

4 E.g. Yama is known and respected in the Veda, but Manu is not even mentioned in the Avesta. The Indians know Kavā Us, but the Persians do not know Bṛhaspati. The Indians know the Atharvan, without doubt an Iranian name, the Indian equivalent being Atri and the Aitareyas, but the Iranians do not know either the Vasiṣṭhas, Kaṇvas, Viśvāmitras, Kuśas, Bhārgavas, or Bhāradvājas. They know Gautama but only in the later Avesta. Similarly the names of the Indo-Aryan warrior tribes, the Bhāratas, Yadus, Purus, Anus, Druhyus, and Turvasus are not known to ancient Persia.

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Iranian priestly class—atharvan, the Kṣatriyas did not call themselves chariot drivers, rathaestra, as the later Iranian warrior class called themselves, but held them in contempt, the sūtas as Kicakas[1] (kīk-ak, same as kikat, and kaikeya from Kik = kavā) were. The terms for the Kuru tribe may be traced in the name of the Persian monarch Cyrus (KUrush),[2] but this tribe is not named in the Ṛg-veda and its princes are named only in its later portions,[3] when, of course, the question of Iranian right of the princes officiating at the sacrifice was recognised.[4] It appears to me that they came after the appearance of Zarathushtra in Iran and the religious war fought in the name of his religion,—the war which formed the nucleus of the story of the Mahābhārata.[5] With them appear the Iranian Kāśyapas, their priests also named only in the later portion of the Ṛg-veda. (ix) This hypothesis also explains the marked difference in the social customs of the early Iranians and the Indians. The incestuous union of brothers and sisters condemned in the Ṛg-veda[6] in the conversation of Yama and Yamī (the ancestors of the Iranians) is recommended as meritorious in the Avesta, and the prophesy of the Ṛṣi in the 10th hymn of the Sūkta was actually fulfilled by the Sassanian kings who took their own sisters as wives.[7] This custom is reported to have prevailed in ancient times among some at least of the Iranian tribes, and was severely condemned by the Indians. This fact is mentioned without disapproval regarding the marriage of the Iranian Arjuna with the daughter of his mother's brother, that is Kṛṣṇa's sister Subhadrā.[8]

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1 *Mbh*, iv, 14 ; 23 ; see the Kaikeyas, an Iranian tribe, to be published shortly in the Journal of K. R. Kama Oriental Institute.

2 Pati, *IHQ*, V, p. 266.

3 *Ṛv*, x, 32, 9 (mentioned as still alive x, 33, 4).

4 *Ṛv*, x,66 ; Sieges interpretation, (Vāhīkas), I, 122.

5 Pati, *IHQ*, V, pp. 269f., 272f. 6 *Ṛv*, x, 10.

7 Moulton, *Treasure of the Magi*, pp. 63, 119 ; *SBE*, xviii, pp. 389-430. For Svásār (sister) = Gothic Svistar, Eng. Sister. Old Slavonic sestra is derived from Svá-s(t)ār = the 'wife belonging' and cognate with Strī (√Su = to bear a child). It originally signified "the parturient." Similar result is obtained by comparing Bhrātā (brother) and its cognate bhartā (husband) both from √bhṛ, to bear (see Bopp., Comp. Gram., III, p. 1102).

8 *Mbh*, i, 219f.

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Similarly the exposure of the dead is referred to in the account of the death of Vidūra[1] and asserted by the Pāṇḍavas while they were placing their weapons on a tree in the Virāṭa kingdom.[2]

The present linguistic condition also points to gradual spreading than to abrupt introduction of the Aryan tongue by invasion. A well-known saying in this country is that the language changes every twenty miles and such indeed is the fact. The language spoken at Dibrugarh in the north-east Assam is quite different on the one hand from that spoken at Tanda in Fyzabad, and, on the other from that spoken at Jaipore or Vizagapatam. Each of these shades off so imperceptibly into the other two, that it is impossible to say where it begins, where it ends. To a man of Assam Koṅkani would be utterly unintelligible and yet he might travel from Dibrugarh to Goa without being able to point to a single Indo-Aryan (or Indo-Iranian) boundary line between these two widely different languages. An ideal map of the Aryan languages of India (and N.E. Iran) would therefore present to the eyes a number of colours gradually shading off into each other.[3] Can the conquest theory explain all these ? Is not the phenomenon of the "continual superseding of the aborginal languages" in essential unity with the description[4] of the ancient bard himself, a phenomena which we can see going on with our own eyes even today, in this very place far simpler and more comprehensive in its result of explaining all the different and apparently contradictory facts ? The outstanding lesson of known history so far as India is concerned is that non-Indian race and religion of non-Aryan origin cannot thrive here, but any language may live here for any number of years. There is only the Indian race living here, the Greeks, the Mongols, the Persians, the Turks, the Scythians have all disappeared. But the Aryan, Semetic, Dravidian and Mon-khmer languages have their refuge here.

JAINATH PATI

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1 *IHQ*, v, p. 266.

2 'We have placed above the corpse of our mother according to the custom of our family"=v, 13 described in the Vendidad, v, 13. See also Winteritz, *HIL*, p. 354 ; *Mbh*, iv, 5,

3 *LSI*, iv, I, p. 3.

4 सूर्यं दिवि रोहयन्तं सुदानव आर्या व्रता विसृजन्तो अधि क्षमि ।

"The bounteous Gods made the Sun mount up to heaven and spread the Aryan Laws and civilisation over the land" Ṛv. x, 65, 2nd, ed.

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The State in Relation to Coinage in Ancient India

The question whether the initiative in the institution of coinage was taken by the merchants, who were most concerned in the furtherance of their commercial interests, or the State which was responsible for the whole body of the people, including the merchants, is a subject of controversy among scholars. The commercial class surely felt the need for a satisfactory medium of exchange of a metallic nature of a definite weight and purity for their daily transactions, and there is nothing to be surprised at, if they in their own interest in the first instance and ultimately in the interest of the whole people, took upon themselves the responsibility of issuing coins to serve as a circulating medium. When the advantage of the institution became apparent and its national importance recognised, the states stepped into the place of the private bankers, either directly, or through certain other corporate bodies, the resultant effect being beneficial to all the parties concerned,—the State, the commercial class and the people at large. This theory had a strong advocate in M. Babelon.[1] That the private coins were "the precursors of regular state issues"[2] can be definitely proved by reference to a coin in Plate I No. 7 in Head's "*Coins of the Ancients*".[3] It is a coin in Electrum and is "the earliest inscribed coin known".[4] It was found at Helicarnassus and was perhaps struck at Ephesus. It has a short inscription—"I am the sign of Phanes",—in retrograde archaic letters on the obverse and "stag feeding" on the reverse. This right of private issue is found even in later times. On occasions the State as a special favour bestowed this right on private individuals. A Syrian prince Antiochus Sedetes wanted to secure the support of Simon Maccabalus and addressed him thus "I give thee leave also to coin money for thy own country with thine own stamp,"[5] This "right of independent mintage was an epoch of private coinage",[6]

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1 M. Babelon, *Origines de la Monnaie.*

2 G. Macdonald, *Evolution of Coinage*, p. 7.

3 Barclay V. Head, *Guide to the Principal Gold and Silver Coins of the Ancients*, p. 4.

4 Ibid.

5 G. Macdonald, *Evolution of Coinage*, p. 13.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 29.

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when many private individuals usurped the authority of the State. This state of affairs was, however, brought to an end by Pepin and Charlemagne. In the mediæval period of Europe, the principle that the issuing of coins was an attribute of sovereignty was surely recognised, but the feudal barons usurped the right. By 1500 A.C. centralisation had set in throughout Europe and except in Germany coinage was fully under the control of the State.[1] In India also the private issues must have preceded the State issues, and for the introduction of coins we are most probably indebted to the private bankers. Vincent Smith held the view that all the punch marked coins were specimens of private issues. According to him "it is clear that the punch marked coinage was a private coinage issued by guilds and silversmiths with the permission of the ruling powers"[2] and "the numerous obverse punches seem to have been impressed by the different moneyers through whose hands the pieces passed and the reverse marks may be regarded as the signs of approval by the controlling authority".[3] But the hordes of punch-marked coins which have been studied by scholars like Spooner,[4] Bhandarkar[5] and Walsh[6] have revealed a different state of things and it is practically certain that the coins examined or the majority of them are State issues. But thousands of these coins are unearthed and there is nothing to be surprised at the escape of the private issues from the notice of the scholars, specially as we know that punch-marked coins had no inscriptions, many of them being marked with symbols which have not yet all been identified and properly interpreted. The significance of all the symbols has not yet been clearly demonstrated, Another point to be marked is that when the State entered into the field, the private issues might have been called back and given the new impress. So Vincent Smith's propositions require a thorough modi-

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1 Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

2 V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, p. 113.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 113.

4 *Archæological Survey of India*, Annual Report, 1905-6, p. 150.

5 *Ibid.*, 1913-14; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, pp. 98f.

6 Centenary Supplement to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October, 1924, p. 175.

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fication. The coins that he wrote about were surely State issues but there is something to be said about the view that the initiative came from private bankers whose symbols have up to this time escaped recognition.

When the State brought the coinage under its control, it sometimes acted through the experts, the private bankers, who were specially fitted for the work and were in a position to help the State with their expert knowledge. The State surely found it to its advantage to delegate its authority on occasions and though it would be a bit presumptuous to claim this evolutionary stage to be of universal application, yet from the position occupied by the merchants and the bankers in the social organisation in India and the corporate nature of their organisations,[1] we are inclined to attribute to India what we find actually in existence in Athens. The Greeks had an arrangement called Liturgy according to which the State entrusted certain of its functions to wealthy private individuals who had to discharge onerous duties even at personal expense.[2] From an examination of the Athenian coins Macdonald comes to the conclusion "that two wealthy citizens had to supervise the issue of silver for a year, and to meet the cost of mintage out of their own resources, the State supplying the raw material."[3] It surely conferred distinction on them, and their names were handed down to posterity. This may be very well applicable to the Indian conditions, but by the time of the Mauryas we have a definite record that the issuing of coins was a function of the State under its direct control though private individuals and different coroporate bodies were allowed to have coins issued through the royal mint.[4] The practice of allowing merchants and other citizens the privilege of coining money in the royal mint was current up to the recent times.[5] Any banker or merchant had only to apply for permission to the government and to offer an undertaking to pay the proper fees and to keep to the regulated standard.[6] It would therefore be not unreason-

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1 Radhakumud Mookerjee, *Local Government in Ancient India*, Chapter III (Organisation).

2 G. Macdonald, *Evolution of Coinage*, p. 18.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 19.

4 D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures, 1921*, p. 148.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 153. K. P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, Part II, p. 76.

6 E. Thomas, *Ancient Indian Weights*, p. 57, foot-note 4.

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able to infer that a similar custom prevailed in earlier times, though from the nature of the case definite proof cannot be supplied. But as regards corporate associations we have clear records. These organised associations enjoying a privileged position were the Naigamas, the Pauras and the Jānapadas. In the Punjab at Taxila a number of coins were discovered of a peculiar type, having the word Negamā on the reverse and on the obverse such proper names as Tālimata, Dujaka, Dojaka, Atakatakā.[1]

In the Pura or the capital of a State there was, as pointed out by Jayaswal, the Association of the City Merchants called the Naigama and it was intimately associated with the Paura associations.[2] The Naigama is thus interpreted by him to be the Guild of the City Merchants and not "a general term for Guild Merchants" as taken by Bühler who first recognised the importance of these coins.[3] The Naigama was a corporate body with its own Assembly Hall and office and "was connected with he Śreṇīs or the guilds of the city."[4] Jayaswal takes the Negama coins "as coins struck at the capital by the State for the association of the city merchants"[6] and Dojaka, Tālimata and Atakatakā as the

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1 In Cunningham's *Coins of Ancient India*, Plate III, pp. 63-65, there are four coins from Taxila with the following legends:

	Obverse	Reverse
No. 8	T(?)ālima(ta)	(N)eg(m)
No. 9	Dujaka	Negamā
No. 10	Dojaka	Negamā
No. 11	A(taka?) takā	Negam(ā)

"The legends in the coins are in beautifully formed Aśokan characters both Gandharian (Kharoṣṭhī) and Indian. Over the word Negamā there is a single stroke or bar as if to designate one negamā. On the opposite side there is a 'steelyard' very clearly represented." Quoted by Dr. R. Mookerjee in his *Local Government in Ancient India*, pp. 114f. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 3. *JRAS.*, 1900, p. 99.

2 K. P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, Part II, p. 76.

3 *Ibid.*

4 E. J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 3.

5 K. P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, Part II, p. 78.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 28.

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names of the capital towns.[1] He also points out the true nature of these organised bodies. The Naigama of the capital was according to him "the mother of the Paura Association" but it was mainly concerned with the economic interests of the people, and the connection between the two bodies, the Naigama and the Paura, was so intimate that they were sometimes referred to as identical. The Paura during the period 600 B. C. to 600 A. C. signified the organised body of the citizens of the capital which had a number of constitutional powers in addition to its functions as a municipal corporation, e.g., the Paura or the Capital Assembly exercised the economic function of minting coins in the royal mint as referred to in the Arthaśāstra[2] and it had a sister body, the Jānapada.[3] "The term Jānapada, which literally and originally meant the 'seat of the nation' and which had been secondarily employed as denoting the nation itself, lost its old significance and came to mean what we call today country without referring to the racial elements inhabiting it."[4] It was a constitutional body for the whole kingdom with the exclusion of the capital. They also, like the Paura, "got gold coins minted by the royal mint-master as laid down in the Arthaśāstra."[5] The Jānapada, however, as an organised political unit is referred to in a number of coins, e.g., Rājanya Jānapada and Mahārāja Jānapada. "Rājanya is the proper name of a political tribe and similar is the case with the Mahārāja Jānapada."[6]

The earlier coins were not, however, inscribed but had only symbols punched on them. So a definite information like what we have been enabled to obtain for later times is lacking and the careful study of the symbols is the only resource left to us. Smith's view that the punch-marked coins "are not assignable to any particular state or locality"[7] has been proved erroneous. As a matter of fact

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1 *Hindu Polity*.—Rapson "regards the names as those of the rulers of the guild," while Bhandarkar regards them as those of the towns. He thinks that these were self-governing political bodies and not merely industrial guilds. Dr. Mookerjee supports Jayaswal and regards these coins as "mercantile guild-tokens".—Rapson, *JRAS*., 1900. p. 99; Mookerjee, *Local Government in Ancient India*, pp. 114f.; Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures, 1918*, pp. 175-179; *Ibid.*, 1921, p. 6.

2 *Arthaśāstra*, p. 89.

3 K. P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, Part II, p. 79.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 61. 5 *Ibid.*, p. 79. 6 *Ibid.*, Part I, pp. 158f.

7 V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, p. 131.

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the symbols if properly interpreted do point out the identity of the State or the locality. The provenance of the coins is of extreme importance in our inquiry in determining the symbols associated with the particular State or locality. But up to this time its importance has not been properly recognised and definite information on this subject as regards the past discoveries is partially lacking. Mr. Walsh has conclusively proved that the Indian punch-marked coins were not 'a purely private issue.'[1] Nor were the marks on them "impressed by the different moneyers through whose hands the pieces passed,"[2] but a public coinage issued under the authority of the State. This theory which is well attested controverts the views not only of Smith but also of Rapson who remarks,—"the symbols punched on to the coins on the obverse are supposed to be the private marks of money-changers, while those on the reverse, which are invariably fewer in number and of a somewhat different character, may possibly denote the locality in which these coins were issued."[3] Mr. Walsh closely studied the two finds of punch-marked coins, one from Patna, 107 in number, and the other from Gorho-Ghat in the Bhagalpur District which included 58 coins. The result of his investigation was embodied in an article to the Centenary Supplement of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. He found that some of the symbols occurred 'in certain constant and regular groups on the obverse,'[4] although other varying symbols were added to these constant groups. Naturally he agrees with the conclusion of Dr. Spooner that the symbols "were not the private marks of individual moneyers impressed haphazard from time to time,"[5] through whose hands the coins passed. The marks "on the obverse represent the issuing authority and constitute the coinage while those on the reverse would appear to be the private marks of moneyers through whom the coins passed, or in some cases, to indicate the locality."[6] Two marks are found on all the Patna coins and these are the symbols representing the discus, the cakra and the chatras (umbrellas) bound together in the middle in the form of a circle. Two other

1 *Cent. Sup. to JRAS.*, p. 176.
2 V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins*, p. 133.
3 E. J. Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 151.
4 E. H. C. Walsh, *Cent. Sup. to JRAS.*, 1924, p. 176.
5 *Archæological Survey of India*, 1905-1906, p. 153.
6 E. H. C. Walsh, *Cent. Sup. to JRAS.*, 1924, p. 177.

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marks are found associated with the majority of the coins while the fifth mark is of a more irregular character and varies more frequently. The 58 Garho-Ghat coins are of three distinct types and appear to belong to three different areas and governments (Walsh. *JRAS.*, 1924, Centenary Supplement, page 181). The conclusion of Mr. Walsh tallies with that of Dr. Spooner who examined the 61 punch-marked coins found at Peshwar,[1] and Dr. Bhandarkar[2] also comes to the same conclusion from the examination of the 83 punch-marked coins found at Besnagar. This is supported by the Arthaśāstra which brings before us the condition of things in the Maurya Age when coinage was a royal prerogative,[3] though sometimes the royal mint could be utilised by corporate bodies like the Naigamas and Jānapadas. The result of this investigation is thus summarised : "It may be suggested, to account for a constant group of marks, that one mark may represent the State, one the reigning king, one the place where the coin was struck, and one perhaps a religious mark recognising the presiding deity ; also the master of the mint may have had his mark which would fix his responsibility for the coin, and the additional varying marks may have been those of the Saṅghas, village communities, in which the coin was current, affixed at the time, the *rupiya* or the local tax on it was levied on its admission to circulation in that jurisdiction. And the various and unsystematic punches on the reverse would appear to have been the marks of private shroffs and moneyers through whose hands the coins passed in the course of circulation."[4] Thus we find that the marks on the reverse are of an entirely different nature. They are less deeply punched, and when they correspond to the marks on the obverse, are of a much smaller size. The reverse marks may very well be the marks of the merchants through whose hands the coins passed. But there are certain exceptions ; for example, the coins of Taxila, Eran, Benares, Ujjain etc. have their peculiar mint-marks on the reverse. But on the whole, the opinion of Rapson may be accepted that the reverse marks are "the official stamp of the local authority and indicate that the coins had been tested and sanctioned within that area."[5]

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1 Quoted by Walsh, Cent. Sup., *JRAS.*, 1924, p. 179.
2 D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 98.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 156.
4 E. H. C. Walsh, Cent. Sup., *JRAS.*, 1924, p. 184.
5 Rapson, *JRAS.*, 1895, p. 874 referred to by Walsh.

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The smaller reverse marks which are similiar to the marks on the obverse are perhaps "the official marks of the testing authority"[1] and these are smaller in size in order to distinguish them from the original mint marks. The suggestion of Cunningham[2] that some of the marks on the reverse stand for the names of the moneyers concerned seems to be plausible. He would make the symbol of the sun to stand "for Sūrya Dās, a snake for Nāga Sen, an elephant for Gaja Siṃha, Bir Deo might have had a 'soldier,' Gopal a bull, and Khajur Varma a Palm tree (Khajur)." Some of these symbols "may be the emblems of their castes or clans."[2] There is absolutely no doubt that even if the punch-marked coinage owed its origin to private enterprise, yet at a very early time, even long before the Maurya period, the coinage had definitely come under State control. The different communities that participated in the privilege of the State mint cannot always be identified when we have to rely only on the symbols punched on the coins. But later on inscriptions were put on them and the symbols were either discarded and replaced by types or were retained as a matter of minor importance as we find on the Eran coins. It is thus possible for us to assign those coins definitely to the different political communities of antiquity and also from palæographical and other considerations to come to an approximate conclusion as regards their date of issue. Those coins with the legends testify to the existence of many monarchical and republican States before the Christian era, and the inscriptions which were a new feature in the coins of these States might have been imitated by the Indians from the Persian and the Greek coins, specially from those of the Indo-Greek kings. Thus the chronology of those States that have left their coins behind can only be determined with reference "to the style of the coins and the script of the legends."[3] Many free tribes and autonomous republican States issued their coins. The nature of their constitutions have been elaborately discussed by Jayaswal[4] and he has succeeded in clearing up many obscure points. These non-monarchical States were technically called Gaṇas and Jānapadas. Gaṇa signified number and

1 A. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 58.
2 E. H. C. Walsh, Cent. Sup., *JRAS.*, 1924, p. 189.
3 V. A. Smith, *Catalogue af Coins*, p. 144.
4 K. P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, Part I, Chapter XVIII.

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Gaṇarājya is, therefore, interpreted as the rule by number, the rule by many. "Gaṇa thus was the assembly or parliament, so called because of the 'number or numbering' of the members present. Gaṇarājya, consequently, denoted government by assembly or parliament or senate, and as republics were governed by them, gaṇa came to mean a republic itself."[1] The Jānapada emphasised the tribal character of the constitution, a political community. Jayaswal would take it to be a political unity and sometimes a city state.[2] Prominent among the Gaṇas were the Audumbaras, the Yaudheyas, the Mālavas and others ; and among the Jānapadas, the Rājanya and the Mahārāja.

SURENDRA KISORE CHAKRAVARTI

The Origin of Buddhism*

So general an interest has been shown in Buddhism and it has been brought so near to us as a result of enthusiasm and sometimes of superficiality, that to many minds it appears a little in the abstract, divested of those marvellous and singular traits and of those popular and Indian elements which are liable to shock the western observer. But my work as an Indianist imposes on me a contrary pre-occupation. Happily for me you have acquired here sufficiently serious habits of thought, you value history and the investigation of the links of successive transformations, sufficiently for me to venture to ask you to make your patience equal to the test to which I shall put it.

I shall not, however, claim to be able to describe in an hour all the sources of Buddhism ; I wish only, in the light of a number of characteristic facts, to set it in the true environment from which it has drawn its sap.

I

To avoid excessive obscurity I must remind you at the outset how the religious tradition of India presents itself.

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1 K. P. Jayswal, *Hindu Polity*, part I, p. 27. 2 *Ibid.*, pp. 134-5.

* The translator gratefully records his indebtedness to Mr. Ernest Lerouk, publisher of Paris, for giving him the necessary permission to print this translation. Sincere thanks are also due to the learned editor of the IHQ., for obtaining the permission for the translator.

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On the one hand there is the Vedic tradition which continues from the hymns of the Ṛg-veda into the mystic and liturgic literature of the Brāhmaṇas wherein the religious ceremonies have been elaborated and explained, and then of the Upaniṣads which are especially devoted to speculation. By their language merely, not to speak of other characteristics, these works must be placed at the source of literary development; but leaving out of consideration the fact that archaisms have been artificially preserved by scholars many differences in regard to date are disclosed within this long series. Above all, this literature is essentially sacerdotal and ritualistic—less the reflection of the common religious life than the work of a class of privileged priests strong in their liturgical influence, and proud of the sacred songs of which they were the custodians. And on this carefully guarded teaching it was only slowly and progressively that the action of beliefs which grew up and became transformed and mingled exerted itself behind the screen of a supposed immutability.

On the other hand comes the literature of the Epic poetry and the Law Books. In these we find a crowd of gods and divine heroes, new or renewed by their unforeseen importance, also new ideas and new legends. This literature obviously draws on living and popular sources. Yet whatever may have been its beginnings, the epic literature has reached us only in a much altered form. In practical life as well as in its books the sacerdotal class took advantage of its twofold privilege, religious and literary; it extended its authority over different sects and systems; and under the nominal supremacy of the Vedas it has presented them to us in the form of an orthodoxy which is uncompromising only on the subject of the pre-eminence of the brahmins. For the period of religious history which extends from the earliest times down perhaps to the neighbourhood of the Christian era, the Mahābhārata remains an almost unique mine of information, and it is not the less precious on that account. But how shall we attain an approximately clear vision in a long drawn out past, across a confused mass of cults and doctrines, among the contradictions of interpenetrating theories, joined together by editors always prejudiced in one direction and yet yielding as time goes on to inspirations of different kinds. Still therein exist with something of animation, the complications of reality and the traces of beliefs whose reactions and conflicts composed during a definite period the woof of Hindu life.

Thus we have the two currents of information, the ritualistic and the speculative tradition of the Brāhmaṇas, and the epic tradition of

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the Mahābhārata. By the ideas which they represent they appear to me like two parallel strata of the same rather than of two successive periods. But one anticipates the information of the other and they have mutual influences, which obscure all realities. More than anything else it is the uncertainty of chronology that disturbs our investigation. The relative dates of the works are often doubtful and always insufficient; and in a country like India where scarcely exists any work which can strictly be said to be the production of a single author, the ideas transmitted through a book may be much older than its composition, and an encyclopaedia like the Mahābhārata is composed of fragments whose antiquity is as uncertain as the interpolations are obvious.

Buddhism offers a two-fold advantage: it has chronology, and it contains writings independent of the influences of brāhmaṇic orthodoxy. It can scarcely be doubted that Buddha preached towards the close of the 6th century B. C.; and it can no longer be doubted that his doctrines and legends were soon completed in their main outlines in such forms as are accessible to us.

Under these circumstances, you see well enough how much we ought to study those teachings which, referring directly to the comparisons of different doctrines, make up in some measure the absence of positive chronology, and how many of those comparisons of which Buddhism furnishes the material are of special importance by marking definite dates within the age. For a long time I have been trying to open this mine of information by analysing various episodes which constitute what I have called the "Legend of Buddha." I shall not conceal from you that I adhere to my first theory in its main import. Still less must I conceal it from myself that by attaching too much importance to the system of mythologic interpretation then in vogue I then made some mistakes in my theory; I have offended beyond reason, I think, the intellectuals who are rightly prejudiced against certain ecstasies of comparative mythology. Above all, there I have neglected to show clearly under what impulse and by what mechanism the doctrines which Buddhism professes and the stories which clash from the very fact of its origin were put together. To-day we are better prepared to solve this problem of juxtaposition. If I return to this subject it is not from obstinacy or egoism; and if there is pleasure for an old worker in uniting together the fragments of his researches under certain leading ideas you will pardon him perhaps when he thinks that the meeting in this hospitable house gives him a favourable opportunity for it.

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II

The Buddha, also known as Gautama or Śākyamuni, is certainly a historical and real personality ; but he is also by tradition the hero of stories which are mythical in origin and character. This point I would like to make clear to you by an instance against which, I think, some futile objections have been raised.

The critical moment in the life of the Buddha and of all the imaginary Buddhas after him comes up, when having recognised the insufficiency of learning in which he was initiated and having found that the mortifications fruitlessly exhausted his strength, he sits at the foot of the prophetic Tree of Knowledge where the light of Absolute Truth is to be revealed to him—the light which is technically called "Bodhi". But he will only obtain that light after having resisted the assaults of Māra. Māra, the chief of the gods of sensuality, sees his dominion menaced by the sacred doctrine which will spring up among mankind, and he makes one supreme effort for averting the danger. He leads to the conflict the whole army of demons, all the monstrous battalions of the legend ; and armed with the most formidable engines they all fall on the Wise Man in thunder and lightning which shake the whole universe. But the Saint remains undisturbed in his luminous serenity, and Māra at last retires vanquished and forelorn.

Painted in the crudest colours and illustrated with the coarsest representations in some accounts, this contest is also otherwise presented, in a calmer outline and from a moral aspect, in a dialogue where Māra tries in vain to dissuade Gautama from his resolution by showing to him the easier path of worldly life and of sacrificial rites. Some descriptions of this severe conflict make up a scene of temptation where Māra whose effort is foiled before the virtue of the Saint despatches, though without better success, his daughters, Thirst, Voluptuousness and Concupiscence. In short, a number of stories dispersed throughout the Buddhist scriptures represent Māra as approaching sneakingly the Buddha or some one of his disciples under various disguises, suggesting to one or the other thoughts contrary to the sacred doctrine, and then fleeing away as soon as he is unmasked. These interventions, however, almost always tend to frighten rather than to seduce.

Now it may be asked : which of these two versions is more in conformity with the original ?

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The old atmospheric duel between darkness and the hero of light abounds in the Vedic hymns and pervades the whole Indo-European mythology; and in various transformations it continues into Epics and more recent religions. I detect in the Buddhistic scene only one of its variant representations. I thought and I think still, that under the surcharges and amidst the inconsistencies of a modernised version, it is only this origin that accounts for the form that the episode has received, and also for the bizarreries which require explanation. Others, on the contrary, have liked to see in Māra only a disguised tempter; all the paraphernalia of the Epic scene are (to them) mere fanciful embellishments of the imagination of the pious, zealous to adorn, and ready to materialise the spiritual grandeur of the Master.

The word Māra means the "Destructor"; it is connected with the causative sense of the verb "Mar", "to die", and is ultimately another name of Death. But in the Buddhist literature Māra has another name still and another aspect. He is called Kāma, "Lust," or "Desire."

That there is a close connection in the doctrines of Buddhism between these two aspects cannot be lost sight of. For, on the one hand, founded on the belief in transmigration, Buddhism preaches, above all, to give the means of escaping from the cycle of re-births and consequently of escaping from death, "Māra"; and, on the other hand, its moral teachings rest on the fundamental idea that it is the destruction of the bonds of lust by which we are rivetted and attached to life, the suppression of "Thirst" or "Desire", of Kāma in short, which alone assures this deliverance. Taken in this light Māra and Kāma are fundamentally one and the same; and one can rightly say that there is a complete allegory, strictly conforming to the principles of the system.

But can it be said that Māra is an original creation of Buddhism? It might also have utilised for its end a tradition bequeathed to it by the past, and of which it was necessary to reconcile the discordances. We can only decide (between two hypotheses) by going to the very origin of the conception of Māra. He is, besides an interesting figure in religion, a veritable Satan, with whom some believe to recognise a close resemblance of the Satan of our Christian tradition. Doubtless it is worthwhile to sketch out his history.

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III

Māra is a personal existence, a personality in Buddhism. Though he is not unknown in the more ancient literature, it is in the Buddhist scriptures that his name becomes traditionally established. Side by side, Buddhist texts mention Mṛtyu, and it cannot be overlooked that from their peculiar traits and characteristic epithets both prove to be the one and the same.

Now, Mṛtyu, the spirit of Death, is a familiar figure in old sacerdotal tradition of the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads which I have just now mentioned to you. There he is armed with bonds (pāśa) which are also the distinctive weapons of Māra; and like Māra in Buddhism he is frequently characterised by such epithets as "Pāpam" "the evil" or "the wicked one." Often "Pāpam", is identical with Mṛtyu. And though at the beginning, this "Evil" especially refers to death, the physical catastrophe of man, it soon takes a moral meaning: a notion of sin comes to be attached to Mṛtyu.

The transition from the brāhmaṇic "Mṛtyu-Evil" to the Buddhist "Māra-Desire", the source of all Evil, is scarcely noticeable: as Māra is a synonym of Mṛtyu, so "Kāma" is often equivalent to "Pāpam." "Pāpam" sometimes vaguely denotes a wicked spirit: and it is no doubt by these steps that Mṛtyu has come to be identified with "Vṛtra", the Vedic enemy of the divine Indra. Also the Buddhists call Māra by the name of Namuci, the other demon of Darkness and as such identical with Vṛtra. In this point also the parallelism subsists.

The horror of death and the solicitude to extend longevity to the furthest limit always appear in the hymns as well as in liturgic works with an intensity which can be expected from such a universal sentiment. But it is well known that the hymns do not profess that belief in transmigration of souls, which afterwards gained an undisputed ascendancy in India. It is in the liturgic literature that the doctrine is introduced and becomes established; and as soon as it takes root people talk of the victory over death or recurrent deaths (mṛtyu or punarmṛtyu). In order to increase the value of some rite or mystical secret it becomes often conventional to represent the deliverance from death as the prize of the contest where Mṛtyu is struck down and defeated.

Is not such a representation suggested by the demoniacal aspect of Mṛtyu as identified with Pāpam, Vṛtra and Namuci? The fact is that from the ancient stratum of Hindu tradition a parallel scenery was

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spontaneously deduced in a very customary manner. When the question is of justifying a ritual or of exalting its efficacy, the Brāhmaṇas or Upaniṣads invariably imagine a contest between the Devas and the Asuras, between the spirits of light and darkness where the observance of that ritual had determined the victory. It is verily in such a contest as to whom will be assured the privilege of immortality that in remembrance of the old myth of the conquest of ambrosia, the gods and demons are thus confronted. And is it not exactly for such an immortality that the Buddha fights under the Tree of Knowledge? A parallel scene invokes thus the phraseology of the sacerdotal school in a condensed, but in a similarly stereotyped fashion; and there, as in other coincidences, the method exhibits succinctly a complete efflorescence of vivid narratives of which the popular imagination as is exemplified by the Vedic hymns and the Epic songs has largely multiplied the analogies.

The whole terminology, elements and up-keep of this mythic contest not to speak of the inspiration which brought them into play were existing before Buddhism; and it was not therefore any chance metaphor that it draw upon. The Brāhmaṇic Mṛtyu—Pāpam is anterior to the Buddhist Māra—Kāma; and these representations of titanic combats existed much before Mṛtyu was identified with Kāma. Thus Buddhism received the heritage before it could put in parables the rôle of Kāma which is after all a subsequent creation.

It is verily the army of infernal legions and not as one would say, a symbolic army of passions and vices, that assail the Buddha in the primitive version of the story, and, therefore, the texts, as if to prevent all misapprehensions, deliberately represent them as an army of Mṛtyu, that is to say, of Māra, considered not in a moral aspect but in his original character as the spirit of death and destruction. Moreover, the texts which are held as the most authoritative and which are invoked to prove a later origin of this myth, make certain allusions in the mythical combat, which have often been overlooked. Buddhism is not a miraculous religion; it does not create myths; and it has not invented a scene wherein it sought to imprint a moral meaning so apparently in conflict with it.

It may, no doubt, appear at first quite natural that the zeal of the disciples has introduced miracles into the life of Gautama in order to satisfy their overdrawn fancies to glorify a great name. Popularity requires legends: one does not deny it. This would sufficiently explain the situation if we had to deal with a few accidental and inco-

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herent data. But the fact is otherwise, and we have before us a definite type, the theoretic Buddha, whose superhuman traits is connected and harmonised within the unity of a more ancient cycle.

How is it that Buddhism, which assumes rationalistic aspects and excludes the name of God, has so quickly and easily dressed up in mythical disguises and a thoroughly divine halo the personage of its founder, real and recent. Such is the prime question which the episode of Māra lays before us and which I must pause to consider.

Is there no *via media* wherein all the discordant factors unite?

MANORANJAN RAY

Rāvaṇa and his Tribe*

III

Māler is the language of the aboriginal tribes living in the Rājmāl hills in Bengal. Caldwell counts this amongst the Dravidian dialects while Grierson groups it with the Muṇḍāri tongues. This shows that in this language the Muṇḍāri and the Dravidian elements combine so closely that it is difficult to separate one from the other. This dialectical combination confirms the close kinship between the Dravidian and the Muṇḍari tribes even from ancient times.

Having thus studied the origin and significance of the tribal names, let us now see the significance of the other names used for the lord of Laṅkā. Names like *Devakaṇṭaka* are generic because they can be used for any individual as every Rākṣasa was a thorn in the side of the deṇas. Similarly *Brāhmaṇaghnaḥ* and *Munīndraghnaḥ* can be employed to designate any one in the tribe because every one of them had the notoriety to torment the brahmins and the munis. But there are some names which are particulary applicable to the Rākṣasa lord and which cannot be employed to indicate any one of his subjects. The first of such names is Rāvaṇa. The adjectives used in compounds with Rāvaṇa, e.g. loka-rāvaṇa (III, 33, I and VI, 20. 12.), Śatrurāvaṇa, (III, 56, 26), ripu-rāvaṇam (VI, 69. 17),

* Continued from vol. VI, no. 2, p. 289.

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loka-rāvaṇa (VI, 100, 33) show that he made his enemies and men cry with fear. He terrified the bhūtas (nadair bhūtavirāviṇam—VI, 114, 61). It seems therefore that he had the capacity to make terrific cries himself and also to make others cry in terror.[1]

H. H. Wilson derives the word from '*ru*' and says that it means 'afflicting mankind." The causative form of '*ru*' is '*rāv*', with '*aṇ*' it becomes '*rāvaṇ*.' But we have seen that '*aṇ*' is the masculine singular termination in the Dravidian languages. It has also been shown that the Rākṣasas are ethnologically allied to the Kuis and that the words like Rākṣasa and Piśāca originated from Dravidian languages. So Rāvaṇa must also be a Dravidian word.

In the Kui tongue there is a word '*Riva*' meaning to cry or weep. In Telugu *rivva* means a slender twig or cane, because it makes a *riv* sound if it moves swiftly in the air. The causative form of *riv* is seen in the Telugu word *ravva* (clamour) and in the Kanarese *rava*, both of which mean 'clamour.' *Ravva* becomes Rāva by dropping one *v* and lengthening *a*. With *ṇa* another form of *aṇ*, it becomes *Rāvaṇa*, one that makes others 'clamour.' There are several cognates from '*rav*', e.g., *ravaṇa*, a small hand-bell because it makes a sound; *ravaḷi*, (adj.) sonorous; *ravamu*, a noise. The existence of many cognates of *rav* in the Dravidian languages and also the presence of *riva* in Kui, prove clearly that '*riv*' is the root from which Rāvaṇa is formed.

Another name that has been used to mention the lord of the Rākṣasas is *Daśagrīva*. It has been shown in the beginning of this paper that the Epic writer never intended to represent him as a being with ten-necks. Moreover, it is not usual in any language to suggest the 'head' by using a word that means 'neck.'

If the '*r*' which is generally thrust into the words of spoken dialects to give them a Sanskritic appearance is dropped, '*grīva*' becomes '*gīva*.' In Kui '*giva*' is added to nouns to form causative verbs; it means 'to do', e.g., *mespā-giva* = to do a change or to make change; *Vetā-giva* = to do heat or to heat; *Vajja-giva* = to do cooking or to cook; *riva-giva* = to make cry.

Daśa-giva, the real form of *Daśa-grīva*, must mean the same thing as *Rāvaṇa*, because both of them are applied to one and the same person. Since the word *Rāvaṇa* signifies his valour in afflicting others,

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1 See also *Śabdakalpadruma*, *Sivādibhyo' ṇiti aṇ*. This explains how *aṇ* has come into Rāvaṇa.

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Daśagiva also must mean the same thing. What it signifies is shown in

Ravaṇō nāma bhadraṃ te daśagrīvaḥ pratāpavān,

which means, "My name is Rāvaṇa. Do not be afraid. I have the power of *daśa-giva*". We have seen above that he became famous by the name of Rāvaṇa, because he afflicted others. So *daśa-giva* must signify the same thing as Rāvaṇa. *Daśa* means affliction and *giva*, to do. In the Epic itself *daśa* is used in this sense.

Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, III. 72. 9 :

parimṛṣṭo daśāntena daśā bhāgena sevyate,
daśā-bhāgagato hīnas tvaṃ hi Rāmaḥ saLakṣamaṇaḥ.

Similarly *Daśānana*, the etymology of which is *Daśa-in-an-a*, means a man of affliction. In this '*in*' is added for euphony, '*an*' is masculine singular termination and the final '*a*' is required for euphony.

Daśāsya was originally *daśa+asi*, the latter being a termination for forming a personal noun in the Kui language. Daśāsi or Daśāsa becomes Daśāsya in Sanskrit.

Daśa-mukha and *Daśa-śīrṣa* found in long metre *ślokas* may be dismissed as later introductions.

Now, let us see if this meaning of *daśa* would hold good in the other compounds in which *daśa* is a member.

Daśaratha is one of such words. The Sanskrit etymologists say that because he was a leader of ten war-chariots, he was given this name, but nowhere in the Epic this significance of the name is referred to.

His life so far as is given in the Epic is one of sorrow. He succumbed to the sorrow caused by his separation from those whom he loved even more than his life. Before he breathed his last, he narrated how he had been cursed by an old blind sage that he would die of affliction caused by the separation from his son. Because he was pained (*ārta*) by affliction (*daśa*), Daśārta is a more appropriate name for him. This was transformed into *Daśa-rata* first and then into *Daśaratha*.

Another word with *daśa* is *tri-daśa*. It is explained to signify the beings that perpetually enjoy the youth. It is believed that the gods are ever youthful and therefore *tri-daśa* is explained to be one of their appellations. This explanation, however, does not hold good in *tri-daśāri*, one of the epithets applied to Rāvaṇa. *Tri-daśa* signifies those that are not afflicted. *Daśa*, as has been shown above, means affliction. It is shown elsewhere that *tri* is another form of *tīr* and means high or above. *Tridaśa*, therefore, signifies

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those that are above affliction or those that are not touched by affliction. They are beings of wisdom (devāḥ) and wisdom dispels all sorrow. Thus we see that the names of the tribe and the names by which their leader is known are all Dravidian in origin.

There are yet two more Rākṣasa names that demand a careful scrutiny. Rāvaṇa's sister was *Śūrpaṇakhā*, and she caused the conflict between Rāma and Rāvaṇa. H. H. Wilson says that the name means 'a person with nails like the winnowing pans'. But this meaning had no bearing on the story.

The account of her activities show that she was fond of setting up men against one another. Her name, therefore, signifies this characteristic quality.

Since the other Rākṣasa names are found to be of Dravidian origin *Śūrpaṇakhā* must also be from that source. *Śūrpaṇakhī* is the reading in some manuscripts and seems to be the right name. *Nakha* is the Sanskritised form of '*Nakku*', which in Tamil means to lick. *Nāku* is Telegu. *Nāka-giva* is Kui ; in Gondi it has three forms '*nākāna*, *nāksi*, *nākaka*, all of which give '*nāk*' as the root. In Kanarese it is *nakku*. The feminine form of *nakku* is *nakki* which means a woman that licks. Then *Śūrpa* becomes *Suppa* or *Chuppa* by omitting the 'r', the Sanskritising element of words. In Kui, *Chappa* means 'strife'. It appears in the Telegu word *Chappaṭi*, a sound that is produced by striking one object against another; in Kanarese it exists in *Chappa-huḍa*, to slap with the palm ; in *Chappa-rāni*, smacking of lips; and in *Chappa ali*, clapping of hands. Therefore *Śūrpa-ṇakhā* reduces itself into *Chappa-nakki*, its original Drividian form, and means a woman that licks strife, that is, a woman that is very fond of strife, and this is in accordance with her character depicted in the Epic. The *k* of *Nakki* or *Nākki* is changed to '*t*' and the name becomes *Chuppa-nāti*, the name by which she is known in the Telugu country.

The above investigations show that just as the cultured races had evolved from the primitive tribes, the language of the cultured was also developed from the dialects spoken by these tribes. The Aryans as they proceeded through India, came into contact with the original inhabitants at every stage and maintained communications with them and absorbed some of their words.

Another important conclusion that can be drawn from the study of these Rākṣasa names is that all the tribes now known by the common name of the Dravidiàns lived in one place during the days

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of Rāvaṇa. Some of the Rakṣasa names are found to have been formed according to the Telugu system; some according to Kui. Whatever new appendages they might have taken, the base is the same, viz., the Dravidian language. Since all these names are found amongst the people of Laṅkā, it may be assumed that the people that are now separated into Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam etc., were all living in Laṅkā and its vicinity. The Kui tribes living in the hills of Central India and the Central Provinces still maintain the customs which were in vogue amongst the Rākṣasas of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. This strongly, supports the location of Laṅkā on the Amarakaṇṭaka hills round which lies the region known as Gondwana, or the land of the Gonds, Kuis, Khonds, or Koyas.

G. RAMADAS

The Sambuvarāyans of Kāñci

In the 13th and 14th centuries, the Sambuvarāyans have played a prominent part in South Indian History. No scholar has hitherto attempted to write their history. At first they seem to have been military generals and in course of time rose to the position of the king's representatives, ultimately declaring themselves as idependent sovereigns. The title Sambuvarāyan is very common among the Kaḷḷa and Padayātchi castes of South India. Whether the Sambuvarāyans belong to one of these castes is a matter which time alone can settle.

Early Members

The earliest member of Sambuvarāyans now known to history is Edirili Coḷa Sambuvarāyan, who gave away Ārpākkam to his guru Swami Devar[1] during the fifth year (1167 A.C.) of Rājādhirāja II. (1) Sambuvarāyan *alias* Pāṇḍinādu Koṇḍān, (2) Edirili Coḷa Sambuvarāyan *alias* Sengéṇi Attimallan vīrāṇḍan, (3) Kulottunga Coḷa Sambuvarāyan *alies* Attīmallan Pallavāṇḍan, (4) Rājendra Coḷa Sambuvarāyan alias Karikāla Coḷa Ādiyūr Nādāḷvān are four of the nine

1 No. 20 of 99. S. I. I. vi. No. 456.

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members who made a pact among themselves in the year 1178 A. C. to respect and support the Coḷa Emperor and to drive away the enemies of the Empire.[1] Sengeṇī Miṇḍan Attīmallan Sambuvarāyan is one that figures in the inscription of the 8th year of Kulottuṅga III. The next one in order of time is Sengéṇi Ammayappan Kaṇṇudaipperumāḷ *alias* Vikrama Coḷa Sambuvarāyan whose name is found in the epigraphs of the 10th year of Kulottunga III.[2] Next is Sengeṇi Ammayappan Vanniyanāyan Sambuvarāyan mentioned in an inscription bearing the year thirty-eight of his overlord.[3] Sengeṇi Virāsani Ammayappan *alies* Aḷagia Coḷan *alies* Edirili Coḷa Sambuvarāyan figures in the inscriptions of Rājarāja from his 22nd to 28th years.[4] Though the name of Attīmallan Rājaghambīra Sambuvarāyan *alias* Sambukula-p-perumāḷ seems to be a separate one at first sight, yet it is only a title assumed by Aḷagia Coḷan.[5] These Sambuvarāyans seem to have held the position of viceroys of the then reigning Coḷas with headquarters at Kāñcī.

Edirili Coḷa Sambuvarāyan, who donated Ārpākkam to Swami Devar, is said in that inscription to have been very anxious about the victory of the Coḷa arms sent in support of Kulaśekhara Pāṇḍya against the Ceylon army commanded by Laṅkāpurī Daṇḍanāyaka in the war of succession in the Pāṇḍya kingdom. We learn from another inscription that this same Sambuvarāyan was authorized to raise armies from Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and Coḷamaṇḍalam for the same purpose.[6] Again he is the man who headed the compact of nine at the end of Rājādhirāja's reign and the first year of Kulottuṅga III. Sengèni Ammayappan Vanniyanāyan Sambuvarāyan is the last viceroy under Kulottuṅga III.

Their Declaration of Independence

Sengèni Vīrāsini Ammayappan *alias* Aḷagia Coḷan *alias* Edirili Coḷa Sambuvarāyan was the Viceroy of Rājarāja only in name. He dates his benefactions in the reigning years of his king no doubt, but assumes the royal 'we' in all of them. It connotes his underlying idea of biding time to declare his independence and may also show his semi-independence, for we find Rajārāj III was a weak king. Though we are

1 536 of 02.
2 S.I.I. i. p. 136.
3 234 of 10.
4 S.I.I. i, Nos. 59, 61, 62, 64.
5 Ibid., pp. 105, 108.
6 Q.J.M.S. XIX. pp. 57-66.

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at present, not able to trace the relationship of the many chiefs mentioned in the preceding para we can locate this Sambuvarāyan as the son[1] of Sengêni Ammayappan Vannianāyan—the last of the Sambuvarāyan Viceroys of Kulottuṅga III. This chief Virāsini donates some lands to one Baṅgālarayan of Dāmanūr in the year 1236 A.C[2]. He issues an order in his own name in the year 1258 A.C. in which he makes a benifice to the Ammayappa Īśvara temple at Padaivīdu.[3] Whether the chiefs derived their names from the presiding deity at this place or the temple was dedicated to the memory of one of the chiefs has to be settled later on. He assumes the title of Sambukula-p-perumāḷ as noted *supra* and donates a village to Brāhmaṇas and renames it as Rājagambhīra caturvedimaṅgalaṃ otherwise known as Sambukula-p-perumāḷ āgāram. The hillock nearby is christened as Rājagambhīran malai. These are in Maṇḍaiveli nādu, Palkunrakoṭṭam according to the ancient geographical division. Though he declared himself independent for the time being, he seems to have lost his independence during the reign of Rājendra Coḷa who succeeded the effeminate Rājarāja III. He again becomes a vassal of the Coḷa suzerain. He might have been emboldened to declare himself independent when another chief like him, Perum Cinga was trying to assert himself in the Tamil land south of the Pālār river. Our Sambuvarāyan assumes the title of *Tani ninru veṉṟān* which signifies that he fought and gained a victory over his enemy singly, without the help of any ally.

When the Pāṇḍyas asserted their power, the Coḷas paled into insignificance. These Sambuvarāyans seem to have trimmed their sails according to the wind. One Kulaśekhara Sambuvarāyan's name is mentioned in some of the inscriptions found at Paḷḷikoṇḍa, a village near Vellore, North Arcot Dt. I make no apology for quoting from the Madras Epigraphists' report for 1926. 'A few of the inscriptions from Paḷḷikonda in the North Arcot district contained the order (olai) issued by the chief Kulaśekhara-Sambuvarāya as a subordinate of an unspecified suzerain whose 11th, 12th, 13th and 22nd years have been quoted therein. From nos. 92 of 1900 and 195 of 1923, however, it is learnt that this overlord must be Pāṇḍya king Vīra-Pāṇḍya who

1 S. I. I. iv, 849. 2 S.I.I. i. p. 105.

3 S.I.I. i. p. 108. The present Padawed of the Polur Taluk in North Arcot Dt. Forts seem to have existed in this place. For details see Manual of the North Arcot Dt., vol. II, p. 401 et. seq.

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ascended the throne in A.D. 1253 and had a reign extending up to about A.D. 1278. No. 77 of 1908 from Vèdal in the same district is an order issued by Kulaśekhara Deva in his own name, and as it begins with the words *Kulaśekhara Sambuvarāyaṛku Yāṇḍu 25-vadu*, it may be suggested that this chief had attained a quasi-independent status at the time of this record. Unfortunately, however, this is the only inscription of his rule, and no other records of his earlier years have still now been discovered. The astronomical details contained in this record are '25th year, meṣa, śu. tṛtīyā, monday and Hastā' and they work out correctly for the four dates A.D. 1204, 1231, 1258 and 1302 in this period. As Kulaśekhara Sambuvarāya was a subordinate of Vīra-Pāṇḍya (till about A.D. 1278 ?) and his 25th year of rule cannot consequently correspond to any of the first three dates and as the astronomical details work correctly for A.D. 1302 also, it appears possible that he became a semi-independent chief during the close of the reign of his Pāṇḍya overlord, and that he continued as such till at least A.D. 1302.' The epigraphists, it seems, have erred in supposing that the Pāṇḍya suzerain must be Vīra Pāṇḍya who ascended the throne in 1253. We come accross another Vīra-Pāṇḍya called Tera-Pāṇḍya by Muhammedan historians. His reign coincides with the above. The Vīra-Pāṇḍya mentioned in the inscription must be the latter one. In addition to the epigraph quoted above, we have another record no. 462 of 25 which 'records the royal order issued by the chief Sambuvarāyan to the residents of Tagadūrnādāḷvān pattu remitting as *sarvamānya* the several taxes due from them other than those on the *devadāna* lands in favour of the temple for worship, offerings and repairs.' It is read in some inscriptions that he made arrangements to perform a daily worship called *Seyyāṛṛu veṇṛān Sandhi* which denotes that the donee had won a battle at Seyāru—a tributary to the Pālār river. The Madras epigraphists opine that Kulaśekhara should have fought and won this battle. As this Kulaśekhara closely follows Rājagambhiran, we may surmise that he succeeded the latter.

Later Sambuvarāyans

Kulaśekhara was succeeded by Vīra Cola Sambuvarāyan whose reign ended by 1314 A.D. No particulars are available about him. His son succeeded him and reigned till 1322 A.C. His donations and buildings were numerous, the most prominent being the maṇḍapa in front of the Bilvanātheśvara temple at Tiruvallam and the build-

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ing of a chariot for the Aruḷāḷa-p-perumaḷ at Kāñci.[1] He was followed by Venru Mankonda Sambuvarāyan who assumed the title of sakalalokacakravartī which was continued by his successors. Venru Mankonda is not a name but a title signifying 'he who won the land.' We have to infer from this title that his predecessor lost some portion at least of his dominions and his successor had won them. Probably he drove away the Mughals from that part of the country. He reigned for 16 years and was succeeded by his son Mallinātha Sambuvarāyan in 1338 A.C. But his coronation took place a year after his succeesion[2] and he assumed the title of Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāyan. He had a long and glorious reign of twenty-two years.[3] He was in possession of the whole of Tondaimaṇḍalam and his inscriptions are found as far south as Tiruttāḷur in the South Arcot district extending in the North and West as far as Kāttuppādi (Katpadi Junction) and Padaved in the North Arcot district.[4] He was a patron of Tamil literature. The twin poets Iraṭṭayar—one lame and the other blind—who flourished at this time have immortalised the king in their work called *Kacchiulā*. His benefactions to various temples are to be found in the innumerable temple inscriptions that are found scattered all over Tondaimaṇḍalam. We learn from some of them that the Turukkars (Mughals) plundered the jewels and other valuables from the temples in South India, so much so that the people buried their treasure underground. During this period, it seems, some of the villagers began to misappropriate the *Devadāna* (temple) properties. The king caused an enquiry to be made and restored them to the respective temples. One of the epigraphs at Tiruvoṟṟiryur—a Śaivaite sacred place 7 miles north of Madras—informs us the orders passed during his time regarding the rules of conduct of the temple servants. He is said to have constructed a *Tulābharamaṇḍapa* and a car to Ekāmbarēsvara of Kāñcī.

He was succeeded by his son Vīranārāyaṇa Sambuvarāyan who reigned till 1383 but not so gloriously as his predecessor. He was also a patron of Tamil literature and supported many a Tamil Scholar. His rule came to an abrupt end by the rise of the Vijayanagar kingdom. Thus we see a family of chieftains who were once, subordinates of the Colas become masters of an important portion of the country in course of time.

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1 Ep. In., iii 71.
2 S I. I. i No. 52.
3 434 of 03.
4 M. E. R. 1913.

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A tentative genealogy of the Sambuvarāyans as gleaned from Epigraphy is given below :

Seṇgeṇi Ammayappan vanniyanāyan Sambuvarāyan
|
Seṇgeṇi virasini Ammayappan Alagia *colan alias* Edīrili *cola* Sambuarāyan
|
Kulaśekhara Sambuvarāyan
|
Vīracola Sambuvarāyan
|
Vīracamban
|
Venṛumaṇkondān (sakalalokacakravartī)
|
Mallināthan *alias* Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāyan
|
Vīranārāyaṇa Sambuvarāyan

SOMA SUNDARA DESIKAR

The Garuḍa-Purāṇa

The Garuḍa-Purāṇa was so called because Garuḍa obtained a boon from Viṣṇu so that he might be known as a Purāṇa-saṃhitā-kartā. The Purāṇa was thus named as Gāruḍa. It is divided into two parts :—Pūrva Khaṇḍa and Uttara Khaṇḍa and it is only in the latter Khaṇḍa that Garuḍa appears as an interlocutor.

That the Gaḍ was one of the eighteen Mahā-Purāṇas need not be doubted. All the Purāṇas unanimously testify to it, and in the available list of the Upa-purāṇas, the Gaḍ is nowhere mentioned as such. But, what is clear is that the Purāṇa, as it is at present, has got hardly any claim to be regarded as a Mahā-Purāṇa, far from being an ancient one. It has essentially been degraded and tampered with—an extremely disconnected priestly compilation without any system and sequence ; it has, it will be found on an analysis, deliberately departed from the ideal of a Mahā-Purāṇa. Not even the well-known characteristics of the Pañca-lakṣaṇa of a Purāṇa, has been preserved in the present Gaḍ. The five topics lie scattered throughout the whole book, only being incidentally

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touched upon, and their contents do not engross even one-fourth of the present Gaḍ. The book it seems was compiled to make a veritable encyclopædia of every art, science, grammar and philosophy, as is evident from ch, 3 (i), where a synopsis of the Purāṇa is given, which includes everything of popular interest. In fact, it is very tempting to suggest that in the time when all sorts of Hindu science and art had developed, and standard work written on those subjects, attempts were being made to present those works in a nut-shell for the people at large, which led to the compilation of works like the Garuḍa. But as they did not belong to any particular class of literature, some Purāṇa characteristics were afterwards inserted, to give them an air of antiquity and sacredness.

However, the Gaḍ is a Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa, and so, far more attention is given to the worship of Viṣṇu, and Vratas, festivals and places, sacred to Viṣṇu, are given prominence. But like other Purāṇas it is never decidedly sectarian. On the other hand, there are sufficient evidences which go to show, as Mr. Farquhar (Outline of the Religious Literature of India, pp. 178f.) has observed, that it was a manual compiled for the use of Smārta priests, for it contains detailed instructions for the worship of the five gods and give information in many other subjects which a practising priest would want to have. Other diversified subjects are dealt with; thus the contents of the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and Harivaṃśa are retold, and there are long treatises and dissertations on Astrologoy, Palmistry, precious stone (Ratna-parīkṣā), Omina and Protenta, Chiromancy, Medicine, Metrics, Grammar and Politics (Nīti), and also various other Smṛti topics. The second part (Uttara-Khaṇḍa) of the Gaḍ is an extremely tedious reading, full of repetitions and confusions, which treat of everything connected with death, the dead and various other obsequial rites at full length. It appears, therefore, that like the Agni-Purāṇa the Gaḍ is in no sense a unified work, but the work of different specialists—a jumbled or quite loosely connected mass of contents designed and contemplated to make it on the one hand a religious manual for the Smārta priests, and on the other hand, a popular hand book for every sort of popular information.

To what age this ambitious encyclopædia belongs is difficult to say, for the Purāṇa is the outcome of so many heterogeneous compilations from different standard works, that no particular century will probably cover the series of widely different dates, in which the respective parts of the Purāṇa came into being. It would,

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therefore, be necessary to examine the several parts of the Purāṇa separately and to ascertain the dates of their incorporation into the Purāṇa. This would lead us to an approximate date of the compilation of the Purāṇa. It will be admitted that the Purāṇas, when they tried to assume a comprehensive nature in order to make themselves popular encyclopædias, could not but have recourse to the standard works on the various branches of study, the summaries of which, or sometimes the whole text, were freely incorporated verbatim often without acknowledgement. But the process of incorporation was not accomplished in a single day, particularly as all the standard works of the various branches of study were not written at one time, and as such, a Purāṇa which happened to be the borrower from various standard works could not have been compiled in its present form before the latest of them was written. That was the case with our present Garuḍa-Purāṇa.

It is known that the Smṛti text of the Gaḍ has been taken from the Yājñavalkya Smṛti. He is mentioned by name, and also appears as the narrator of the Smṛti text in the Purāṇa. The theory of Prof. Losch that the Gaḍ contains the original version of Yājñavalkya can no longer be tenable and has been ably controverted by Prof. Meyer. In fact it is simply absurd to think that the Purāṇic compilers were the authors of separate independent treatises on the most varied subjects. That the Gaḍ has no trace of Yājña's Vyavahārādhyāya lends no support to Losch's view for it was most probably, if not inevitably the case, that the Gaḍ took the help of Yājña, when the Smṛti was still without its Vyavahārādhyāya.[1] In fact the indebtedness of the compiler of Gaḍ to Yājña is betrayed on all sides. Generally speaking, the Purāṇic version appears to have been a fairly long summary of Yājña, although sometimes ślokas occur verbatim. Besides Yājña, the Gaḍ has also taken the help of Manusmṛti, for some well-known ślokas of Manu such as Pitā rakṣati kaumāre etc. and also other ślokas of the Manusaṃhitā (e.g. iv, 160) are to be found in the Gaḍ (1.115.63; 1.113.61f.). The well-known Parāśara Smṛti was also not spared by the compilers of the Gaḍ. The whole of the Parāśara-saṃhitā seems to have been summarised in a masterly way in only 39 verses.[2] Indeed in this as well as in other instances it is quite clear that the author or compiler of the Gaḍ had an admirable power of making abridgements. Of the three Saṃhitās, the Parāśara-

1 IHQ., June, 1929, p. 368. 2 Ibid.

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saṃhitā is of course the latest in time; so it follows that the Smṛti portion of the Gaḍ, was incorporated into it after the time represented by the Parāśarasaṃhitā.

Besides the Smṛtis, the Purāṇa has also taken the help of Varāhamihira's Bṛhat-saṃhitā. Thus the chapter 68 (i) of the Gaḍ is nothing but chs. 68 and 70 of Varāhamihira's Bṛhatsaṃhitā[1]. In the geographical chapters also there is a great deal of similarity in the list of countries which the Bṛhat Saṃhitā and the Gaḍ supply. Though the latter's list is not exhaustive like the former, yet the few countries of the various divisions of India which the Gaḍ mentions agree more with the Bṛhatsaṃhitā than with any other Purāṇa. The Gaḍ also contains the Kalāpavyākaraṇa with Kātyāyana's additional chapter on verbal derivations. The Kalāpavyākaraṇa was written by Śarvavarman in the south in about the 1st century, A.D. The section on Kṛts or verbal derivations was subsequently added to the book by one Kātyāyana about the 2nd century A. D. Mm. Śāstrī says that the Gaḍ has made an abstract of both the works in two chapters[2]. He thinks that this was done in the 3rd century A.D. In support of this he also points out[3] that the Purāṇa's grammatical section does not mention Pāṇini, the study of whose work was discontinued during the early part of the Christian era. The grammatical section of the Purāṇa cannot, therefore, be dated earlier than the third century of the Christian era. The Purāṇa has also got long dissertations on Medicine and drugs. It is no use denying it, that these chapters were not taken from some standard work on Hindu medicine. Thus, the first chapter, Nidānasthāna of the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya Saṃhitā of Vāgbhaṭa verbally agrees with ch. 150 of the Gaḍ. Both the texts have got the same number of verses (twenty-four) in the chapters mentioned, of course, with the exception of a few textual corruptions. Similarly ch. 151 of Gaḍ agrees with the second chapter of Vagbhaṭa, but here, there are some displacements and variations. The following chapters of the Gaḍ and Vāgbhaṭa also agree in almost letter for letter and word for word, only with the difference that the compiler of the Purāṇa, has copied a chapter of Vāgbhaṭa by dissolving it into some two or three successive chapters, in which,

1 IHQ., June, 1929, p. 368.

2 A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. V, p. cxciii.

3 Ibid.

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of course, the compiler has exercised good discretion. The following table will show this.

	Gaḍ			*Vāgbhaṭa*
Ch.	152, 153	...	...	... Ch. 3
Ch.	154, 155	...	...	... Ch. 4
Ch.	156, 157, 158	...	...	... Ch. 5
Ch.	159	...	...	... Ch. 6

In this way various other chapters may be found out, but the few given above are sufficient to prove that the Gaḍ has taken the help of Vāgbhaṭ's work in compiling the chapters on Hindu medicine. Even the verses, where Vāgbhaṭa discusses the various conflicting theories of Agniveśa, and other previous authorities on Hindu medicine, are to be found incorporated in the Garuḍa Purāṇa, all of which betray the startling plagiarism of the Purāṇa compiler. But the date of Vāgbhaṭa is a matter of conjecture. Dr. Hœrnle in his reputed book, Medicine of Ancient India, and also in his article in the JRAS, (1909, p. 882) says, Vāgbhaṭa, Mādhava, Dṛḍhabala must be placed between the 7th and the 11th centuries A. D. (pt. I. p. 13). He further says that Mādhava is anterior to Dṛḍhbala and that the latter is anterior to Vāgbhaṭa (Ibid., pp. 7-16). Mādhava, however, according to the Arabic evidences, flourished between the 7th and the 8th centuries A. D., and Hoernle refers to Tibetan sources according to which Vāgbhaṭa II, the author of the Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya-saṃhitā flourished between the 8th and the 9th centuries A.D. It follows, therefore, that the medicinal chapters of the Gaḍ could not have been incorporated into it until the 8th or 9th cent. A.D. The veterinary subjects are also discussed in the Purāṇa in one chapter and is ascribed to Dhanvantari. Mm. Śāstrī[1] says that it must have been an abstract of some smaller treatise, e. g. Aśva-cikitsā of Nakula., the date of which is not definitely known. The Nītisāra section of the Gaḍ, which engross a considerable portion of the book, was evidently an incorporation from other similar standard works. "But it is not

1 A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal ; vol. V, p. cxciii.

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Bṛhaspati[1] sūtra", says Mm. Śāstrī, "nor Kauṭilya nor Kāmandaka. We simply do not know of what book is this abstract made." We know that Cāṇakyarājanītiśāstra is a similar work on Nīti and the writer, one Bhoja, frankly admits: "Nānāśāstroddhṛtaṃ vakṣye rājanīti-samuccayṃ"[2]. It shows, therefore, that the writer attempted in this book to put together in a systematic form the various floating verses on Nīti, so much so that his work, viewed in that light, may be regarded as some sort of a standard work on the subject. What, however, strikes one when comparing the Nītiśāstra section of the Gaḍ and the Cāṇakyaśāstra of Bhoja is that the Purāṇa compiler must have had the Nītiśāstra of Bhoja before him when compiling this section of the Purāṇa. The general arrangement, the division of subjects, the succession of chapters and agreement in contents between the two books, sometimes in summary form and sometimes verbatim, all go to betray the indebtedness of the Gaḍ to the Nītiśāstra of Bhoja. Either the Gaḍ has borrowed from the Nītiśāstra of Bhoja, or both of them have borrowed in their own way from some common source. In the collections of the Dacca University there is a Ms. (Cat. No. 3150) entitled Rājanītisamuccaya.[3] Now, the author of Cānakyarājanītiśāstra, as we have seen, frankly admits that he has culled his materials from different sources for his Rājanītisamuccaya (Cāṇakyarājanīti, p.i. ch.1, v. 2) which he proposes to tell us. There are of course considerable agreements between Bhoja's work and the Mss., and the latter, though a short monograph of about hundred verses, seem to be a more accurate representation of what the original was. For the verse "Mūlasūtraṃ pravakṣyāmi Cāṇakyena yathoditam" etc. which bear an introductory merit, is to be found in the second verse of the Mss., whereas it occurs in Bhoja's work as the sixteenth verse. There are also other evidences which show that the Ms. was a systematic work, complete in its own way. All the three texts under our review have, however, very frequently passages in common which may help one to restore the original Nītiśāra. Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarty, for instance, has been able to show[4] that a śloka the author of which was

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1 A Descriptive Catalogue of Sangkrit Mss. in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; vol V, p, exiii.

2 Ed. by Dr. N. N. Law, Calcutta Oriental Series, no. 2, p. 1.

3 Cāṇakyaśatakam, Ed. by Jivānanada Vidyāsāgara in the Kāvya-saṃgraha Series, Part II.

4 JASB, 1928, p. 463-4.

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Bāna, has been preserved both in the Gaḍ and the Nītiśāra of Bhoja. Mr. Chakravarty adds that the Gaḍ probably could not incorporate the Nītiśāra section in its body before 10th cent. A. D., for this or similar other ślokas must have taken a long time before it or they were filtered down to the reach of the Purāṇa. The Nītiśāra section of the Gaḍ may, therefore, be dated in the tenth century A. D. These are the various dates of the incorporation of the various dissertations in the Garuḍa. M. M. Śāstrī, however, thinks that the Purāṇa in general seems to have been a compilation in the time of the Guptas, for in their time Garuḍa seemed to have been a very popular deity. As opposed to this it may be said that the date of a Purāṇa does not always correspond to the date of the deity concerned, which it has taken for its name or whose worship it advocates. Had it been so the Viṣṇu Purāṇa would have been a much earlier composition, than what it is thought to be now in its present form. Moreover, the Gaḍ rarely betrays any warmth for preaching the worship of the deity it has taken for its name or else it would have strengthened M. M. Śāstrī's argument, that Gaḍ reflects the condition of the time when Garuḍa was a very popular deity.[1] The fact that the Gaḍ

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1 Numerous Garuḍa images and statues have been found in Bengal as well as in other parts of India, most of which belong to 7th and 8th centuries of the Christian era, which show that the popularity of the deity was an event of that time.

No doubt the conception of Avatāra had an early basis, but it must be admitted that the enumeration of the Avatāras, one by one in a long chain of succession, as it is told in Garuḍa, observing a formula as it were, seems to have been current not before the time of Jayadeva, who it seems, systematised and collected the name of different great persons and gods, who had in the meantime been regarded as Avatāras, and gave a definite shape and weight to the Avatāra theory, by putting them one after another, in a chronological order so far as practicable, and by adding in each case a note of their glorious deeds. But, according to M. M. Śāstrī the first list of Avataras in the Bhāgavata Mahā-Purāṇa is of later date. If it be so, the first list of Avatāras found in the Gaḍ cannot also be an early composition, as first list of the Avatāra in both the Purāṇas are one and the same. Moreover, a passage of the Gaḍ (i, 202, 11) which is a prayer to various Hindu gods among which Buddha is also mentioned, leave no doubt that the Purāṇa

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does not contain any treatise on Alaṃkāra Śāstra is at best a negative evidence, as M. M. Śāstrī himself says, for putting the Purāṇa in the 4th cent. A.D. Next M. M. Śāstrī says that the list of Avatāras as contained in the Gaḍ is an indication of an early date of the Purāṇa.[1]

M. M. Śāstrī then refers to a śloka of the Gaḍ which contains the boundary of India as it possibly was in the 3rd and 4th cent. A.D. and concludes that the Purāṇa must have been a composition of that time. But the test of the boundary is never safe for determining the age of a particular book, for these ślokas regarding the boundary of India were more or less traditional rather than a reflection of the real state of things. The Skanda-Purāṇa repeats the same śloka, but for the matter of that, the Purāṇa certainly cannot belong to 3rd or 4th century A.D. The Garuḍa-Purāṇa was not, therefore, a work of the 4th century A.D. Of course it would be a mistake to affirm that none of the contents of the Gaḍ are as old as the 4th cent. A.D. In fact, some are. But a survey of the various dates of the incorporation of the different dissertations in the Gaḍ, would thus establish it beyond doubt that the Garuḍa Purāṇa as it exists now could not have received its final shape before the 10th or the 11th century A.D.

S. B. CHAUDHURI
S. C. BANERJEE

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was composed at a time when Buddha became one of the gods of Hindu pantheon. The inscriptions of Pāla kings show that they were a true child of this new amalgamation.

1 The Purāṇa is cited as an authority in the Yukti-kalpataru of king Bhoja (Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 1, p. 89ff). Some passages are cited (vv. 47-50) with the epithet, 'Tathā ca Gāruḍe' which can be traced in the Gaḍ (ch. i, 68, 1-4). This is important in the sense that at the time represented by the author of Yukti-kalpataru, the Gaḍ had finished its compilation of different standard works, had acquired a final shape, and was regarded to some extent as an authority in some topics to certain section, of the people. The editor of the Yukti-kalpataru thinks that its author is identical with the famous Bhoja Parmāra of Dhāra, and brings evidences to show that it was a composition of the eleventh century A.D.

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MISCELLANY

The Newly-Discovered Gunaighar Grant

Thanks of antiquarians are due to Mr. Dineshchandra Bhattacharya who has brought to the notice of the public the newly discovered copper-plate of a Gupta monarch.[1] But his version of its contents though otherwise excellent, may still be improved. For example, the obscured portion of the 6th line might he read as *pra*[*dānāya ta*]*sya* instead of *pra*[*vartanāya ta*]*sya*. The word *pradāna* in the sense of 'offering' suggests itself first in this place. But this may not be so very important. A palpable improvement can perhaps be made with regard to lines 8-11. *Hāpavihitā* in the beginning of the line 9 should be correted as *hāsavihitāṃ* or *hāsavihita* and no fullstop should be read after this. The sentence beginning with '*api*' in line 8 should have its fullstop just before the word *dviṣadbhi* in the line 10. The word *smṛto* in the line 9 may be corrected as *smṛtām* (the second alternative suggestion by Mr. Bhattacharya). And the gaps in lines 10 and 11 may be filled up by [*na haret*]||* and [*nupālayitavyāḥ*]||* respectively. The latter (*abhyanupālayitavyā*) agrees better with the next sentence which runs as "*Anupālanaṃ prati* etc.

The translation of lines 8-11 according to our suggestions will be as follows :

(Lines 8-11). And disregarding this tradition of a gift of land for [the acquisitition of] merit, which [tradition] has been prescribed by the *Veda*, the *Smṛti* and the *Itihāsa* referred to [therein] with reference to a special benefit to be reaped in this world and in the next, none should even when undergoing hardship on account of poverty take away this land from the fit persons [to whom this gift has been made]. Either out of regard for our words or for their own attainment of fame and religious merit these *paṭākas* [of land] in this Vihāra should for all time [to come] be protected [even] by persons [who may be] inimical [to this sect]. And with regard to this protection etc. etc.

MONOMOHAN GHOSE

1 *I.H.Q.*, March, 1930, pp. 53-56.

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Some Additional Notes on Matsyendranātha

Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti has furnished some new facts about Matsyendranātha in the Indian Historical Quarterly for March, 1930. We shall give here some more.

There is an account of Matsyendranātha in the Skanda-Purāṇa, Nāgara-khaṇḍa, Chapter 263 (Vaṅgavāsī Edition). It is stated therein that Matsyendra was born in Gaṇḍānta-yoga, which meant that the family would come to an end with him, as he will not take to the order of a householder (gaṇḍānta-yoga-janito bālo na gṛhakarmmakṛt.). The mother acting under the orders of the father who was afraid of the extinction of the family, threw the child into the sea, where it was swallowed up by a fish. In this state he remained for a long time. Once upon a time, Śiva took his consort Pārvatī to a trip to the sky. They passed over many climes, taking with them, on the way, their son Kārttikēya, who was being reared by the Kṛttikās. They then alighted on the lofty peak of the Ramyaka mount in Śveta-dvīpa, which lay in the Kṣīra-sāgara (ocean of butter). Here Śiva initiated Pārvatī into the secrets of Dhyāna-yoga and Jñāna-yoga. Kārttikeya also listened to their conversation. They resumed their journey and while passing over a city in the midst of the Kṣīra-sāgara, up soared a big fish, using the breast as arms and making a great sound. Śiva enquired of the fish who he was. He then related how he was born in Gaṇḍānta-yoga, thrown into the sea and swallowed up by a fish, adding that by overhearing their conversation he has attained jñāna-yoga. Śiva then said "you are a *vipra*, you are like my son and you are adorable, come out of the fish by force." He did what he was asked to do and Pārvatī took him on her lap as her son. He then accompanied in their aerial car named Sarvakāmika to the Mandāra hill. As he came out of a fish, Śiva gave him the name of Matsyanātha.

Mr. V. V. Gokhale writes that Macchindra is mentioned in the fifth śloka of the Tibetan translation of the Maṅgalāṣṭaka by Ārya-deśastha-mahākavi Kālidāsa. He says also that maṅgalāṣṭaka is generally sung on the occasion of the wedding ceremonies in Mahārāṣṭra (I. H. Q., vol. I, p. 739).

In the Tantra-sāra of Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa, Mīnanātha is mentioned as one of the gurus connected with the worship of goddess Tārā. These gurus are to be worshipped as preliminaries to the worship of Tārā. These gurus are divided into three classes:—Divyaugha, Siddhaugha, and Mānavaugha. The Siddhaughas according to the

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Phetkārīya Tantra are :—Vaśiṣṭhānandanātha, Kurmānandanātha, Mīnanāthānandanātha and Harināthānandanātha. In the Tārā Tantra, as cited by Kṛṣṇānanda, one more name, viz. Maheśvara has been placed between Mīnanātha and Harinātha.

Mr. Chakravarti says that the verse quoted by Jayaratha points to Kāmarūpa as the place of origin of Matsyendra, but this is not borne out by the verse quoted and the translation of it given by him. According to the verse, Mīna, the Macchanda, acquired Kaulaism in the Mahāpīṭha of Kāmarūpa. It does not necessarily mean that he was born also in Kāmarūpa. He might have been born in Candradvīpa and attained his siddhi in Kāmarūpa, which was a great centre of Tāntric culture. It is not clear from the account in the Skanda-Purāṇa as to the place of origin of Matsyendra. It is somewhere in a city in some island in the Kṣīra-sāgara (and not Kṣīroda-sāgara which has been separately mentioned in the Skanda Purāṇa, Nāgara-khaṇḍa, chap. 261.) It can be presumed that the place is not far from the Ramyaka mount in Śveta-dvîpa, which was also in the Kṣīra-sāgara.

As to the origin of the name Matsyendranātha, Siva Chandra Sil, editor of the 'Govindacandra-gīta' of Durlabha Mallika, suggested that Matsyendranātha was so named because his place of origin was Matsya-deśa, another name of Bengal (Glazier's Rangpur District). In the Skanda Purāṇa he has been mentioned both as Matsyanātha and Matsyendranātha,

We have seen above that Matsyendra has been addressed as a 'vipra' by Śiva. This does not necessarily mean that he was born of a Brāhmaṇa family. He might have been so called because of his acquisition of Jñāna-yoga. He has also been called as yogiśreṣṭha, brahma-sevaka and jīvanmukta.

Mr. Chakravarti says that Jayaratha has given Matsyendranātha the fourth place in the list of Nāthas, but no other list gives him that position. This can, however, be supported in a way if Mīnanātha and Matsyendranātha are identical. In the list of guru-paṅkti of the goddess Tārā given in the Tantra-sāra, we find six names before him, the four divyaughas, viz. Ūrddhakeśānandanātha, Vyomakeśānandanātha, Nīlakaṇṭhanāthānandanātha and Vṛṣadhvajānandanātha and the siddhaughas, Vaśiṣṭhānandanātha and Kūrmmānandanātha. Divyaugha means a form of Śiva and the names given indicate the different names of Śiva. Ādinātha, the first of the Nāthas, is Śiva himself. Taking the three divyaughas as one, his position comes to be the fourth.

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According to some Mīnanātha and Matsyendranātha are identical, while others hold that they are different persons. Excluding Ādinātha, Mīnanātha or Matsyendranātha is generally said to be the first Nātha or Siddha, but according to the commentator of the 'Caryācarya-viniścaya' Lui-pāda is the first Siddha. This might be due to the confusion of Lui's second name Matsyāntrāda with Matsyendranātha. Again in Cordier's Catalogue, p. 237, we find that Ācārya Maṇīpāda who wrote 'Bāhyāntarabodhicittabandhopadeśa' was a forefather of Matsyendra. Mīnanātha not only composed songs but also wrote a book on Kāma-śāstra named 'Smara-dīpikā.'

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH

Some Historical Notes

(1) *Jayatuṅga Varṣa*

Foucher makes mention of an image of Jayatuṅga-Lokanātha in Samataṭa (*Étude sur l' Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, pp. 108-200). This Jayatuṅga apparently is a name of a person, but who he was we do not know.

In verse 8 of the *Tippera District Copper-plate Grant of king Lokanātha*, we find mention of one Jayatuṅga Varṣa, who made war on Lokanātha, but the latter was quite prepared for it. (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XV, pp. 301-315). Apparently peace was concluded and in memory of this happy occasion an image was set up in the joint names of the two kings, viz., Jayatuṅga-Lokanātha. Ancient Samataṭa forms a part of the present Tippera District. By 'tuṅga' and 'Varṣa' one may be led to think that he belonged to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty, but these were not their monopoly. Other families are also found to use them. (Ep. Ind., vol. I, p. 252). Besides, among the Rāṣṭrakūṭas no such name could be found.

Tāranātha says—"Śrī Harṣa was succeeded by his son Śīla, who reigned about a 100 years. Although we again see the race of the Candras appearing in the east in the person of Siṃhacandra, it was very feeble, and submitted to the authority of king Harṣa or Siṃha and of his son Barṣa, who were descended from the Lichchavsi. At this time Candragomin also lived (chap. XXIV). The contemporary of Śīla in the west was the very powerful Vyākula, King of Ma-mha, who raised himself by force over Śīla and reigned thirty-six years" (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. IV, p. 365).

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History is silent about Śrī Harṣa (Śilāditya) having a son named Śīla. According to Dr. Hœrnle Śilāditya was the son of Emperor Yaśodharman, who carried his arms up to Lohitya and reigned from about 583 A.D. to 606 A.D.[1] Śīla's contemporary Candragomin, as can be gathered from the internal evidence of his grammer, lived when the Hūṇas were driven away by the Guptas in A.D. *c.* 470-533 (History of India by Hœrnle & Stark, pp. 54-56). Tāranātha might have taken Śrīharṣa-Śilāditya and this Śilāditya to be one and the same person and therefore have said that he reigned about 100 years. By Vyākula, king of Ma-mha, perhaps Mihirakula, king of Malwa, was meant. Here also he is not correct. Mihirakula was his father's contemporary. This Barṣa, son of Siṃha, is perhaps the same as Jayatuṅga-Varṣa referred to above, This Siṃha was the king of Varendra under Śīla. He subdued his neighbour Siṃhacandra (of Harikela ?). Actuated by this success his son Varṣa might have tried to subdue another neighbour on the other side of the Bramhaputra, viz, Lokanātha, the king of Samataṭa. Śīla-Lōkanātha of Harikela mentioned by Foucher (Ibid., p. 105) was perhaps named after Śilāditya.

(2) *King Jīvadhāraṇa*

In verse 9 of the above plate of Lokanātha we find mention of a king named Jīvadhāraṇa who made war on Lōkanātha but had to relinquish it and give away his territories with the army. Who this Jīvadhāraṇa was ? Mr. Basak has failed to identify him. We take him to be Jīvitagupta I. From the Poona plates of the Vākāṭaka queen Prabhāvatī-guptā we learn that the imperial Guptas belonged to the Dhāraṇa gotra (Ep. Ind., vol. XV, p. 42n). The practice of using gotras as surnames is still prevalent among some Brāhmaṇas of East Bengal. Therefore this Jīvadhāraṇa is the same as Jīvagupta or Jivitagupta. Among the later Guptas we find two Jīvitaguptas, intervening between them are seven kings. It may be presumed that Jīvita-gupta I, was about two hundred years earlier than Jīvita-gupta II, Mr. Vincent Smith says that Jīvita-gupta II, reigned early in the

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1 Vincent Smith does not agree with him. He identifies Śilāditya with Śīlāditya Dharmāditya of the Vailabhi dynasty and assigns his time to be C.595 to 615 A.C. (Early History of India, 3rd. edition, p. 326 and foot note). There is nothing to show that this Vallabhi king had any influence over Bengal and Samataṭa.

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eighth century, so Jīvita-gupta I, must have ruled in the first part of the sixth century. If our identification of Jayatuṅga Varṣa with Barṣa and their date as we have suggested above, are correct, Jīvadhāraṇa is more probably Jīvita-gupta I, and not Jīvita -gupta II.

Mr. Basak considers the date of the plate to be the 44th year of the Harṣa Era i.e. 650 A.D. We have instances of Gupta era being used in Bengal and Samataṭa, but as far as we know, there has not been found a single case in which Harṣa era has been used in this part of the country. The seal of the plate clearly shows Gupta influence, and we have every reason to think th at the era used is the Gupta era. The first portion of the passa ge giving the date (line 29) is illegible. Mr. Basak reads it—".....dh. ke catuś=catvāriṅ(ṃ)śat-saṃvatsare". In calculating the date he has not taken into account the illegible portion without which the date is incomplete. We think that the reading of the illegible portion would be—'śata-dvay=ādhike'. If we are correct in our supposition, the date would be 243 and taking this to be the Gupta era it is equivalent to 563 A.D.

Mr. Basak thinks that the characters of the plate belong to the alphabets of the seventh century A.D. and finds fault with Dr. Bloch's finding that they belonged to the 9th or 10th century approximately. This shows that much reliance cannot be placed on the palæographic evidence alone, particularly it is not very safe to depend on the comparison with the scripts of the country west of the Brahmaputra. A comparison of the Chittagong plate of Dāmodara-deva of Śaka 1165[1] with the grants of Viśvarūpa-sena,[2] a contemporary king, will convince anybody about the truth of our assertion.

(3) *Cāṇakyacandra*

According to the Saduktikarṇāmṛta one Umāpati Dhara wrote a book named Candracūḍa-carita under the patronage of Cāṇakyacandra. Who this Cāṇakyacandra was ?

Tāranātha writes—"Śreṣṭha Mahāpāla's eldest son, was next raised to the throne, but died three years after. As he left behind a son, who was only seven years old, his maternal uncle Cāṇaka was raised to the throne and ruled for 29 years. He made war with the king of the Turuṣkas and in the end was victorious. The people of Bengal also revolted against him and entered Magadha by force ; but he subdued them. In course of time he raised his nephew Bheyapāla to the throne

1 JASB, vol. XV, pt. I. 2 JASB, vol. XV, pt. I.

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and retired to the Kingdom of Bati, an island near the mouth of the Ganges, where after 5 years he died (Chap. XXXIV). Bheyapāla reigned 32 years, and preserved his kingdom in its previous extent (he had with him Jo-Adisha, the real propagator of Buddhism in Tibet). He was succeeded by his son Neyapāla who reigned 35 years (the year of his succession was that in which Jo-Adisha arrived in Tibet (Chap. XXXV)." (Indian Antiquary, vol. IV, p. 366).

These Bheyapāla and Neyapāla are no doubt Mahīpāla and his son Nayapāla. Jo-Adisha is Atīśa Dīpaṅkara-Śrī-jñāna. It may be that Cāṇaka and king Cāṇakyacandra are identical. The island kingdom of Bati near the mouth of the Ganges is the country of Bhāṭi of the Āin-I-Ākbari. Tāranātha was born in the year 1575 A.D. and he completed his book in 1608. So it can be presumed that Tāranātha was not unacquainted with the term Bhāṭi of the Moghuls. One Umāpati-Dhara wrote the Deopāḍā Praśati of Vijaya-sena. These two Umāpati-Dharas are perhaps identical. Cāṇakyacandra perhaps belonged to the Candra dynasty of Bengal.

(4) *Bhāskara Varman*

Vincent Smith says—"Hiuen Tsang describes him (Bhāskara Varman) as being a Brahman by caste, but the form of his name indicates that he considered himself to be a Kṣatriya or Rājput and it would seem that the pilgrim really meant that Bhāskara-Varman was Brāhmaṇical Hindu in religion. He may have been a Brahma-Kṣatrī, as the Sena kings were in later times."

The surname of "Varman" is not the sure indication for a Brāhmaṇa. Bhandarkar says that the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas have got "Varman" as one of their surnames. He quotes the following verse from the Pravarādhyāya of the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas of Bombay-Guzrat in support of his statement :—

"datta-guptau nanda-ghoṣau śarma-dāsau ca varma ca|
nāgadatta-strāta-bhūtau mitra-devau bhavas tathā||

Even now the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas affix these surnames to their names when they perform religious ceremonies (*Indian Antiquary*, 1911).

In Cordier's Catalogue, p. 331, we find a Brāhmaṇa named Jaya-varman.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH

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The Dates of the Cauhan Maharajas of Sambalpur Atharagarh (Mahakosala)

It is really a pity that the enlightened and educated sons of Sambalpur (now in Orissa and formerly in C. P.) appear to be quite indifferent to bringing to light the hitherto neglected and forgotten history of the *Cauhān* kings who ruled over the "Aṭhārāgarhs" of the Sambalpur Rāj for more than three hundred years without any interference from without. This absence of interference though more or less due to the wild nature of the country and its remoteness of situation, has no doubt a peculiarity of its own, which must not be lost sight of. A branch of the Paṭnā family of the Cauhan dynasty of Orissa, which the Indian students of history will ever remember with interest as the destroyer of an ancient Indian system of a form of republic Government soon rose to po wer and importance extending its suzerainty over 18 chiefs or lords of 'forts' or 'garhs', as they are usually called. For want of continuous research and a keen interest in this matter by the sons of the soil, the preparation of the history of the Cauhān kings has not yet been taken in hand. No serious attempt has ever been made in this direction. The reason is not yet far to seek. The difficulties which the research work among a backward and superstitious people naturally entails are too numerous to damp the spirit of even energetic workers. I have myself very bitter experiences in this direction. It was after repeated and untiring efforts for more than four years that I could secure the copies of the copper-plate grants of the time of Raja Chatra Sai and Raja Jait Singh. With the help of these two inscriptional records, I have tried to fix the dates of the Cauhan kings beginning with Balram Deo. I must admit that for want of figures giving the length of the reign of every Cauhan king, which the old and the first Gazetteer of Central Provinces (published in 1868) supplied, my task would have been too difficult. My obligations, therefore, are due to the compiler of the old Gazetteer in question.

I give below the dates fixed by me in Vikrama Saṃvat :—

1. Balram Deo	reigns	62 years	from	Vikrama	Saṃvat	1522 to 1584.
2. Hridaya Narayan Deo	,,	33 years	,,	,,	,,	1584 to 1617.
3. Balbhadra Sai	,,	30 years	,,	,,	,,	1617 to 1647.
4. Madhukar Sai	,,	26 years	,,	,,	,,	1647 to 1673.

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5. Baliyar Singh „ 40 years „ „ „ 1673 to 1713.
6. Ratan Singh (This king reigned only for four months)
7. Chatra Sai „ 38 years „ „ „ 1713 to 1751.
The copper-plate refers to this king. It is dated in Vikrama Saṃvat 1747.
8. Ajit Singh „ 72 years „ „ „ 1751 to 1823.
We have an authoritative record of the date of his death by Mr. Motte.
9. Abhai Singh „ 11 years „ „ „ 1823 to 1834.
10. Balbhadra Sai „ 4 years „ „ „ 1834 to 1838.
(the boy king)
11. Jait Singh sits on the gadi in Vikrama Saṃvat 1838 in which year the copper-plate grant is dated.

Now a few words of explanation are necessary to show that the dates fixed by me are much nearer the mark and can be accepted as fairly accurate.

The copper-plate grant of Raja Chatra Sai is dated in the Vikrama year 1747 (*miti māragīṣirṣa badi* 1 Wednesday). The record is in the *nāgarī character* and the language used is *Hindi*. It confirms the grant of a group of 42 villages called the "Sarsiwā Biyālisi" in the Kikirdā Parganā of the Sambalpur Raj to Dewan *Udot Sait* of Sarangarh for his military services in suppressing the dissatisfied and rebellious army of the king Chatra Sai's own capital, during his absence in *Candarpur*. The state of affairs at Sambalpur became so delicate and dangerous that Raja Chatra Sai had to seek shelter at Sarangarh with his son, Ajit Singh, and had to spend full one year there till he was restored to the Gadi by the Sarangarh Dewan, Udot Sai.

According to the copper-plate record it is certain that Raja Chatra Sai was living in the Vikrama year 1747 (i. e. 1690 A. D.). We have already got an authoritative record in the words of Mr. Motte the agent of Lord Clive to Raja Ajit Singh's court. Mr. Motte says:— "In the year 1763, Ajit Sing was Rajah and Deccan Roy Dewan (Sambalpur Gazetteer, p. 42). Ajit Singh died in the beginning of May 1766, not without strong suspicion of poison (p. 43.)."

From other sources we know that Raja Ajit Singh reigned 72 years. He died in 1766 A. D. (or Vikrama Saṃvat 1823). He would have sat on the *gadi* 72 years before i.e. in Saṃvat 1751 (1823-72 = 1751). We already know that Raja Chatra Sai, the father of Ajit Singh, was on the *gadi* in 1747 Vikrama Saṃvat. Therefore the date of his death may safely be accepted as 1751 Vikrama Saṃvat.

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The second copper-plate is dated in the Vikrama year 1838 (*Āṣāḍh badi* 6 Tuesday). The record of this plate is also in Hindi and Nāgarī characters. It records the grant of the *Sariā* Pargana to Raja Bisvanath Sai of Sarangarh for his brave support and loyalty in securing the almost lost throne of Sambalpur for Kumar Jait Singh, who had fled to Mundala.

From Sarangarh History (in manuscript) in the possession of the present Raja Bahadur of Sarangarh, I gather that references are made to the Sambalpur Maharajas. In it I find a mention of our first king Balram Deo. It runs thus:—

"In Vikrama Saṃvat 1534, Dewan Ujiyar Sai was the ruler of Sarangarh. He reigned 18 years. During this time *Maharaj* Balaram Deo of *Paṭnā* came to Sambalpur and annexed the Sarangarh state to the *Aṭhāragarh* Sambalpur Raj. Prior to this the Sarangarh state was under the Ratanpur Rajas".

Balram Deo's reign begins in 1522 Vikrama Saṃvat. It is quite possible that within 12 years (about Saṃvat 1534) he would have managed to win and establish 18 forts.

Again the "Sarangarh History" (in ms.) has:—

"Bhikha Sai Dwan sat on the gadi of Sarangarh in the Vikrama Saṃvat 1614 and his rule lasted for 30 years".

Balbhadra Sai the king of Sambalpnr sent for Bhikha Sai and asked him to take the fort of *Boud*. Bhikha Sai sacked the fort of Boud and reduced it to subjection. In recognition of his brave services he received a group of 12 villages called "Sohagpur Barhon" as a reward.

Our date of Balbhadra Sai falls between Saṃvat 1617 and 1647 and the above statement supports it.

Unless some inscriptional evidence is found to the contrary, I believe, the dates fixed by me may safely be accepted as correct.

In a future note I desire to deal with the dates of the earlier kings of the main house of Paṭnā, the first and oldest seat of *Cauhan* Maharajas of Mahākosala.

L. P. PANDEYA

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Yaṭṭhi in the Mahāvaṃsa

In the *Mahāvaṃsa* (English translation, P. T. S., p. 78), *Yaṭṭhi* is translated as "stem." Here, however, *Yaṭṭhi* means "necklace." This meaning of *Yaṭṭhi* (= *Yaṣṭi*) will be clear by a reference to the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, Mysore, 2nd ed., p. 76, where the varieties of necklace have been mentioned. In Apte's *Dictionary* also, *Yaṣṭi* means a "necklace." I may point out that this signification of *Yaṣṭi* will fit in with the various Pāli passages where the word has been used, and will give a better sense. For clearing up what I mean to state, I am giving a translation of the relevant verses along with that of Prof. Geiger. It should be borne in mind that the verses speak of miraculous happenings.

Chapter XI, śloka 10—At the foot of the Chāta mountain there appeared (jāta) three cane-like necklaces of the size of a chariot whip. [Tr. At the foot of the Chāta-mountain there grew up three bamboo-stems, in girth even as a wagg-on-pole].

Chapter XI, śloka 11—Of them, one was a creeper-like necklace of silver colour with leaves of golden colour...[Tr. One of them, 'the creeper-stem' shone like silver ; on this might be seen delightful creepers gleaming with a golden colour].

śloka 12—One was a flower-necklace (Kusuma yaṭṭhi=commonly called *Puṣpahāra*=a string made up of golden flowers), of which the flowers are of various colours. [Tr. But one was the 'flower-stem,' on this again might be seen delightful creepers gleaming with a golden colour].

śloka 13—One was a bird-necklace (i.e. a necklace formed by a string of birds made of gold or other precious metals) in which there were many birds and beasts (i.e. made of gold or other valuable things) (which were so beautifully executed that they appeared) as if they were living. [Tr. And last, one was the 'bird-stem' whereon might be seen numbers of birds and beasts of many (kinds) and of many colours, as if living].

śloka 22—These three high class jewels and the three necklaces meant for decorating chariot. [Tr. the three kinds of precious stones, and the three stems (like) waggon-poles].

N. B.—The portions within simple brackets are my explanatory notes.

N. N. LAW

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Vaivarttika-sangha

In the *IHQ.*, vol. VI, no. 1, pp. 51, 54, 57, Mr. D. C. Bhattacharya has made a remark about the word '*Vaivarttika*' used in the newly discovered copper-plate grant from Tippera, which records the gift of a piece of land to a Buddhist Saṅgha in 506 A.C. The remark cannot be substantiated. He writes, "The *Vaivarttika Saṅgha* of the *Mahāyāna* is for the first time mentioned in this plate alone and we are quite unable to trace it in the Buddhist works." "The name seems to have reference to the doctrine of *Vivarta* (Illusion), which found so much currency in post-Śaṅkara Vedāntism, but the term is never used in Buddhist philosophy as far as we know."

It is certainly a very bold statement, made by Mr. Bhattacharya without a thorough search for the term in the Buddhist works. In the well-known *Mahāvyutpatti,* he could have found words like *avaivartta-cakra* and *avaivarto nāmo samādhiḥ*, not to speak of such important Buddhist works as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, *Śikṣāsamuccaya* and *Daśabhūmikasūtra*. We often find mention of "*avaivartika-bodhisattva*" and "*avaivartika-bhikṣusaṅgha.*" The term 'avaivartika' means a "non-receding" i.e., a condition from which a Bodhisattva or the members of a Buddhist order can never fall down. The Tibetan Synonym of the word is *ḥgyur-bamed-pa* (without change) and *phir-mildog-pa* (without fall or cause to return). The eighth bhūmi, where an adept has no chance of a fall is called Acalā or *Avaivartika-bhūmi*. So the word in the inscription should be *Avaivartika* and not *Vaivartika* and hence no speculation need be made about the existence of a Vivarta sect. Taking the term as *avaivartika*, line 5 should be translated thus : The gift is for acceptance by the order of monks who are firm [lit. unchanging] Mahāyānists—an order formed by the ācārya (Śāntideva).

N. DUTT

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The Cintāmaṇi and Cūḍāmaṇi-kāvyas

One of the inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa (*Epigraphia Carnatica* vol. 2, no. 67, p. 23 ff. in 1st edition; no. 54, p. 82 ff. in 2nd edition; see also *Epigraphica Indica*, III, 184 ff.) which is incised on a pillar in the Pārśvanātha-basti, gives the succession-list of the Jaina pontiffs of the Aruṅguḷānvaya of the Nandi-gaṇa of the Draviḍa-saṅgha. This list includes the names of many gurus like Akalaṅka, Vidyānanda, Indranandin, Candrakīrti, Dayāpāla, Śrīvijaya and Vādirāja whose works are famous in Jaina literature; and the late Prof. Hultzsch published an article in *ZDMG.*, 68 (p. 695 ff.) on twenty-three pontiffs of this line beginning with Puṣpasena I.

Lines 37-43 of the above inscription contain the following three stanzas:

dharmārtha-kāma-parinirvṛti-cāru-cintaś
Cintāmaṇiḥ prati-niketam akāri yena/
sa stūyate sarasa-saukhya-bhujā sujātaś
Cintāmaṇir muni-vṛṣā na kathaṃ janena//
Cūḷāmaṇiḥ kavīnāṃ Cūḷāmaṇi-nāma-sevya-kāvya-kaviḥ/
Śrīvardha-deva eva hi kṛta-puṇyaḥ kāvyam āhartum//
ya evam upa-ślokito Daṇḍinā//
Jahnoḥ kanyāṃ jaṭāgreṇa babhāra Parameśvaraḥ/
Śrīvardha-deva sandhatse jihvāgreṇa Sarasvatīm//

in praise of the guru Cintāmaṇi, author of the *Cintāmaṇi-kāvya*, and Śrīvardha-deva, author of the *Cūḍāmaṇi-kāvya* who was extolled by Daṇḍin. These two works have not come down to us. But the *Cintāmaṇi* is referred to in the following verse—

stheyād Oḍeyadevena Vādībhahariṇā kṛtaḥ/
Gadya-cintāmaṇir loke Cintāmaṇir ivāparaḥ//

at the end of the *Gadya-cintāmaṇi*, in which the author Oḍeyadeva Vādībhasiṃha has said that his *Gadya-cintāmaṇi* is like another *Cintāmaṇi*. This Oḍeyadeva Vādībhasiṃha, who is the author of the *Kṣatracūḍāmaṇi* also, was, as I have shown elsewhere (*JBBRAS*, vol. 3, 1927, p. 156 ff.), identical with Śrīvijaya Oḍeyadeva Vādībhasiṃha who was a pontiff in the above-mentioned Aruṅguḷānvaya in about 1000 A.D. He was thus successor of the gurus Cintāmaṇi and Śrīvardha-deva; and hence there can be no doubt that he was acquainted with the kāvyas *Cintāmaṇi* and *Cūḍāmaṇi* written by his predecessors,

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and that he deliberatety named his books *Gadya-cintāmaṇi* and Kṣatra-cūḍāmaṇi in order to recall these two books to the mind of his readers.

His above-cited verse *stheyād Oḍeyadevena*...makes it clear that he had a very favourable opinion of his own book in comparison with the *Cintāmaṇi*, and that the two books dealt with the same subject. One can hence conclude that the *Cintāmaṇi-kāvya* was, like the *Gadya-cintāmaṇi*, concerned with the story of Jīvaka or Jīvandhara (but was, unlike the latter, written in verse); and this conclusion is confirmed by the fact that the Tamil book too named *Cintāmaṇi* or *Jīvaka-cintāmaṇi* (written in c. 1000 A.D.) deals likewise with the story of Jīvandhara or Jīvaka.

It is much more difficult to form any conclusion about the subject-matter of the *Cūḍāmaṇi-kāvya*. The Tamil kāvya of that name written by Tōlāmoḷi-deva (c. 900 A.D ?) is concerned with the story of Tivitta-kumāra, son of Payāpati [Prajāpati] and younger brother of Vijaya, while the *Kṣatra-cūḍāmaṇi* of Vādībhasiṃha which is written in verse deals again (like the *Gadya-cintāmaṇi* of the same author which is in prose) with the story of Jīvandhara. It has further been pointed out by Mr. R. Narasimhachar (*Karṇāṭaka-kavi-carite*, I, 2, p. 7ff.) that Indranandin in his *Śrutāvatāra*, Bhaṭṭākalaṅka in his *Karṇāṭaka-śabdānuśāsana* (A.D. 1604) and Dēvacandra in his *Rājāvaḷī-kathe* (A.D. 1838) mention a commentary named *Cūḍāmaṇi* on the *Tattvārthasūtra*.

The last-mentioned book, however, was written in Kannaḍa and its author was known as Tembulūr-ācārya, that is, the teacher of Tembulūru. Nevertheless Mr. Narasimhachar at first identified (l. c.) this Tembulūr-ācārya with Śrīvardhadeva and the *Cūḍāmaṇi* commentary with the *Cūḍāmaṇi-kāvya* mentioned in the inscription. Recently, however, he has abandoned this opinion (*op. cit.*, III, Kannaḍa introd., p. lxxxvi) and now identifies the *Cūḍāmaṇi-kāvya* of the inscription with the Tamil kāvya of that name, and its author Tōlāmoḷideva with Śrīvardhadeva.

This view seems to me to be untenable. For, in the first place, there is not the least reason to suppose that Tōlāmoḷideva, author of the Tamil work, was known also as Śrīvardhadeva. Secondly, as I have pointed out elsewhere, the other works named in the above-mentioned Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa inscription, namely, *Sumati-śataka*, *Nava-stotra*, *Śrutabindu* and *Rūpasiddhi* are all written in Sanskrit as also are the works (*Pratiṣṭhākalpa*, *Jvālinīkalpa*, *Tattvārthasūtravyākhyā*,

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Gadyacintāmaṇi, *Kṣatracūḍāmaṇi*, *Yaśodharacarita*, *Pārśvanāthacarita*, etc.) written by Indranandin, Śrīvijaya, Vādirāja and other gurus named in the inscription. Hence there can be no doubt that the *Cūḍāmaṇi-kāvya* too was written in Sanskrit; for, it is not conceivable that this one work only was written in Kannaḍa or Tamil and all the others written in Sanskrit.

Mr. Narasimhachar's identification of Śrīvardhadeva's *Cūḍāmaṇi-kāvya* with Tōlāmoḷideva's Tamil work of that name does not therefore seem to be well founded. Nor for the rest, are there any grounds for determining whether Śrīvardhadeva's book was, like the Tamil work of that name, concerned with the story of Tivitta-kumāra.

A. VENKATASUBBIAH

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REVIEWS

SĀDHANAMĀLĀ, vol. II, pp. 343-634+clxxiii with plates, by Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, M.A., PH. D.

The present volume which forms the Tome XLI of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, contains the remaining *Sādhanas*, 142 in number (nos. 171-312). Dr. Bhattacharyya is to be congratulated on the successful completion of his edition of the *Sādhanamālā*. Most of these *Sādhanas* are lying scattered in Tibetan translation in the *B*stan *h*gyur and the worth of the edition would have been certainly enhanced if they had been compared for settling the text. But still our indebtedness to the editor is not minimised in the least, for he is doing the work of a pioneer in this field. The greatest importance of these texts is iconographical and ritualistic. Dr. Bhattacharyya in his *Indian Buddhist Iconography* has done justice to the iconographical aspect of the work, but the ritualistic aspect still remains to be studied.

In a learned introduction the editor has discussed some of the most important problems of Buddhist Tantras bearing on the present text. This introduction deals with: 1. Magic in ancient India in which he finds the origin of the Tantras; 2. Tantras in which he gives a general description of the Hindu and Buddhist Tantras; 3. Origin and development of Vajrayāna; 4. Chronology of the Vajrayāna; 5. Leading tenets of Vajrayāna; 6. Aims and objects of the Tantras; 7. Authors of the Sādhanas; 8. Vajrayāna deities; 9. Iconography. Our remarks will be confined to the most important of these sections viz. 3, 4 and 7, which deal with the history of the Vajrayāna.

It is not true to say (p. vi) that Buddha gave instruction on *Mudrā*, *Maṇḍala* and *Tantra*. The oldest images of Buddha, of course, represent him with *Mudrā* but they go back only to the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. There is nothing to support the statement that Buddha incorporated Tantric practices (p. xvii) into his system of religion. There is no work on *dhāraṇīs* translated into Chinese "early at the beginning of the Christian era". The oldest translation of something like a *dhāraṇī*, which I know of, belongs to the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. (Nanjio, *Catalogue* 478 "Sūtra on the spiritual mantra for keeping the house safe"—*Gṛhaśāntidhāraṇīsūtra*). The name of the translator

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is lost. Another *dhāraṇī* is said to have been translated between 223 and 253 A.D. by an Indo-Scythian monk, Tche Kien (Nanjio, no. 355 *Anantamukha-sādhakadhāraṇī* ?). But there is an interval of 100 years between these two translations and the translation of *dhāraṇīs*, which took place towards the end of the 4th century A. D. Both the translations are registered for the first time in the catalogues of the 6th century A.D., and therefore doubts can be easily raised about their authenticity. It can be, however, safely asserted that the genuine translations of *dhāraṇīs* go back to the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century A. D. It may be pointed out in this connection that the chapter on *dhāraṇī* in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* is not found in its first Chinese translation made by Guṇabhadra in 443 A.D., but occurs only in its later Chinese translations.

Some interpretations of the Vajrayāna doctrines given in § 3 cannot be naively accepted at the present state of our knowledge about Vajrayāna. On p. xxii Dr. Bhattacharyya says—"Vajrayānists went beyond due limits in their spite against the strict rules of morality, and they violated all of them and plunged headlong into the worst immorality and sin". This conclusion is based on a literal interpretation of some of the verses of the *Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi* of Anaṅgavajra, edited by Dr. Bhattacharyya himself. The verses in question are the following :

प्रज्ञापारमिता सेव्या सर्वथा मुक्तिकांक्षिभिः ।
परमार्थे स्थिता शुद्धा संहत्या तनुधारिणी ॥ २२
ललनारूपमास्थाय सर्व्वत्रैव व्यवस्थिता ।
अतोऽर्थं वज्रनाथेन प्रोक्ता वाह्यार्थसम्भवा ॥ २३
ब्राह्मणादिकुलोत्पन्नां मुद्रां वै अन्त्यजोद्भवां ।
दुःशीलां पर[भार्य्यां ?] च विकृतां विकलां तथा । २४
जनयित्रीं स्वसारं च स्वपुत्रीं भागिनेयिकां ।
कामयन् तत्त्वयोगेन लघु सिध्येत साधकः ॥ २५ [p. 22].

Dr. Bhattacharyya translates it as, "without Prajñāpāramitā emancipation is not possible, and Prajñāpāramitā resides in every woman. Emancipation can only be obtained by coming in contact with any woman, whether of low origin and high, or whether mother, or sister, or other near relations."

It is not unknown to Dr. Bhattacharyya that every mysticism is garbed in language which is also mystic, and even many verses of the *Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi* are unintelligible if interpreted literal-

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ly. Every mystic school has got its traditions, of which only the teachers (*gurus*) are in possession of the secret. But a critical observer cannot remain satisfied with the explanation of a modern teacher of the sect (and it is also difficult to find one in Nepal who is ready to divulge the secret to an outsider). The next alternative is to fall back on the literature of the sect. But our knowledge of the Vajrayāna is too limited to give us free scope in elucidating its doctrines. However the *Hevajratantra*, a work of canonical importance to the Vajrayānists and older than 693 A.D. according to Dr. Bhattacharyya himself (p. xlxiii), contains many a clue to the interpretation of the Vajrayāna doctrines. Let us try to see how the terms ललना, मुद्रा, etc. on which the intepretation of the verses depend, are explained in this Tantra. In the very opening chapter of the text called *Vajrakulapaṭala* we find a description of the 32 *nāḍīs* (arteries) of which three are the principal viz., *lalanā*, *rasanā*, and *avadhūtī*, corresponding to the *īḍā*, *piṅgalā* and *suṣumṇā* of the Hindu Haṭhayogins. The nature of these three *nāḍīs* is further defined in the same chapter as :

ललना प्रज्ञास्वभावेन रसनीपायसंस्थिता ।
अवधूती मध्यदेशे तु ग्राह्यग्राहकवर्ज्जिता ॥

The nature of *lalanā* is, therefore, Prajñā and this *Prajñā* becomes an active force when *lalanā* is purified. I think it is in this light that we have to interpret the first two of the verses quoted where *Prajñāpāramitā* is said to be existing in the forms of *lalanā* (*lalanārūpam āsthāya*...). What is then *Brāhmaṇādikulotpannā mudrā* ? Dr. Bhattacharyya knows (p. lx) that there are five *kulas* (families) representing the five *dhyānī* Buddhas, Akṣobhya, Vairocana, Amitābha, Ratna-sambhava and Amoghasiddhi. For further explanation we have to refer to the 5th chapter, *Tattvapaṭala*, of the *Hevajratantra* where the five *mudrās*, Ḍombi, Naṭī, Rajakī, Brāhmaṇī and Caṇḍālī are said to be belonging to the five *kulas*.

मुद्रा पञ्चकुलानीति कथ्यते मोक्षहेतुनां ।
वज्रं मुद्रतेऽनेनेति मुद्रा तेनाभिधीयते ॥
वज्रं पद्मं तथा कर्म्म तथागत रत्नमेव च ।
कुलानि पञ्चविधाहुरुत्तमानि महाक्लप ॥
वज्रं डोम्बि भवेत् मुद्रा पद्मन्नटी तथैव च ।
कर्म्मरजकी समाख्याता ब्राह्मणी च तथागता ॥
रत्नचण्डाली ज्ञात (?) पञ्चमुद्राः विनिश्चिताः ।.....

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कुलानां पञ्चभूतानां पञ्चस्कन्धस्वरूपिणां ।
कुल्यते गम्यतेऽनेनेति कुलमित्यभिधीयते ॥[1]

It follows from this that the five *mudrās* originating from the *kulas* beginning with Brāhmaṇa (*Brahmaṇādikulodbhūtām*) are respectively: *Brāhmaṇī* = *Tathāgatā*, *Caṇḍālī* = *Ratna*, *Dombī* = *Vajra*, *Rajakī* = *Karma*, and *Naṭī* = *Padma*. What is Mudrā? Mudrā is explained in the same chapter of the *Hevajra* as करस्फोटो भवेन्मुद्रा अंगुल्या मोटनं तथा "; these are, therefore, different gestures of the fingers by which the Yogin pretends to evoke the Vajra i.e. *Prajñā* (*Vajraṃ mudrate anena*.....). *Mudrā* is therefore not a woman.

The same chapter of the *Hevajra* explains the different words जनयित्रीं etc. thus:

जननी भण्यते प्रज्ञा जनयति यस्माज्जगज्जनं ।
भगिनीति तथा प्रज्ञा विभागं दर्शयेद् यतः ।.....
गुणस्य दुहणा प्रज्ञा दुहिता च निगद्यते ॥[2]

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1 The Chinese translation of these verses may be compared, because it is explanatory (*Tokyo* ed. XXVII 3, p. 68*b*). "The mudrās are of five classes and they will be now described for the cause of emancipation (*mokṣa*). They are called *mudrā* because they are the secret of the *vajra*. *Vajra*, *Padma*, *Karma*, *Tathāgata*, and *Ratna*, these are the five classes (of *mudrā*). Vajra is *nu-mi* (Dombi) mudrā, Padma is the dancing girl (= *naṭī*) mudrā, karma is the mistress of dyeing (= *rajakī*) mudrā, Tathāgatā is the pure woman' (Brāhmaṇī) and *Ratna* is the *chen-na-li* (*i.e.* caṇḍālī) mudrā. The five classes of mudrā are thus determined.....They are of five classes as they form the very nature of the five skandhas (?). They are called classes (*kula*, ch. *pu*) because the bodies (*kāya*) are produced from them."

2 The Chinese translation (*loc cit*) of the verse is as follows: "The great *Prajñā* is like mother because it gives birth to all the nature. It is like sister because it gives the insight into the division (the diversity of the nature).....It is like daughter because it produces all the qualities (*guṇa*)."

For another explanation of these terms: जनयित्री etc. see *Dākārṇava* (ed. H. P. Śāstrī) p. 138. The *nāḍīs* are the seats of each of the 27 *Yoginīs*; *mātā ca bhaginī putrī bhāgineyī ca svasṛkā/ bāndhavī pitubhimātā* (? *piturvimātā*) *mātulasya tu bhāryakā*// are only the names of some of these *yoginīs*.

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Therefore जनयित्री, खसार etc. are different aspects of the Prajñā which the Yogin is trying to awaken during the process of his Yoga.

But I do not want to be dogmatic. I have entered into this discussion simply to point out the enormous difficulties which we have to face in interpreting the doctrines of the mystic schools. Their very oldest traditions do not allow us to attribute obscenities to their practices. I do not, however, pretend to say that these sects always preserved a pure standard of morality and that in later times their followers did not indulge in license by wrong interpretation of their tenets.

On pp. XXXVII-XXXIX while discussing the *Pīṭhas* of Tāntric culture Dr. Bhattacharyya had natuarally to refer to Uḍḍiyāna. It is regrettable that he still persists in placing Uḍḍiyāna in Eastern India, sometimes in Orissa and sometimes in Assam, inspite of adverse criticisms (Finot, in BEFEO and Shahidullah—*Les chants mystiques*, 1928, p. 22n) We must note that there are two distinct series of names in Tibetan (i) *O-rgyan, U-rgyan, O-di-ya-ni* and (ii) *O-ḍi O-ḍi-vi-śa* (See Tāranātha and *Pag sam Jon zang*). The first series of names is connected with Indrabhūtī whereas the second series has nothing to do with him. The first presupposes the forms : *Oḍīyāna* and *Uḍḍiyāna* both of which are found as genuine forms in the Sanskrit literature whereas the second falls back on *Oḍi* and *Oḍiviśa* i.e. Oḍra and *Auḍriviṣaya* (= Orissa)[1]. The latter is generally transcribed by the Chinese writers as *Wu-tch'a* i.e. Uḍa (the phonetic value of *tch'a* = ḍa) and the former sometimes as *Wu-tcha'ng* and sometimes as *Yue-ti-yen* (i.e. *U-ṭi-yana*). Wu-tch-angis the older form and is based on **U-ḍiang* (the phonetic value of *tcha'ng* = *dang*) which was wrongly translated as "garden" and hence restored as Udyāna. Hiuen Tsang transcribes the name as *Wu-tch'ang-na* i.e. *U-ḍiang-na*. I do not know if M. Lévi has identified this country with Kashgarh (and Dr. Bhattacharyya does not give any reference) but on the contrary M. Lévi has located it in the Swat valley (*J. A.—Le catalogue géographique des Yakṣa*, p. 105-112) as all the available sources of information would indicate. M. Lévi has adduced good grounds for this identification and it will suffice to reproduce some of them here.

(1) All the Chinese sources (Fa. hien, Hiuan Tsang etc.) locate Uḍḍiyāna in the Swat Valley). M. Foucher (*Iconographie Bouddhique*

1 S. K. Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, p. 105.

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p. 121 and 148) has drawn our attention to the miniature of a Nepalese ms. of the 8th, 9th cent. A.D. which bears the inscription "Vajrapāṇi; of Maṅgakoṣṭha in Oḍḍiyāna". Maṅgakoṣṭha is only a different name of Maṅgalapura (*Mong-kie-li* of Hiuan Tsang), the chief city of the Swat Valley. (3) In the more ancient tantras, for example, the *Hevajratantra* (7th paṭala) the order of the *pīṭha* is as follows:

पीठं जालन्धरं ख्यातं ओड्डियानां तथैव च।
पीठं पूर्णगिरिं चैव कामरूपन्तथैव च॥

So if Oḍḍiyāna be at all near any country it was certainly not near Kāmarūpa but near Jālandhara. (4) In the *Romakasiddhānta* Uḍḍiyāna is enumerated along with Sindhu-Surāṣṭra. (5) In the T'ang annals (Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 160) the boundaries of Uḍḍiyāna (*Yue-ti-yen*) are given as follows: India is on the South; Chitral is on the North-West and it is situated to the North of the Indus. (6) As regards the antiquity of the form Oḍiyāna one may refer to an inscription of the year 77 of the Kushan era (Lüders, List no. 62) which records the gift of a monk Jīvaka, a native of Oḍiyāna. No authentic source of information of this period mentions Oḍa (i. e. Oḍra). There can be, therefore, no doubt that Uḍḍiyāna is the same as the Swat Valley and that Oḍḍiyāna, Uḍiyāna, Uḍḍiyāna O-rgyan, O-ḍi-ya-na, U-rgyan, U-ḍi-ya-na and Wu-tch'ang and Yue-ti-yen are all different forms of the same name and are quite distinct from Orissa.

Dr. Bhattacharyya may still demand satisfaction on three more points: (i) where was then Zahor, to the royal family of which Śāntarakṣita belonged? As Indrabhūti, the king of Uḍḍiyāna married the sister of the former at Zahor, Zahor must be in the proximity of Uḍḍiyāna. (ii) Where is Laṅkāpurī of which Jalendra was the king? As Jalendra's son married the sister of Indrabhūti, Laṅkāpurī must be in the same zone as Uḍḍiyāna. (iii) According to the Tibetan sources Lui-pa was an employee of the king of Uḍḍiyāna. But how is this that songs attributed to him are written in Bengali?

Zahor is mentioned in the Tibetan sources in connection with the countries which Indrabhūti visited after leaving Uḍḍiyāna. He visited the cemeteries of *Biddha*[1] country, a particular cemetery in

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1 I am not sure about the indentification of this place with Videha (?) proposed by waddel. It may be very well *pi-t'u* (=Bhida) which Fa-hien visited just after crossing the Indus. (Cungingham, Geography, p. 178).

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Kaśmīr and another in Nepal and last of all the cemetery called *Laṅkā* in Zahor (Waddel, *Lamaism*, p. 382). Nobody has the right to separate any of these names from the context in which the mention of Kaśmīr points out beyond all doubt that the zone visited by Indrabhūti is the borderland between Kaśmīr and Nepal which is not very far from Uḍḍiyāna. The identification of Zahor with Mandi as proposed by Francke (*Indian Tibet*, vol. II pp. 65, 89-90) is therefore quite correct. If one refers to pp. 419 ff. of the *Punjab Tribes and Castes*, vol. I, he will be certainly surprised to see the persistence of the old beliefs in the country of Śāntarakṣita. Laṅkāpurī is a cemetery in Zahor. But we have a different description of Laṅkāpurī in the history of the 84 Siddhas, where it is said that the country has two divisions, one is *Sambhala* of which Indrabhūti was the king and the other *Laṅkāpurī* of which Jalendra was the king. (Tāranāth, p. 325). The Tibetan sources very often are confused and it is not uncommon that in them simple cemeteries have been converted into monasteries. (See. I.H.Q., vol. v, p. 763 n.). Leaving aside the cemetery of Laṅkāpurī in Zahor it may be admitted that a certain locality in Uḍḍiyāna was also called Laṅkāpurī. But its indentification with "a place in Assam" as proposed by Dr. Bhattacharyya does not satisfy even his own position as he has been obliged this time, to locate Uḍḍiyāna in Assam! There are, however, indications which justify us in thinking that some locality in north-western India was known as Laṅkā. Jayabhadra, a translator of *Cakraśambaratantra* into Tibetan is said to have been a man of *Laṅkā*, also written *Laṅga* (Cordier. *Catalogue* II, p. 42-43). Ceylon was certainly, not known as *Laṅkā* in this period and *Cakraśambaratantra* had probably nothing to do with Ceylon. On the contrary there are ample evidences to show that the culture of *Śambaratantra* was intimately connected with *Śambhala* country which is said to have been a part of Uḍḍiyāna. Laṅkā of Jayabhadra, therefore, seems to have been the same as the *Laṅkāpurī* of Jalendra. Hiuan Tsang (Watters, II, p. 257) speaks of a country of *Lang-kie-lo* in the lower valley of the Indus, where there were 100 monasteries with 6000 monks of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna in his time. This name has been connected with that of the *Langga* tribe that still lives in the north of Baluchistan. This Laṅga tribe is distributed in different districts of the North-west and classed as a Jāṭh tribe in the district of Dera Ghazi Khan "where it was probably aboriginal or immigrant from eastward." (*Punjab Tribes and Castes*, II p. 30).

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Considering the immigrant nature of this people, it is not probably too much to think that they once occupied districts contiguous to the Swat Valley further to the north-west, and that their country was known as Laṅkā. The other form of the name of the native place of Jayabhadra, *Laṅga*, is to be taken notice of in this connection.

Now the last objection about the identification of Uḍḍiyāna, remains to be answered. How could Lui-pa belong to Uḍḍiyāna and be a Bengali at the same time. This question is rather complicated because it is connected with many others. The name of Lui-pa is in Tibetan Ña-lto-pa i.e., Matsyāntrāda. Though Cordier (*Catalogue*, II, p. 33) hesitates to take him to be the same as Matsyendranātha, he cannot adduce any plausible reason for doing so (see also, S. Lévi, *Le Nepal*, I, p. 353, n. 4). I refrain from discussing this problem for the present as Prof. Tucci has dealt with it in a paper to be shortly published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It suffices for me to say that the mystic cult connected with the name of Matsyendranātha went far beyond the limits of Bengal and was in vogue in many distant parts of India. There is therefore no wonder if his name is associated with both Uḍḍiyāna and Bengal. Moreover while studying the history of these sects we cannot overlook the importance of the great community which the Yogīns from remote parts of India formed in ancient times and do still form. Neither can we overlook the fact that these extraordinary people coming from different parts of India still meet in the inaceessible shrines of the Himālaya to communicate their secret doctrines to each other and thus maintain the soliderity of the religion of which they are the representatives.

Dr. Bhattacharyya is to be specially congratulated for sections § 4 and 7, Chronology of Vajrayāna and the authors of the Sādhanas. He has tried to collect available materials on the history of the teachers of Vajrayāna and find out an acceptable chronology. This chronology may have to be modified in the light of future researches but still a beginning had to be made somewhere. There is room for supplementation, but I refrain from it as that will exceed the scope of a review. I will however content myself in pointing out that Asaṅga, the author of *Sādhana* no. 159 cannot be identified with the great teacher of Yogācāra unless it is proved that the complicated ritualism described in this *Sādhana* already originated in the 4th century A.D.

One of the Sādhanas (no. 127), of which the importance has been

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recognised by Dr. Bhattacharyya himself (pp. cxxxv—cxliii), is of great historical value. It is the *Ekajaṭāsādhana*, which is said to have been recovered by Ārya Nāgārjuna (i.e. Siddha Nāgārjuna, *circa*, 7th century A.D.) from the country of Bhoṭa i.e. Tibet (*ārya-Nāgārjuna-pādaiḥ Bhoṭeṣu uddhṛtam*). In fact there are six *sādhanas* (no. 123-127) devoted to the goddess Ekajaṭā. The description of Ekajaṭā, as given in these *sādhanas*, closely agree with that of *Mahācīnakramatārā* in *Sādhanas* 100 and 101. A comparison of these two goddesses show that they are essentially identical, the only difference being in the *bīja mantras*, in the case of *Mahācīnakramatārā* it is composed of three letters (*tryakṣarī vidyā* : *oṃ hrīṃ huṃ*, cf. *Sādhana* no. 101) whereas in case of Ekajaṭā it is sometimes composed of 4 letters (*oṃ hrīṃ trīṃ huṃ*, cf. *Sādhanas* 123, 125, 126, 127 and as *hṛṃ trīṃ huṃ phaṭ* in Sādhana 124) and sometimes of 5 (*oṃ hrīṃ trīṃ huṃ phaṭ*, *cf. Sādhana* 124).

Corresponding to these goddesses we find in the Hindu pantheon not only Tārā, as supposed by Dr. Bhattacaryya, but also Ugratārā, (of whom the worship was introduced by Vasiṣṭha and hence the same as *Mahācīnatārā*), *Ekajaṭā* and *Mahānīlasarasvatī*. The *dhyāna* of Tārā quoted by Dr. Bhartacharyya on p. cxxxix is the same as that of Nīlasarasvatī, as stated in the *Phetkārī Tantra* (See *Tantrasāra* pp. 514f.). Further it should be noticed that in Sādhana 101 it is said that Cīnatārā is to be worshipped in :

एकलिङ्गे श्मशाने वा शून्यागारे च सर्व्वदा ।
तवस्थः साधयेद् योगी विद्यां विभवमोचणीं ॥

In Sādhana 123 it is said that the Yogī should meditate on Ekajaṭā in solitude, cremation ground, and street corners (विजने घनश्मशानचत्वरादौ). The same is true about Nīlasarasvatī. In *Tantrasāra* (p. 506 quoting from the *Phetkārī Tantra*) practically the same verse as found in Sādhana p. 101 is quoted with the interpolation of two lines :

एककलिङ्गे श्मशाने वा शून्यागारे चतुष्पथे ।
[शवस्योपरि सुप्ते वा जले वा कण्ठपूरिते ॥
संग्रामभूमौ योगी वा स्थाने वा विजने वने ।]
तवस्थः साधयेद् योगी विद्यां त्रिभुवनेश्वरीं ॥

The *Tantrasāra* quotes from a number of authorities to explain the difference between the goddesses described before. Nīlasarasvatī is सर्व्वभाषामयी शुद्धा सर्व्वाम्नायैर्नमस्कृता (*Nīlatantra*). She is a *Pañcākṣarī-vidyā*; she is Ekajaṭā while she is separatad from *Tārā* (i.e. the *praṇava*); she is Nīlasarasvatī while in unison with Tārā ; and she is Ugratārā

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while she is a *vidyā* of three letters. The presiding goddess of other vidyās is *Ekajaṭā* because Ekajaṭā is her very nature.[1]

It is therefore evident that the Hindu Tantras considered *Ekajaṭā, Nīlasarasvatī* and *Ugratārā* as different aspects of the same goddess. Buddhist Tantras do not speak of Nīlasarasvatī but mention *Mahācīnakramatārā* instead. Both *Ekajaṭā* and *Mahācīnakramatārā* are of foreign importation. The Hindu Tantras all have preserved this tradition. The hints of this is already given in the verse quoted above from the *Nīlatantra* where Nīlasarasrati is called *Sarvabhāṣāmayī*, knower of all languages and *Sarvāmnāyair namaskṛtā*, worshipped in all the traditions. The story recorded in the Tārātantra (to which attention was first drawn by H. P. Śāstrī—*Notice of Skt. Mss.*, 2nd fasc. vol. I, 3, p. xxxii, & 152) describes how Vasiṣṭha went to Mahācīna to get instructions from Buddha. He brought from there the cult known as *Mahācīnakramācāra* which prescribes the worship of *Mahācīnatārā*. If there is any truth behind this story, it certainly reveals that the cult of *Mahācīnatārā* was incorporated into Hinduism from the Buddhist Tantras. In Nepal Nīlatārā and Ugratārā are worshipped both by the Buddhists and the Hindus. Both the traditions, Hindu and Buddhist, thus agree in pointing out to the foreign origin of the goddess, known as *Mahācīnatārā* and *Ekajaṭā* in Buddhist Tantras, and as *Mahācīnatārā, Ekajaṭā, Ugratārā and Nīlasarasvatī* etc. in Hinduism. Siddha Nāgārjuna and Vasiṣṭha play the same rôle in importing the cult either from *Bhoṭa or Mahācīna* (countries which may be considerd identical). The name of Siddha Nāgārjuna seems to have been repugnant to the Hindus as being a typically Buddhist one and this is why it was probably replaced by that of Vasiṣṭta.

The description of Tārā or Nīlasarasvatī as *akṣobhya devīmūrdhanya* "having *Akṣobhya* on her head," as supposed by Dr. Bhattacharyya, confirms the Buddhist origin of the deity. The identity of Akṣobhya and Maheśa as suggested in the *Toḍala Tantra* (*cxxxviii*) is probably a late one. I will quote another text from the Hindu sources which gives a similar description of Akṣobhya, and points out the foreign origin of Nīlasarasvatī. In the 5th chapter of the *Sammoha Tantra* (called *Akṣobhyatārāsaṃvāda*), preserved in

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1 Cf. *Tantrasāra*, p. 506; एषा पञ्चाचरी। तदेवाह—पञ्चाचरी एकजटा ताराभावे महेशूरी ताराद्या तु भवेद्देवि श्रीमन्नीलसरस्वती॥ उग्रतारा वाचरी च महानीलसरस्वती। सन्यासां विद्यानां एकजटैव देवता प्रकृतित्वात्।

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the Darbar Library, Nepal (see H. P. Śāstrī, *Catalogue of the Darbar Library* II, p. 183) we find the origin of Nīlasarasvatī described in a corrupt Sanskrit as follows :

(*fol.* 31*a*) ब्रह्मणो वचनं श्रुत्वा प्रजहासत महेश्वरः ।
शृणुष्वावहितो विप्र महानीलसरस्वतीं ॥ ३
यस्या प्रसादामालभ्य चतुर्व्वेदान् वदिष्यति ।
मेरोः पश्चिमकूले तु चोलनामा महाह्रदः ॥ ४
तत्र जज्ञे स्वयं देवी माता नीलोग्रतारा ।
एतस्मिन्नेव काले तु मेरौ शृङ्गपरायण ॥ ५
जपं जाप्यं समासाद्य वियुगं च ततः स्थितः ।
ममोर्द्ध्ववक्त्रान्निसृत्य तेजोराशि विनिसृत ॥ ६
ह्रदे चोले निपत्यैव नीलवर्णाभवत् पुरा ।
ह्रदस्य चोत्तरभागे ऋषिरेक महोतर ॥ ७
(*fol.* 31*b*) अचोभ्य नाम चाश्रित्य मुनिवेशधरः शिव ।
येनादौ जप्यते यातु सत्त्वस्य ऋषिरीरिता (?) ॥ ८
विश्वव्यापक तोये तु चीनदेशे स्वयं शिवे ।
आकारोपरिटाकारस्तयोपरि च हुंकृति ॥ ९
कूर्चबीजस्वरूपा सा प्रत्यालीढपदाभवत् ।
महोग्रतारा सञ्जाता चित्प्रभा श्रीमहाकला ॥ १०

The Maheśvara said to Brahmā "Hear from me about Mahānīlasarasvatī with attention. It is through her favour that you will narrate the four Vedas. There is a lake called *Cola* on the western side of the Meru. The mother, goddess Nīlogratārā, herself was born there.....the light issuing from my upper eye fell into the lake *Cola* and took a blue colour. There was a sage called Akṣobhya, who was Śiva himself in the form of a *muni*, on the northern side of the Meru. It was he who meditated first on the goddess (?), who was Pārvatī herself reincarnating in Cīnadeśa at the time of the great deluge.....".

According to this legend Nīlasarasvatī, also called Mahogratārā, was born in a lake called *Cola*, on the western side of the Meru, which was included in the Cīnadeśa. Her *vidyā* is composed of three letters, *a ṭa* (probably a mistake for *ta*) and *hum* i. e. *oṃ trīṃ huṃ*. It is idle to try to find out a precise piece of geographical information here, but it may be suggested that *cola* is probably to be connected with the common word for lake, *kul*, *kol*, which is found with names

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of so many lakes to the west and north of *T'ien shan*, i.e. in the pure Mongolian zone.

Before concluding this review I should point out that sweeping statements like—"throughout the length and breadth of this country people are steeped in superstition", "the magicians.....are making capital out of the reputation of Tantrism.....because the Indian people are very superstitious" (p. xiii), "the attractive practices enjoined in the Tantras, combined with the scandalously superstitious nature of the Indian people proved very lucrative for the unscrupulous priests....." and to say in an appreciative tone that "the Muhammadans.....with one stroke of their sword purged India for good of these horrible priests of immorality and lawlessness by killing every monk they could meet on the streets....." etc. are statements which are absolutely out of place in a book like this which is neither meant for any propaganda nor is a *dharmaśāstra*.

P. C. BAGCHI

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE HINDU REVENUE SYSTEM, by U. N. Ghosal, M.A., PH.D., published by the University of Calcutta, 1929.

The book embodies the results of a critical study of the origin and evolution of the revenue system in ancient India. The sources upon which the author has principally relied for working out the system, if it is permissible to use appellations with reference to the revenue administration under the Hindu regime, are by no means obscure to the serious students of Indology; but to the present author the credit is due for having rationalised an otherwise bewildering mass of relevant data. The Smṛtis and the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilīya which admittedly constitute the corner-stone upon which the edifice of the treatise under review has been built, have no less attracted Orientalists than these have baffled them by the dazzling brilliance of a vast store of economico-political concepts supposed to have been kept in a mystic haze by some apparent incongruity here and some thought gaps there. All these have been frequently responsible for taking the minds of scholars astray especially when in their overzeal to find out a system, the latter lay their hands on the subject with some pre-conceived notions of modernity which more often impedes than helps the task of viewing the subject in its proper perspective. This

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perhaps explains the curious phenomenon that while one scholar found the financial system of Kauṭilīya to be pronouncedly dictated by the principles of War Economy, another declared it to be anticipating a full-fledged Socialistic Scheme.

It is a relief that the book of Dr. Ghosal does not savour of such advocacy except in a few places, specially the final chapter entitled "A Concluding Estimate." For the rest it contains an admirable analysis of the financial structure of ancient India from the remotest antiquity till the advent of the Muhammadan Era. The analysis has been rendered thoroughly intelligible by proper co-relation of events to their subsequent developments, and the chronological arrangement retained by the author even in topical discourses has considerably enhanced the historical importance of the book. The volume consists of four parts of which the first deals with the period of the Vedic Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas. The author has attempted to show that the rudiments of the improved type of financial arrangements prevalent in later times may be traced to this period. The line of argument followed in this section is, on the admission of the author himself, not very conclusive for meagreness of relevant information. This may, however, be taken for an introduction to the most important portion of the book, viz., the second part in which it has been sought to trace the evolution of a revenue system on the basis of materials gathered in the literature of the Arthaśāstra, Nītiśāstra, Smṛtis, Epics and Purāṇas, the Smṛti Commentaries and Digests. Here it has been sought, after a preliminary consideration of the ideas of the authorities concerned regarding the general character of Public Finance and the methods and principles of Taxation, to arrange the sources of public revenue roughly in accordance with the scheme of classification in the Arthaśāstra. To this have been added supplementary chapters on the topics of emergency revenue, untaxable classes and the taxable minimum as well as revenue administration, while a brief account of the important branch of Public Expenditure has been given in the form of an Appendix. Referring to the general character of Public Finance the author has amply proved that the importance of revenue administration as a statecraft with the treasury as its pivot was duly recognised in ancient India but he relies on precarious data in making the assertion that the theory of finance was sought to be based upon a formulated science of wealth. Further, with regard to the methods and principles of Taxation the author has exposed himself to the probable criticism of tacitly lending

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a support to the theory of surplus revenue so uniformly stressed by all the ancient authorities. In arranging the sources of revenue, however, the author has followed the most commendable plan, being strictly logical and showing unmistakable signs of his intimate knowledge of the methods followed in modern treatises on Public Finance. In relying on the classifications contained in the Arthaśāstra this intimate knowledge of the science enabled him to make such a selection of the basis of division that the whole subject has been brought within easy grasp of even the casual reader. A caveat has been very aptly entered at the outset that the classification is not that of a scientific theorist but that of a practical administrator showing that the various groups under which the revenue items are arranged refer only to convenient jurisdictions or centres of collection. Among the supplementary chapters of the section, that devoted to Public Expenditure is not very illuminating and is left out of all proportion to the corresponding subject of the revenue receipts of the State.

In the third part of the book an attempt has been made to reconstruct, mainly with the aid of contemporary inscriptions, the revenue history of Northern India during a period of nearly fifteen centuries intervening between the rise of the Maurya Empire and the Muhammadan conquest. The author has left out the discussion of the revenue systems prevalent in the Deccan and Southern India for the sake of practical convenience, as the records of the South are collectively very large in extent, far exceeding those of the North. This, however, has considerably detracted from the value of the book as a general historical survey of Indian revenues irrespective of the question whether the amplitude of materials for the latter would justify their consideration independently in a separate treatise. In the concluding part of the book it has been attempted, to quote the author himseif, to sum up in the light of the foregoing survey of historical data as well as the accounts of the historical works, the leading characteristics and tendencies of the Hindu System, and above all to indicate its rightful place in relation to other systems of ancient and mediæval times. The plan of this part transcends the bounds of an objective analysis, properly so-called, and many in all probability land him in a sea of controversial issues. The arguments adduced by the author in favour of his viewpoint are in the main well balanced but he would have been better appreciated if he had refrained from making an attempt to minimise such aspects

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of the ancient revenue system as imparts to it an arbitrary character such as is commonly associated with Feudalism.

J. N. SEN GUPTA

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF ASSAMESE MANUSCRIPTS by Hemchandra Goswami, published by the University of Calcutta on behalf of the Government of Assam, pp. xxxvi+274.

The publication of this volume has removed a long-felt want. In Bengal there are several institutions which have taken up the work of collecting Bengali and Sanskrit Mss., such as the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Bangiya Sahitya Parisad, and the Calcutta University. They have also published descriptive catalogues of works preserved in the libraries of these institutions. In Assam no enterprise of this nature had been undertaken before, and so the publication of the present volume has removed a want which was very keenly felt by the literary public. The book will be useful not only to the people of Assam, but to the pepole of Bengal as well. There was a time when the distinction between Bengali and Assamese was not so marked as it is now, and in old texts we generally find the same forms used in both the languages. Besides, works of Bengal had found their way into Assam (vide Nos. 46 and 65, Pt. I) and some poets of Assam were favourite with the people of Bengal (vide No. 142, Part I). There was, therefore, an exchange of thoughts between the two countries, in consequence of which we find the aphorisms of Dāk current in both the countries in slightly modified forms. The Rāmāyana of Hṛdayānanda *alias* Ananta was so widely known in Bengal that it is now claimed as a Bengali book. It is not less interesting that a Sanskrit work with Bengali interpretations has been included in the collection of K. A. Samiti (vide No. 11, Part II). Moreover, Vaiṣṇavism brought about the revival of literature both in Bengal and Assam at about the same time. It is interesting to note from a religious point of view how the spirit of the new doctrine had inspired the people of these two countries situated so close to each other, each of which had contributed to the culture of the other in more than one way.

The volume under review contains the description of 156 Assamese, and 77 Sanskrit Mss. written on a variety of subjects. The editor has taken due care to bring forth many new facts

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concerning the author and their works, and the summary of the contents of each book is a useful feature of the compilation. The enterprise is a good beginning, and we congratulate the Government of Assam on the publication of this volume for the advacement of knowledge.

MANINDRA MOHAN BOSE

HINDU ADMINISTRATIVE INSTITUTIONS. by V. R. Ramchandra Dikshitar, M.A., Lecturer in Indian History, University of Madras (being No. IV of the Madras Historical Series IV); Demy 8vo. xxv+401pp. with an introduction by Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, M.A., PH. D., of the Madras University.

In the seven chapters of this volume of nearly 400 pages we have an account of the Hindu administrative Institutions. The author begins with an examination of the concept of Daṇḍanīti and discusses the Hindu theories about the origin of state and society. He then gives us an account of kingship in ancient India, its functions and duties and the limitations on the king's absolute authority. Next he proceeds to the machinery of administration and discusses the true nature of the Sabhā, Samiti and Pariṣat. In the fourth chapter we have a detailed account of Fiscal Administration in Hindu India and this is followed by illuminating chapters on the administration of justice, military organisation and local administration.

On the whole, this handy volume is well-written and gives a tolerably fair account of the administrative system of Hindu India. Though not written from the historical point of view, the author takes time and space into consideration and arranges his evidences with due deference to chronology. With the advantage of having had a number of writers on Hindu Polity, he examines the views of many such writers.

The value of the book would have been enhanced, if the author had but utilised the materials obtainable from the innumerable inscriptions at our disposal, and marked the later tendencies in many regions of India. However, the book is a valuable guide for students or those who wish to get a fair idea of the administrative system in Hindu India. The author deserves our best thanks.

N. C. BANERJEE

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute

vol. XI, pt. iv

AMARESWAR THAKUR.—*Proof of Possession under the Smṛtis.* The views of various Smṛti texts as regards the conditions under which the possession of property can be a proof of right have been discussed here showing that the Hindu "system of law does not suffer by comparison and may be placed side by side with any system of law in the world."

R. SHAMASASTRI.—*Dravidian Culture.*

R. V. JAHAGIRDAR.—*Kanarese Influence on old Marathi with special reference to Jñāneśvarī.*

Eastern Buddhist, vol. V, nos. 2-3, April, 1930

D. T. SUZUKI.—*Passivity in the Buddhist Life.* The object of this paper is to establish that "all religious experience is psychologically closely connected with the feeling of possibility," the state of passivity being explained as "resignation or self-surrender." The author has taken pains to show that in Buddhism also, whether early or late, there is a note of passivity, though "superficially," he admits "passivity does not seem to be compatible with the intellectual tendency of Buddhism, which strongly emphasises the spirit of self-reliance." He has dealt with the doctrine of Karma, conception of Soul, the Reality beyond Self, Ignorance, Pure Land and Buddhism and such other important topics with a view to trace in them a passive tendency. But his expositions and arguments instead of proving his contention go the other way and show that a distinct characterisitc of Buddhism is its great emphasis on moral and intellectual exertion. It is only in the doctrines of Sukhāvati Sect of the Buddhists that passivity is distinctly noticeable. The paper is replete with much information relating to Buddhist doctrines.

GEMMYO ONO.—*On the Pure Land Doctorine of Tz'u-Min.* Tz'u-min was in India (704-716) and developed a firm faith in Amitābha, and took up the propagation of the Sukhāvati sect as a mission of his life. The main object of this paper is to comment on his two

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works : *Ching-to ts'u-pei-chi* and *Hsi-fang-tsan* traced by the writer in Ting-hua temple in Korea and Pelliot's collection of the Tun-hang Mss. preserved in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris. Short lives of Tz'u-min and his followers are included in this paper.

HOKEI IDUMI.—*The Hymn on the Life and Vows of Samantabhadra* (with Sanskrit text *Bhadracarīpraṇidhāna*).

An edition of the Sanskrit text *Bhadracarīpraṇidhāna* with an English translation and an exhaustive introductory notice on the antiquity and importance of the text are given in this paper.

Indian Antiquary, June, 1930

LILY DEXTER GREENE.—*Nature Study in the Sanskrit Poem Meghadūta.*

Ibid., July, 1930

GIUSEPPE TUCCI.—*Bhāmaha and Diṅnāga.* By a comparison of certain logical theories alluded to in the *Kāryālaṅkara* of Bhāmaha with some of the Buddhist *Nyāya* theories, it has been shown in this paper that Bhāmaha's views reflect chiefly the older *Nyāya* theories of Diṅnāga and the author of the *Vādavidhi* and not of Dharmakīrti who was posterior to Bhāmaha.

Ibid., August, 1930

MUDALIYAR C. RASAYAGAM.—*The Origin of the Pallavas.* The writer has here put forward some arguments in defence of his theory that the progenitor of the Pallava dynasty was Toṇḍaimān Ilam Tirayan the son of a Cola king and Nāga princess of Manipallavam, and that the name Pallava given to the dynasty was matronymic indicating the origin of his mother.

K. de B. CORDINGTON.—The culture of Mediæval India as illustrated by the Ajanta Frescoes.

R. R. HALDAR.—*Chitor and its Sieges.*

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1930

GIUSEPPE TUCCI.—*A Fragment from the Pratītya-samutpāda-vyākhyā of Vasubandhu.* Six leaves of a palm-leaf manuscript of this important Buddhist Sanskrit work have been edited here for the first

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time. The work was already known through its Tibetan translation, only one-eighth portion of which is represented by this edited fragment.

Mahabodhi, September, 1930

NARENDRA NATH LAW.—*Buddha's Contribution to Indian Thought.* The author of this paper surveys the essential doctrines of the pre-Buddhistic period and shows that Buddha's contributions among many others are (i) the rationalisation of the Karma theory, (ii) the denial of the existence of an eternal soul, (iii) the enunciation of the theory of relative existence, (iv) the emphasis laid on *mettā* and *Karuṇā*, and (v) the introduction of a rationalistic spirit in social, religious and philosophical matters.

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Printed and published by Mr. Raghunath Seal, B.A., at the Calcutta Oriental Press, 107, Mechuabazar Street, Calcutta.

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Sabbasaṃkhārasamatho ti ādi sabbaṃ nibbānam eva. Yasmā hi tam āgamma sabbasaṃkhāravipphanditāni sammanti vūpasammanti tasmā sabbasaṃkhārasamatho ti vuccati. Yasmā ca tam āgamma sabbe[1] upadhayo paṭinissaṭṭhā honti sabbataṇhā khīyanti sabbe kilesarāgā virajjanti sabbaṃ dukkhaṃ nirujjhati, tasmā sabbupadhipaṭinissaggo taṇhākkhayo virāgo nirodho ti vuccati. Sā pan' esā taṇhā bhavena bhavaṃ phalena vā saddhiṃ kammaṃ vinati saṃsibbatī ti katvā vānan ti vuccati. Tato vānato[2] nikkhantan ti nibbānaṃ.

So mam' assa kilamatho ti yā ajānantānaṃ desanā nāma, so mama kilamatho assa, sā mama vihesā assā ti attho. Kāyakilamatho ceva kāyavihesā ca assā ti vuttaṃ hoti.[3] Citte pana ubhayam p' etaṃ buddhānaṃ n'atthi.

3. 2 *Api ssū* ti anubrūhaṇaṭṭhe nipāto. So na kevalaṃ etad ahosi imā pi gāthā paṭibhaṃsū ti dīpeti. *Vipassin* ti ādīsu Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassā ti attho. *Anacchariyā* ti anu acchariyā.[4] *Paṭibhaṃsū* ti paṭibhāṇasaṃkhātassa ñāṇassa gocarā ahesuṃ parivitakkayitabbataṃ pāpuṇiṃsu.

Kicchenā ti dukkhena na dukkhāya paṭipadāya. Buddhānaṃ hi cattāro pi maggā sukhā paṭipadā va honti. Pāramipūraṇakāle pana sarāgasadosasamohass' eva sato āgatāgatānaṃ[5] yācakānaṃ alaṅkatapaṭiyattaṃ sīsaṃ kantitvā[6] galalohitaṃ nīharitvā su-añjitāni akkhīni uppāṭetvā kulavaṃsapatiṭṭhāpakaṃ[7] puttaṃ manāpacārīniṃ bhariyan ti evam ādīni dentassa aññāni ca khantivādisadisesu attabhāvesu chejjabhejjādīni pāpuṇantassa āgamanīyapaṭipadaṃ sandhāy' etaṃ vuttaṃ. *Halan* ti ettha 'ha' kāro nipātamatto. Alan ti attho. *Pakāsitun* ti desetuṃ,[8] evaṃ kicchena adhigatassa dhammassa alaṃ desetuṃ paribyattaṃ[9] desetuṃ[10] ko attho desitenā ti vuttaṃ hoti. *Rāgadosaparetehi* ti rāgadosaduṭṭhehi[11] rāgadosānugatehi vā paṭisotagāmin ti niccādīnaṃ paṭisotam aniccaṃ dukkham anattā asubhan ti evaṃ gataṃ catusaccadhammaṃ. *Rāgarattā* ti kāmarāgena bhavarāgena diṭṭhirāgena ca rattā. *Na dakkhintī* ti aniccaṃ dukkham anattā asubhan ti iminā sabhāvena na passissanti. Te apassante ko sakkhissati evaṃ gāhāpetuṃ. *Tamokkhandhena āvaṭā* ti avijjārāsinā ajjhotthaṭā.

Appossukkatāyā ti nirussukkabhāvena adesetukāmatāyā ti attho.

1 Si. sabbā
2 B. & S. drop it.
3 B drops it.
4 B. acchariyaṃ
5 Si. āgatānaṃ
6 Si. chinditva ; B. kanditvā
7 Si. -vaṃsapadīpaṃ ; B. -vaṃsapadīpakaṃ
8 S. desituṃ
9 Si. pariyattaṃ ; B. drops it.
10 B. drops it.
11 B. phuṭṭehi

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Kasmā pan' assa evaṃ cittaṃ nami esa mutto mocessāmi tiṇṇo tārayissāmi—

kiṃ me aññātavesena dhammaṃ sacchikaten idha,
sabbaññutaṃ pāpuṇitvā santāressaṃ[1] sadevakan[2] ti

patthanaṃ katvā pāramiyo pūretvā sabbaññutaṃ patto ti. Saccam etaṃ paccavekkhanānubhāvena pan' assa evaṃ cittaṃ nami. Tassa hi sabbaññutaṃ patvā sattānaṃ kilesaggahaṇataṃ dhammassa ca gambhīrataṃ paccavekkhantassa sattānaṃ kilesaggahaṇatā ca dhammassa gambhīratā ca sabbākārena pākaṭā jātā. Ath' assa ime sattā va [3]kañjikapuṇṇalāvu viya [4]takkabharitacāṭi viya vasātelatemitapaṭapilotikā[5] viya añjanamakkhitahattho viya kilesabharitā atisaṃkiliṭṭhā rāgarattā dosaduṭṭhā mohamuḷhā te kiṃ nāma paṭivijjhissantī ti cintayato kilesaggahaṇapaccavekkhanānubhāvenā pi evaṃ cittaṃ nami. Ayañ ca dhammo paṭhavisandhāraka-udakakkhando viya gambhīro pabbatena paṭicchādetvā ṭhapito sāsapo[6] viya duddaso satadhā bhinnassa vālassa koṭiyā koṭipaṭipādanaṃ viya cā duranubodho.[7] Nanu mayā hi imaṃ dhammaṃ paṭivijjhituṃ vāyamantena adinnaṃ dānaṃ nāma n'atthi arakkhitaṃ sīlaṃ nāma n'atthi aparipūritā kāci pāramī nāma n'atthi, tassa me nirussāhaṃ viya Mārabalaṃ vidhamantassā pi paṭhavī na kampittha paṭhamayāme pubbenivāsam anussarantassā pi na kampittha majjhimayāme dibbacakkhuṃ visodhentassā pi na kampittha pacchimayāme pana paṭiccasamuppādaṃ paṭivijjhantass' eva[8] dasasahassī-lokadhātuṃ kampittha iti mādisenā pi tikkhañāṇena kicchen' evāyaṃ dhammo paṭividdho, taṃ lokiyamahājanā kathaṃ paṭivijjhissantī ti dhammagambhīratāpaccavekkhanānubhavenā pi[9] evaṃ cittaṃ namī ti veditabbaṃ. Api ca Brahmunā āyācite desetukāmatāya pissa evaṃ cittaṃ nami. Jānāti hi Bhagavā mama appossukkatāya citte namamāne maṃ Mahābrahmā dhammadesanāya yācissati. Ime ca sattā Brahmagarukā, tato[10] te satthā kira dhammaṃ na desetukāmo ahosi, atha naṃ Mahābrahmā yācitvā desāpesi, santo vata bho dhammo paṇīto vata bho dhammo[11] ti maññamānā sussusissantī ti. Imaṃ pissa kāraṇaṃ paṭicca 'appossukkatāya cittaṃ nami no dhammadesanāyā' ti veditabbaṃ.

Aññatarassā ti ettha kiñcā pi aññataro ti vuttaṃ, atha kho imas-

1 Si. tārayissaṃ
2 Si. sadevake
3 Si. kañjiya-
4 B. -pūrita-
5 B. & Si. vasātelapitapilotikā
6 Si. drops it.
7 Si. vālassa koṭi viya anu. Nanu
8 B. & Si. has me for eva
9 Si. drops it.
10 B. drops it.
11 Si. & S. drop it.

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miṃ cakkavāḷe [1]jeṭṭhaka-Mahābrahmā eso ti veditabbo. *Nassati vata bho loko* ti so kira imaṃ saddaṃ tathā nicchāresi yathā dasasahassī-lokadhātubrahmāno sutvā sabbe sannipatiṃsu. *Yatra hi nāmā* ti yasmiṃ nāma loke.

3. 3. *Pūrato pāturahosī* ti tehi dasahi Brahmasahassehi saddhiṃ pāturahosi. *Apparajakkhajātikā* ti paññāmaye akkhimhi appaṃ parittaṃ rāgadosamoharajam etesam evaṃ sabhāvā ti apparajakkhajātikā. *Assavanatā* ti assavanatāya. *Bhavissantī* ti purimabuddhesu dasa-puññakiriyavatthuvasena katādhikārā paripākagatā padumāni viya suriyarasmisamphassaṃ dhammadesanaṃ yeva ākaṅkhamānā catuppadikagāthāvasāne ariyabhūmim okkamanārahā na eko na dve anekasata-sahassā dhammassa aññātāro bhavissantī ti dasseti.

6. *Ajjhesanan* ti evaṃ tikkhattuṃ yācanaṃ. *Buddhacakkhunā* ti indriyaparopariyattañāṇena[2] ca āsayānusayañāṇena ca. Imesaṃ hi dvinnaṃ ñāṇānaṃ buddhacakkhū ti nāmaṃ. Sabbaññutañāṇassa samantacakkhū ti. Tiṇṇaṃ maggañāṇānaṃ dhammacakkhū ti.

Apparajakkhe ti ādīsu yesaṃ vuttanayen' eva paññācakkhumhi rāgādirajam appaṃ te apparajakkhā. Yesan taṃ mahantaṃ te *mahā-rajakkhā*. Yesaṃ saddhādīni indriyāni tikkhāni te *tikkhindriyā*. Yesan tāni mudūni te *mudundriyā*. Yesan te yeva saddhādayo ākārā sundarā te *svākārā*. Ye kathitakāraṇaṃ sallakkhenti sukhena sakkā honti viññāpetun te *suviññāpayā*. Ye paralokañ ceva vajjañ ca bhayato passanti te *paralokavajjabhayadassāvino* nāma.

Ayaṃ pan' ettha pāli: saddho puggalo apparajakkho, assaddho puggalo mahārajakkho, āraddhaviriyo—pe.—kusīto. Upaṭṭhitasati muṭṭhassati, samāhito asamāhito, paññavā—pe.[3]—duppañño puggalo mahārajakkho, tathā saddho puggalo tikkhindriyo—pe., paññavā puggalo paralokavajjabhayadassāvī, duppañño puggalo na paraloka-vajjabhayadassāvī.

Loko ti khandhaloko dhātuloko āyatanaloko sampattibhavaloko vipattibhavaloko sampattivipattibhavaloko[4] vipattisampattibhavaloko;[5] eko loko sabbe sattā āharaṭṭhitikā, dve lokā nāmañ ca rūpañ ca, tayo lokā tisso vedanā, cattāro lokā cattāro āhārā, pañcalokā pañcupādāna-kkhandhā, cha lokā cha ajjhattikāni āyatanāni, satta lokā satta viññāṇa-ṭṭhitiyo, aṭṭha lokā aṭṭha lokadhammā, nava lokā navasattāvāsā, dasa lokā dasāyatanāni, dvādasa lokā dvādasāyatanāni, aṭṭhārasa lokā aṭṭhārasa dhātuyo.

1 Si. jettha 2 Si. -paropariyañāṇena 3 Not in mss.
4 B. & Si. sampattisambhavaloko 5 B. & Si. vipattisambhavaloko

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Vajjan ti sabbe kilesā vajjā,[1] sabbe duccaritā vajjā,[1] sabbe abhisaṃkhārā vajjā,[1] sabbe[2] bhavagāmikammā[3] vajjā[1] iti imasmiṃ ca loke imasmiṃ ca vajje tibbā bhayasaññā paccupaṭṭhitā hoti seyyathā pi ukkhittāsike vadhake imehi paññāsāya ākārehi imāni pañcindriyāni jānāti passati aññāti paṭivijjhati idan Tathāgatassa indriyānaṃ paropariyatte[4] ñāṇan ti.

Uppaliniyan ti uppalavane. Itaresu pi es' eva nayo. *Anto nimuggaposīnī* ti yāni[5] aññāni pi padumāni anto nimuggān' eva posīyanti. *Udakam accuggamma tiṭṭhantī* ti udakam atikkamitvā tiṭṭhanti. Tattha yāni accuggamma ṭhitāni tāni suriyarasmisamphassam āgamayamānāni[6] ṭhitāni tāni[7] ajjaṃ pupphanakāni. Yāni samodakaṃ ṭhitāni tāni sve pupphanakāni. Yāni udakā anuggatāni[8] anto nimuggaposīni tāni tatiyadivase pupphanakāni. Udakā pana anuggatāni,[8] aññāni pi sarogāni[9] uppalādīni nāma atthi yāni neva pupphissanti macchakacchapabhakkhan' eva bhavissanti, tāni pālim anāruḷhāni,[10] āharitvā pana dīpetabbāni sudīpitāni.[11]

Yath' eva hi tāni catubbidhāni pupphāni evam eva ugghaṭitaññū vipacitaññū ñeyyo[12] padaparamo ti cattāro puggalā.

Tattha yassa puggalassa saha udāhaṭavelāyaṃ[13] dhammābhisamayo hoti ayaṃ vuccati puggalo ugghaṭitaññū. Yassa puggalassa saṃkhittena bhāsitassa vitthārena atthe vibhajiyamāne dhammābhisamayo hoti ayaṃ vuccati puggalo vipacitaññū. Yassa puggalassa uddesato[14] paripucchato yoniso manasikarato[15] kalyāṇamitte sevato bhajato payirupāsato anupubbena dhammābhisamayo hoti ayaṃ vuccati puggalo ñeyyo. Yassa puggalassa bahuṃ pi suṇato bahuṃ pi bhaṇato[16] bahuṃ pi gaṇhato bahuṃ pi dhārayato bahuṃ pi vācayato na tāya jātiyā dhammābhisamayo[17] ayaṃ vuccati puggalo padaparamo.

Tattha Bhagavā uppalavanādisadisaṃ dasasahassīlokadhātum olokento ajja pupphanakāni viya ugghaṭitaññū sve pupphanakāni viya vipacitaññū tatiya divase pupphanakāni viya ñeyyo macchakacchapabhakkhāni pupphāni[18] viya padaparamo ti addasa.

1 S. vajjaṃ 2 B. sabbam 3 B. kammam
4 Si. -yatta- ; B. -yatti- 5 Si. yāni yāni
6 S. agamaya- 7 Si. drops it.
8 B. & S. anugatāni 9 Si. sarogā or sarojā ; B. saroja
10 Si. pāliyā nārulhāni ; B. pālinārulhāni 11 Si. dipetabbānitj dipitāni
12 S. neyyo 13 B. & Si. -velāya
14 Si. uddisato 15 B. & S. kāroto
16 B. bahum pi bhanantassa bahum pi suṇato ; S. drops all these words.
17 B. adds hoti. 18 B. drops it.

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Passanto ca ettakā apparajakkhā, ettakā mahārajakkhā, tatrāpi ettakā ugghaṭitaññū ti evaṃ sabbākārato addasa. Tattha tiṇṇaṃ puggalānaṃ imasmiṃ yeva attabhāve Bhagavato dhammadesanā atthaṃ sādheti. Padaparamānam anāgatatthāya vāsanā[1] hoti.

Atha Bhagavā imesaṃ catunnaṃ puggalānam atthārahaṃ[2] dhammadesanaṃ viditvā desetukamyataṃ uppādetvā puna sabbe pi[3] tīsu bhavesu[4] satte bhabbābhabbavasena dve koṭṭhāse akāsi ye sandhāya vuttaṃ ye te sattā kammāvaraṇena samannāgatā vipākāvaraṇena samannāgatā kilesāvaraṇena samannāgatā assaddhā acchandikā duppaññā abhabbā niyāmam okkamituṃ kusalesu dhammesu sammattaṃ ime te sattā abhabbā. Katame sattā bhabbā ? Ye te sattā na kammāvaraṇena—pe.—ime te sattā bhabbā ti. Tattha sabbe pi abhabbapuggale pahāya bhabbapuggale yeva ñāṇe na pariggahetvā ettakā ettha[5] rāgacaritā ettakā dosa-moha-vitakka-saṭṭha-buddhi-caritā ti cha koṭṭhāse akāsi. Evaṃ katvā dhammaṃ desessāmī ti cintesi.

7. Brahmā taṃ ñatvā somanassajāto Bhagavantaṃ gāthāhi ajjhabhāsi. Idaṃ sandhāya atha kho so bhikkhave Mahābrahmā ti ādi vuttaṃ. Tattha ajjhabhāsī ti adhi abhāsi. Adhikicca ārabbha abhāsī ti attho.

Sele yathā pabbatamuddhaniṭṭhito ti selamaye ekaghane[6] pabbatamuddhani yathāṭhito va. Na hi tattha ṭhitassa dassanatthaṃ[7] gīvukkhipanapasāraṇādikiccam atthi. *Tathūpamaṃ* ti tappaṭibhāgaṃ selapabbatupamaṃ. Ayaṃ pan' ettha saṅkhepattho. Yathā selapabbatamuddhani[8] ṭhito va cakkhumā puriso samantato janataṃ passeyya tathā pi tvaṃ sumedhaso sundarapañño sabbaññutañāṇena samantacakkhu Bhagavā dhammamayaṃ paññāmayaṃ pāsādam āruyha sayaṃ apetasoko sokāvakiṇṇaṃ jātijarābhibhūtaṃ janataṃ avekkhassu upadhārāya upparikkha.

Ayam etthādhippāyo. Yathā hi pabbatapāde samantā mahantaṃ khettaṃ katvā tattha kedārapāḷīsu kūṭikāyo karitvā rattim aggiṃ jāleyyuṃ caturaṅgasamannāgātañ ca andhakāram assa ath' assa pabbatassa matthake ṭhatvā cakkhumato purisassa bhūmim olokayato neva khettaṃ na kedārapāḷiyo na kūṭiyo na tattha sayitamanussā paññāyeyyuṃ kūṭikāsu pana aggijālamattam eva paññāyeyya evam eva dhammapāsādam āruyha sattanikāyam olokayato

1 B. anāgate vāsanatthāya
2 B. -vahaṃ
3 B. puna te sabbesu pi
4 B. adds sabbe
5 B. drops it.
6 B. ekagghane
7 S. adds pi
8 Si. adds here yathā

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tathāgatassa ye te akatakalyāṇā sattā te ekavihāre dakkhiṇajānupasse nisinnā pi buddhacakkhussa āpāthaṃ nāgacchanti rattiṃ khittasarā viya honti ye pana katakalyāṇā veneyyapuggalā te tassa dūre ṭhitā pi āpātham āgacchanti, te aggi viya Himavantapabbato viya ca. Vuttam pi cetaṃ

Dūre santo pakāsenti Himavanto va pabbato,
asantettha na dissanti rattiṃ khittā yathā sarā ti.

Uṭṭhehī ti Bhagavato dhammadesanatthaṃ cārikacaraṇaṃ yācanto bhaṇati. *Vīrā* ti ādīsu Bhagavā viriyavantatāya vīro devaputtamaccu-kilesamārānaṃ vijitattā vijitasaṅgāmo jātikantārādinittharaṇatthāya veneyya satthavāhanasamatthatāya satthavāho kāmacchanda-iṇassa abhāvato aṇaṇo ti veditabbo.

Apārutā ti vivaṭā. *Amatassa dvārā* ti ariyamaggo. So hi amatasaṅ-khātassa nibbānassa dvāraṃ so mayā vivaritvā ṭhapito ti dasseti. *Pamuñcantu saddhan* ti sabbe attano saddhaṃ pamuñcantu vissajjentu. Pacchimapadadvaye ayam attho ahaṃ hi attano paguṇaṃ supavattaṃ pi imaṃ paṇītam uttamaṃ dhammaṃ kāyavācāhi[1] kilamathasaññī hutvā na bhāsiṃ idāni pana sabbe janā saddhābhājanam upanentu pūressāmi tesaṃ saṅkappan ti.

8. *Bodhirukkhamūle* ti bodhirukkhassa avidūre Ajapālanigrodhe antarahito ti attho. *Kheme migadāye* ti Isipatanaṃ. Tena samayena khemaṃ nāma uyyānaṃ hoti migānaṃ pana abhayavāsatthāya dinnattā migadāyo ti vuccati. Taṃ sandhāya vuttaṃ kheme migadāye ti.

Yathā ca Vipassī Bhagavā evam aññe pi Buddhā paṭhamaṃ dhammadesanatthāya gacchantā ākāsena gantvā tatth' eva otaranti. Amhākaṃ pana Bhagavā Upakassa ājīvakassa upanissayaṃ disvā Upako imaṃ addhānaṃ paṭipanno so maṃ disvā sallapitvā gamissati atha puna nibbinno[2] āgamma arahattaṃ sacchikarissatī ti ñatvā aṭṭhārasayojanamaggaṃ padasā va agamāsi.

9. *Dāyapālam āmantesi* ti disvā va punappunam oloketvā ayyo no bhante āgato ti vatvā upagatam āmantesi.

Anupubbikathan ti dānakathaṃ dānānantaraṃ sīlaṃ sīlānantaraṃ saggaṃ saggānantaraṃ magggan ti evaṃ anupaṭipāṭiyā kathaṃ kathesi.

Tattha dānakathan ti idaṃ dānaṃ nāma sukhānaṃ nidānaṃ sam-pattīnaṃ mūlaṃ bhogānaṃ patiṭṭhā visamagatassa tāṇaṃ leṇaṃ gati parāyaṇam idhalokaparalokesu dānasadiso avassayo patiṭṭhā āramma-ṇaṃ tāṇaṃ leṇaṃ gati parāyaṇaṃ natthi idaṃ hi avassayaṭṭhena ratana-mayasīhāsanasadisaṃ, patiṭṭhānaṭṭhena mahāpaṭhavisadisaṃ, āramma-

1 B. vācāya 2 B. nibbindanto

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ṇaṭṭhena ālambanarajjusadisaṃ[1], dukkhanittharaṇaṭṭhena nāvā, samassāsanaṭṭhena saṅgāmasūro, bhayaparittāṇaṭṭhena susaṅkhataṇagaraṃ, maccheramalādīhi anupalittaṭṭhena padumaṃ, tesaṃ dahanaṭṭhena aggi, dūrādasaṭṭhena āsīviso, asantāsanaṭṭhena sīho, balavantaṭṭhena hatthī, abhimaṅgalasammataṭṭhena seta-usabho, khemantabhūmisampāpanaṭṭhena valāhako assarājā, dānaṃ hi loke sakkasampattiṃ deti mārasampattiṃ brahmasampattiṃ cakkavattisampattiṃ sāvakapāramiñāṇaṃ paccekabodhiñāṇaṃ abhisambodhiñāṇaṃ detī ti evam ādi dānaguṇapaṭisaṃyuttaṃ kathaṃ. Yasmā pana dānaṃ dadanto sīlaṃ samādātuṃ sakkoti tasmā tad anantaraṃ sīlakathaṃ kathesi.

Sīlakathan ti sīlaṃ nām' etaṃ avassayo patiṭṭhā ārammaṇaṃ[2] tāṇaṃ leṇaṃ gati parāyaṇaṃ idhalokaparalokasampattīnaṃ hi sīlasadiso avassayo patiṭṭhā ārammaṇaṃ tāṇaṃ leṇaṃ gati parāyaṇaṃ n'atthi sīlasadiso alaṅkāro n'atthi sīlapupphasadisaṃ pupphaṃ natthi sīlagandhasadiso gandho natthi sīlālaṅkārena hi alaṅkataṃ sīlakusumapīlandhitaṃ[3] sīlagandhānulittaṃ sadevako loko olokento tittiṃ na gacchatī ti evam ādi sīlaguṇapaṭisaṃyuttaṃ kathaṃ. Idaṃ pana sīlaṃ nissāya ayaṃ saggo labbhatī ti dassetuṃ sīlānantaraṃ saggakathaṃ kathesi.

Saggakathan ti ayaṃ saggo nāma iṭṭho kanto manāpo niccam ettha kīḷā dibbasampattiñ ca[4] labbhanti cātummahārājikā devā navutivassasatasahassāni dibbasukhaṃ dibbasampattiñ ca labhanti, tāvatiṃsā tisso ca vassakoṭiyo saṭṭhī ca vassasatasahassānī ti evam ādi saggaguṇapaṭisaṃyuttaṃ kathaṃ. Saggasampattiṃ kathayantānaṃ hi Buddhānaṃ mukhaṃ nappahoti. Vuttaṃ pi cetaṃ anekapariyāyena kho ahaṃ bhikkhave saggakathaṃ katheyyan ti ādi : Evaṃ saggakathāyo palobhetvā puna hatthim alaṅkaritvā tassa soṇḍaṃ chindanto viya ayaṃ pi saggo anicco addhuvo na ettha chandarāgo kātabbo ti dassanattham appassādā kāmā bahudukkhā bahūpāyāsā ādīnavo ettha bhayo ti ādinā nayena kāmānam ādīnavam okāraṃ saṃkilesaṃ kathesi.

Tattha *ādīnavo* ti doso. Okāro ti avakāro lāmakabhāvo. *Saṃkileso* ti tehi sattānaṃ saṃsāre saṃkilissanaṃ. Yathāha saṃkilissanti[5] vata bho sattā ti. Evaṃ kāmādīnavena tajjetvā nekkhamme ānisaṃsaṃ pakāsesī ti pabbajjāya guṇaṃ pakāsesī ti attho. Sesaṃ Ambaṭṭhasuttavaṇṇanāyaṃ vuttanayena ceva[5] uttānatthañ ca.

13. *Alatthun* ti kathaṃ alatthuṃ. Ehi bhikkhubhāvena. Bhagavā kira tesaṃ iddhimayapattacīvarassa upanissayaṃ olokento anekāsu

1 B. adds idam hi
2 Si. ālambanaṃ
3 B. -pilandhanam
4 B. kulaniccam sampattiyo
5 B. vuttanayañca va ; Si. vuttanayam eva

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jātīsu cīvaradānādīni disvā etha bhikkhavo ti ādim āha. Te tāvad eva bhaṇḍū kāsāyavasanā aṭṭhahi bhikkhuparikkhārehi sarīre paṭimukke heva vassasatikattherā viya Bhagavantaṃ namassamānā va nisīdiṃsu.

Sandassesī ti ādīsu idhalokatthaṃ sandassesi paralokatthaṃ sandassesi.[1] Idhalokatthaṃ dassento aniccan ti dassesi dukkhan ti dassesi anattā ti dassesi khandhe dassesi dhātuyo dassesi āyatanāni dassesi paṭiccasamuppādaṃ dassesi rūpakkhandhassa udayaṃ dassento pañca lakkhaṇāni dassesi tathā vedanākkhandhādīnaṃ tathā vayaṃ dassento ti udayabbayavasena paññāsalakkhaṇāni dassesi. Paralokatthaṃ dassento nirayaṃ dassesi tiracchānayoniṃ pettivisayam asurakāyaṃ tiṇṇaṃ kusalānaṃ vipākaṃ channaṃ devalokānaṃ navannaṃ brahmalokānaṃ sampattiṃ dassesi.

Samādapesī ti catupārisuddhisīladhutaṅgadasakathāvathu-ādike kalyāṇadhamme gaṇhāpesi.

Samuttejesī ti suṭṭhu uttejesi abbhussāhesi idhalokatthañ ca paralokatthañ ca tāsetvā[2] tāsetvā[2] adhigataṃ viya katvā kathesi. Dvattiṃsakammakaraṇapañcavīsatimahābhayappabhedaṃ hi idhalokatthaṃ Buddhe Bhagavati tāsetvā[2] tāsetvā[2] kathayante pacchabāhuṃ gāḷhabandhanaṃ bandhitvā cātummahāpathe pahārasatena tāsetvā[2] dakkhiṇadvārena nīyamāno viya āghātenagaṇḍikāya ṭhapitasīso viya sūle uttāsito viya mattahatthinā maddiyamāno viya ca uttasanto hoti. Paralokatthañ ca kathayante nirayādīsu nibbatto viya devalokasampattim anubhavamāno viya ca hoti.

Sampahaṃsesī ti paṭiladdhaguṇena modesi, mahānisaṃsaṃ katvā kathesī ti attho.

Saṅkhārānam ādīnavan ti heṭṭhā paṭhamamaggādhigamatthaṃ kāmānaṃ ādīnavaṃ kathesī ti. Idha pana upari maggādhigamatthaṃ aniccā bhikkhave saṅkhārā addhuvā anassāsikā yāvañ c' idaṃ bhikkhave alam eva sabbasaṅkhāresu nibbinditum alaṃ virajjituṃ alaṃ vimuccitun ti ādīnā nayena saṅkhārānaṃ ādīnavañ ca lāmakabhāvañ ca tappaccayañ ca kilamathaṃ pakāsesi. Yathā ca tattha nekkhamme, evam idha 'santam idaṃ bhikkhave nibbānaṃ nāma paṇītaṃ tāṇaṃ leṇan' ti ādinā nayena nibbāne ānisaṃsaṃ pakāsesi.

14. *Mahājanakāyo* ti tesaṃ yeva dvinnaṃ kumārānam upaṭṭhākajanakāyo. *Bhagavantaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmā* ti saṅghassa aparipuṇṇattā dvevācikaṃ eva saraṇam agamaṃsu.

1 Si. idhalokaparalokatthaṃ dassesi 2 S. tāpetva

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who resided with him in the monastery at Attanagalla, where, after the book was written, the Ms. was kept, so that, according to the author's own wish, the annals of Attanagalla might thenceforward be written by later historians.[1]

A Sinhalese paraphrase was written in the Śaka year 1334 (1382 A.C.) during the reign of Bhuvaneka-bāhu V of Gaṅgasiripura (1360-1391) by an anonymous author, who according to tradition, was a pupil of Maitri Mahā Svāmi, head of the Mahānetra-Prāsāda in Vīdāgama, himself a man of great learning. The author seems to have enjoyed royal patronage because he speaks in glowing terms of the king and his ministers in the opening paragraphs of his work. In the 18th century a monk of the Attanagalla Temple, Ñāṇaratana by name, wrote a Sinhalese poem based on the HVV.

The Hatthavanagalla-Vihāra-Vaṃsa is divided into eleven chapters, and is written mostly in prose interspersed here and there with verses. Eight chapters are devoted to a history of king Siri-Saṅghabodhi, —a "man on earth devoted to the skies", spurning all earthly joys— and describe in detail the events that ultimately led to the offer of his royal head to a peasant in return for a meal. The last three chapters deal with the erection of various monumental and religious edifices on the propitious spot where the king had spent his last days, and the endowments made for their maintenance by successive rulers of Ceylon. The work resembles more or less a historical novel wherein the author has interwoven much material of varying interest —nearly a whole chapter (Chap. II) on good government, a comprehensive moral code, graphic descriptions of forest scenes, and some matter of historical importance, chiefly in connection with the Daṃbadeṇiya period, of which the HVV. is largely a contemporary record.

The book is written in simple but elegant Pāli, bearing unmistakeable evidences of Sanskrit influence. The author was undoubtedly familiar with Sanskrit works, and he has borrowed copiously from two of them : Āryāśūra's *Jātakamālā* and Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*. The parallel passages of these works are given in this edition as footnotes to the text.

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1 Chap. xi, last stanza.

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TEXT

Namo Tassa Bhagavato Arahato Sammā-sambuddhassa.

1 Sneh'uttarāya hadayāmala-mallakāya[1]
pajjālito mati-dasāya Jina-ppadīpo
moh'andhakāra-m-akhilaṃ mama nīharanto
niccaṃ vibhāvayatu cāru pad'attha-rāsiṃ.[2]

2 Laṅkā bhisitta-vasuddhā dhipatīsu rājā
yo Bodhisatta-guṇavā Sirisaṅghabodhi
tassāticāru-cariyā-racanā-mukhena
vakkhāmi Hatthavanagalla-Vihāra-Vaṃsaṃ.

3 Brahm' anvayena 'nugat' attha-m-Anomadassi
khyātena sabba-yati-rājadhuran-dhareṇa
vyāpārito'ha-m-itihānugataṃ kathañ ca
nissāya pubba-likhitañ c'idha vāyamāmi.

4 Atthi Sugatāgama-sudh'[3]āpagā-niddhota-kuditṭhi-visa-kalaṅkāya Laṅkāya Bhagavato Aṅgirasassa Mahānāga-van'uyyāne samiti-samāgata-yakkha-rakkhasa-loka-vijayāpadānassa[3] siddha-kkhetta-bhūto Sīhala-mahī-maṇḍala-maṇḍanāyamāno vividha-ratanākaropalakkhamāna-mahaggha-maṇi-bhedo Maṇibhedo nāma janapado.

5 Laddhāna Satthu caran' aṅka-m-anañña-labbha-
m-ānandinā Sumana-kūṭa-sil'uccayena
ussāpitā vijaya-ketu-matallik'eva
suddhoru-Vāluka-nadī ya-m-alaṅkaroti.

6 Laṅkāya yakkha-gaṇa-nīharaṇe Jinassa
camm'āsan'uggata-hutāsana-phassa-dāhā
saṃsāra-rakkhasa-vap'ubbhava-bubbulaṃ va
yasmiṃ vibhāti Mahiyaṅgana thūpa-rājā

7 Sadā mahoghāya Mahāpagāya
pānīya-pānāya samosaṭānaṃ
samuccayo sārada-vāridānaṃ
nūnaṃ gato thāvara-thūpa-rūpaṃ

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1 mallikāya A. S. X 4. D.

2 Cp. opening stanza in *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*:
Sarad indu-sundara-ruciś-cetasi sā me girāṃ devī
apahṛtya tamaḥ santata-m-arthā-n-akhilān prakāśayatu.

3 suddhāpagā A. S. X 2. 4 °padāna S. A.

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8 tass'āpagāya vimal' ambuni dissamāna-
m-ālola-vīci-taralaṃ paṭibimba-rūpaṃ
bhogehi veṭhiya nijaṃ bhavanaṃ phanīhi
pūj'atthikehi viya rājati nīyamānaṃ.

9 Tassa Mahiyaṅgana-mahā-vihārassa pariyanta-gāmake Selābhayo nāma khattiyo paṭivasanto puttaṃ paṭilabhitvā aṅga-lakkhaṇa-pāṭhakānaṃ dassesi. Te tassa kumārassa aṅga-lakkhaṇāni oloketvā, "Ayaṃ kumāro omaka-satto na hoti, dhaññ-lakkhaṇa-sampanno. Sakalaṃ pi Sīhala-dīpaṃ ekacchattaṃ karitvā mahanta-mahantāni acchariy'-abbhutāni mahā-vīra-caritāni dassessati," ti vyākariṃsu.

10 Tato Selābhaya-khattiyo puttassa abhisek'ādi sampattiṃ sutvā koṭi-ppatta-pamoda-paravaso'pi tasmiṃ kāle Anurādhapure rajjaṃ kārayatā Vohāratissa-mahārājato kadāci koci upaddavo jāyissatīti jāta-parisaṅko taṃ kumāraka-m-ādāya Mahiyaṅgana-mahāvihāre-bodhi-aṅgaṇe parittagge sannipatitassa Nanda-mahāthera-pamukhassa mahā-bhikkhu-saṅghassa majjhe nipajjāpetva, "Eso me, bhante, kumāro mahā-saṅghassa ca mahā-bodhi-pādapassa ca saraṇaṃ gacchati. Taṃ sabbe pi bhadantā rakkhantu, Saṅghabodhi-nāmako cāyaṃ hotū", ti mahā-saṅghassa ca bodhi-devatāya ca niyyādetvā[1] paṭijagganto kumārassa satta-vassika-kāle kāla-m-akāsi.

11 Atha mātulo Nanda-mahāthero kumārakaṃ vihāra-m-ānetvā paṭijagganto tepiṭakaṃ Buddha-vacanaṃ uggaṇhāpetvā bāhira-satthesu ca paramakovidaṃ kāresi. Saṅghabodhi-kumāro'pi katādhikārattā tikkha-paññattā ca ñāṇa-viññāṇa[2]-sampanno hutvā vayappatto lokassa locana-nipīyamānāya[3] rūpa-sampattiyā savaṇ'añjali-puṭehi assādiyamāna-sadācāra-guṇa-sampattiyā ca patthaṭa-yaso-ghoso ahosi.

12 Ki-m-iha bahunā? Kādambinī kadambato siniddha-nīl'āyata-guṇaṃ dhammilla-kalāpe, paripuṇṇa-hariṇaṅka-maṇḍalato hilāda-kara-pasāda-somma-guṇaṃ mukha-maṇḍale, cāmīkara-piñjara-kambuvarato medurodāra-bandhura-bhāvaṃ gīvāvayave, kalyāṇa-siluccayato saṃhata-vilāsaṃ ura-tthale surasākhī-sākhato pīvar'āyata-lalita-rūpaṃ kāma dānāpadānañ ca bāhuyugale, sa-mada-gandha-sindhurato gamana-līḷhaṃ kar'ākārañ ca hattha[4]-yugale, cārutara-tharu-virocamāna-cāmīkara-mukurato ta-d-ākāraṃ sa-jānu-maṇḍale jaṅghā-yugale, nicc'āsīna-Kamalā-kamalato ratta-komala-dala-siriṃ caraṇa-yugale, ādāya yojayatā

1 niyādetvā S. D. 2 A omits viññāṇa.
3 locanehi pīyamānāya, S. loçana-piyamānāya A.
4 satthi° S, A.

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pāramitā-dhamma-sippinā nimmitassa parama-dassanīya-rūpa-vilāsassa tassa attabhāvassa saṃvaṇṇanā gantha-gārava-m-āvahati.

13 Dehe sulakkhaṇa-yute nava-yobban'aḍḍhe
tass'ujjale ca pasam-ābharaṇodayena[1]
kā vaṇṇanā kamala-rūpini jāta-rūpe
lokuttaraṃ parimalaṃ parito vahante?

14 Dosārayo hadaya-dugga-pure vijitvā
tatthābhisicca suhadaṃ viya dhamma-bhūpaṃ
Atth'ānusāsani-m-imassa vadaṃ girāya
tatth' appavattayi sudhī nija-kāya-kammaṃ.

Iti Rāja-kumār'uppatti-paricchedo paṭhamo.

II

1 Ath'ekadā mātula-mahāthero vayappattaṃ Sirisaṅghabodhi-kumāraṃ dhamma-savaṇāvasāne āmantetvā eva-m-āha: "Kumāra, idāni tva-m-asi adhīta-Sugat'āgamo, vidita-sakala-bāhira-sattho, catubbidha-pāṇḍicca-koṭi-ppatto. Tathā pi abhimāna-dhane Khattiya-kule jāti, sabbattha-vyāpinā yobbana-vilāsena samalaṅkataṃ sarīram, appaṭimā-rūpa-siri, amānusaṃ balañ ceti mahatī[2] khalv-anattha-paramparā; sabbāvinayana-m-[3] ekekaṃ pi tesa-m-āyatanaṃ, kim uta samavāyo? Yebhuyyena[4] ca yuvānaṃ sattha-salila-vikkhālan atinimmalā pi kālusiya-m-upayāti buddhi. Anujjhita-dhavalatā pi sarāgā eva bhavati nava-yobbana-gabbitānaṃ diṭṭhi; apaharati ca vāta-maṇḍalikeva sukkha-paṇṇam ubbhuta-rajo bhanti[5] atidūra-m-attano icchāya yobbana-samaye purisaṃ pakati; indriya-hariṇa-hāriṇī[6] satata-m-atidurantā aya-m-upabhoga-miga-taṇhikā. Tasmā aya-m-eva anassādita-visaya-rasassa te kālo gurūpadesassa. Madana-sarappahāra-jajjarite hadaye jala-m-iva galati gurūṇa-m-anusāsanaṃ; akāraṇaṃ[7] bhavati duppakatino kulaṃ vā sutaṃ vā anayassa.[8] Candana-ppabhavo na dahati kiṃ dahano? Kiṃ vā 'pasama-hetunā pi nāti-caṇḍataro bhavati vaḷabānalo[9] salilena? Tasmā gāḷhatara-m-anusāsitabbo' si.

2 Apagata-male hi manasi phaḷika-maṇimhi viya rajanīkara-mayū-

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1 Tass'ujjale vupasamābharaṇo dayeṇa S. tas'ujjale vapasamā° A.
2 mahatīyaṃ S. A. 3 sabbā avinayāna° S. A.
4 S adds yobbanārambhe ca and omits ca yuvānam.
5 S gives bhanti in brackets 6 S adds ca 7 S adds ca.
8 vinayassa S. avinayassa A. 9 vadabā S.

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khā pavisanti sukha-m-upadesa-guṇā; guru-vacana-m-amala-m-api salila-m-iva mahantaṃ jāni-m-upajanayati savaṇa-gataṃ[1] sūla-m-iva abhabbassa. Bhabbassa tu kariṇo viya saṅkh'ābharaṇa-m-ānana-sobhā-samudaya-m-adhikatara-m-upavahati. Anādi-siddha-taṇhā-kasāyit'indriyānucaraṃ hi cittaṃ n'āvahati kan-nāmānatthaṃ? Tasmā rājakumārānāñ ca yatīnañ ca sati-balena indriya-vijayo diṭṭhadhammika-samparāyika-m-akhilaṃ kalyāṇajāta-m-upajanayati; indriya-vijayo ca sambhavati guru-vaddhopa-sevāya[2] tab-bacana-m-avirādhetvā paṭipajjato. Tasmā tayā ā-pāṇa-pariyantaṃ vatthuttaya-saraṇa-parāyaṇatā na pahātabbā; na rāgāpasmāra-vibodhanaṃ visaya-dahana-salila-sañsecanaṃ kātabbaṃ. Passatu hi kalyāṇābhinivesī cakkhu'ndriya-lālana-paravasassa sala-bhassa samujjalita-dīpa-sikhāpatanaṃ; sot'indriya-sukhānuyuttassa taruṇa-hariṇassa usupāta-sammukhībhavanaṃ; ghān' indriya-paravasassa madhukarassa mada-vāraṇa-kaṇṇatāla-hananaṃ; rasan' indriya-tappaṇa-vyasanino puthulomassa baḷis' āmisa-[3]ghāsa-vyasanaṃ; phass'indriyānubhavana-lāḷasassa mataṅgajassa vāraṇī[4]-bandhanāpāyaṃ. Imehi indriyehi militehi ekassa kāmino sakid-eva pañcannaṃ visaya-rasāna-m-upasevāya pattabbaṃ mahantaṃ dukkha-jālaṃ katham-upavaṇṇa-yāma? Imāni ca subhāsitāni paccavekkhatu anukkhaṇaṃ vicakkhaṇo.(*a*)

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1 °hatam S. 2 °vuddhi S.
3 āmisā S. 4 vāriṇī S.

a Cp. *Kādambarī* :—Garbheśvaratva- m- abhinava- yauvanatva-m-apratima-rupatva-m- amānuṣa- śaktitvaṃ ceti mahatīyaṃ khalvānartha-paramparā sarvā. Avinayānā-m-ekaika-m-apyeṣā-m-āyatanaṃ; kimuta samavāyaḥ. Yauvanārambhe ca prāyaḥ śāstra-jala-prakṣālana-nirmalā' pi kāluṣya-m-upayāti buddhiḥ. Anujjhitadhavalatā' pi sarāga-iva bhavati yūnāṃ dṛṣṭiḥ. Apaharati ca vātyeva śuṣkapatraṃ samudh bhūta-rajobhrānti-r-atidūra- m- ātmecchayā yauvana-samaye puruṣaṃ prakṛtiḥ. Indriya-hariṇa-hariṇī ca satata-duranteya-m-upabhoga-mṛga tṛṣṇikā.....Apagata-male hi manasi sphaṭika-maṇāv-iva rajanikara-gabhastayo viśanti sukhe-nopadeśa-guṇāḥ. Guruvacana-m-amala-m-api salila-m-iva mahad-upa-janayati śravaṇa-sthitaṃ śūla-m-abhavyasya. Itarasya tu kariṇa iva śaṅkhābharaṇa-m-ānana- śobhā- samudaya-m-adhikatara-m-upajanayati...Aya-m-eva cānāsvādita-viṣaya-rasasya te kāla upadeśasya. Kusumaśara-śara-prahāra-jarjarite hi hṛdi jala-m-iva galaty-upadiṣṭaṃ. Akāraṇaṃ ca bhavati duṣprakṛte-r-anvayaḥ śrutaṃ vā vinayasya. Candana-prabhavo na dahati ki-m-analaḥ. Kiṃ vā praśāma-hetunāpi na pracaṇḍatarī bhavati vaḍavā-nalo vāriṇā...(pp. 196-7).

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3 N'āgārikaṃ sukha-m-udikkhati kiñci dhīro
jāhāti deha-paṭijaggana-m-atthato ce
saṃsevato pi yuvatiṃ rati-mohitassa
kaṇḍūyane viya vaṇassa sukhābhimāno.(*a*)

4 Ko seveyya paraṃ poso avamānaṃ saheyya ca
na ve kalatta-nigaḷaṃ yadi dukkha-nibandhanaṃ ?

5 Ākaḍḍhamānā visikhā samīpaṃ
parammukhā yeva sadā pavattā
dūraṃ pi gacchanti guṇaṃ vihāya
pavattanaṃ tādisa-m-eva thīnaṃ.

6 Asanthutaṃ tā[1] purisaṃ pi anto
karonti ādāsa-katā'va bhitti
nettiṃsa-vallī viya hattha-gā pi
dasāsu sabbāsu ca saṅkanīyā.

7 Anto-ruddhā bahiddhā pi nissāsā viya nāriyo
karonti nāsa-m-ev' assa, ko dhīmā tāsu vissase ?

8 Mānasaṃ pāpa-sanninnaṃ apāyā vivaṭānanā
samantā pāpa-mittā ca[2]mokkho sabba-bhayā kathaṃ ?

9 Api ca hadaya-taru-koṭara-kuṭīro kodha-kuṇḍalī na kadāci bahi kātabbo.

Api tu titikkhā-mantena avipphandaṇataṃ[3] upanetabbo.

10 Sataṃ titikkhā-kavace[4] vikuṇṭhitā
siyuṃ-durālāpa-khagā khalānaṃ

---

a Cp. *Jātakamālā* :—

"Sukha-m-atra kutaḥ kathaṃ kadā vā
parikalpa-praṇayaṃ na ce-d-upaiti
viṣayopaniveśaṇe' pi mohā-d-
vraṇa-kaṇḍūyana-vat sukhābhimānaḥ." (xviii, 18)

(Why can there be happiness in that state, or how, or when, if man does not attain by it longing for self perfection, but on the contrary, in his infatuation fancies happiness is to be obtained by attachment to sensual objects ? Such a person may be compared to one who tries to heal his wounds by rubbing).

1 kā A.

2 va S.

3 °dattaṃ S. °avipphandamānatam X_2.

4 kavace va guṇṭhita X_2.

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sabhā-pasaṃsā-kusumatta-m-etā
nibajjhare tā guṇa-mālikāya. (*a*)

11 Lokādhipaccaṃ vipule dhane ca
mano' nukūle tanaye ca dāre
laddhā pi yāyeti na jātu tittiṃ
bādhetu sā taṃ na papañca-taṇhā. (*b*)

12 Vaṇṇa-ppasādā yasasā sukhā ca
dhanā ca hāyant' upajīvino[1] ca
yenābhibhūtā ripun eva sattā
dos' aggi so te hadayaṃ jahātu. (*c*).

13 Khedo vipattīsu paṭikriyā na
tasmā na dīna-ppakatiṃ bhajeyya

---

a. Cp. Jātakam.

"Kṣamāmaye varmaṇi sajjanānāṃ vikuṇṭhitā durjana-vākya-bānaḥ prāyaḥ praśaṃsā-kusumatva-m-etya tat-kīrti-mālā'vayavā bhavanti." (xxviii, 28).

(To the virtuous forbearance is a coat of mail, blunting the arrows which the tongue of the wicked shoots off against them. Mostly it changes those weapons into flowers of praise, which may be inserted in the garland of their glory.)

b. Cp. Jātakam.

"Dārān manobhilaṣitān-s-tanayān prabhut va-
-m-arthā-n-abhīpsita-viśālatarāṃśca labdhvā
yenābhitapta-mati-r-eti na jātu tṛptiṃ
lobhānalaḥ sa hṛdayaṃ mama nābhyupeyāt." (vii, 15).

(May that fire of covetousness, which after obtaining a beloved wife, children, power, and riches more abundant than had been longed for, still goes on heating the mind of men never to be satisfied—may that fire never enter my heart.)

c. Cp. Jātakam.

"Arthā-d-api bhraṃsaṃ avāpnuvanti varṇa-prasadā-d-yaśasaḥ sukhā-c-ca
yenābhibhūtā dviṣateva sattvāḥ sa dveṣa-vahni-r-mama dūrataḥ syāt." (vii, 18).

(May that fire of hatred, subdued by which creatures come to loss of wealth, of caste and of good reputation, as if they were vanquished by a hostile attack—may that fire be far from me.)

1 °jīvikā S. °jīvitā A.

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paññā' nuyātaṃ viriyaṃ vadanti
sabb' attha-siddhi-ggahaṇ' agga-hatthaṃ (*a*).

14 Vyāpārā sabba-bhūtānaṃ sukh' atthāya vidhīyare
sukhañ ca na vinā dhammaṃ tasmā dhamma-paro bhava.

15 Eva-m-ādikaṃ sappurisa-nīti-pathaṃ ādisante mahāthere tena kalyāṇa-dhammena asotabbatā-nādariya-racita-bhakuṭika[1]-mukhena vā disā-vikkhitta-cakkhunā vā ahaṅkāra-paravasena gaja-nimīlita-m-ubbhāvayatā[2] vā attano paññā'[3] dhikkhepa-m-iva ca[4] avicintayatā cūḷā-vinihita-komal 'añjali[5] puṭena tan-ninnena tap-poṇena [6]siraṣā ca pīti-samudita-sādhuvāda-vikasita-kapolena mukhena ca sakalāvayava-vitthaṭa-romañ-ca-kañcukitena dehena ca bhūmiyaṃ nipajjitvā dīgha-ppaṇāma[7]-m-ācaratā magga-phala-lābhato viya visiṭṭhataraṃ pamudita-m-āvikata-m-asi.

Iti Anusāsana-paricchedo dutiyo.

III

1 Tato paṭṭhāya yathā-vutta[8]-paṭipadam avirādhetvā samācara-ṇena santuṭṭho tassa Saṅghabodhi-samaññaṃ gopetu-kāmo mātula-mahāthero Dhammiko'ti vohāraṃ paṭṭhapesī.

2 Lakkhaṇa-pāṭhakānaṃ vacanaṃ saddahanto bhāgineyyaṃ pabbajitu-kāmaṃ pi apabbājetva, "Idha vāsato Anurādhapure vāso yeva kumārassa yoga-kkhem-āvaho; puññānurūpena jāyamānassa vipākassa ca ṭhānaṃ hoti; mahācetiyassa vatta-paṭivatta-samācaraṇena ca[9] mahanto puñña-kkhandho sampajjissatī,"ti maññamāno taṃ kumāra-

---

a. Cp. Jātakam.

"Viṣāda-dainyaṃ vyavadhūya tasmāt kāryāvakāśaṃ kriyayā bhajadhvaṃ
prājñasya dhairya-jvalitaṃ hi tejaḥ sarvārtha-siddhigrahaṇā-grahastaḥ." (xiv, 11).

(Then shake off that sadness and dejection, set rather to work, availing yourself of the opportunity of working. The energy of a wise man, kindled by firmness of mind, is the hand by which success is grasped in any matter).

1 bhūkuṭika S. bhākuṭika X_1. 2 ubbāvayatā A.
3 °vikkhepa- X_2. 4 acin° S.A.
5 añjali-kara-puṭena. 6 S adds in brackets (tappabhārena).
7 °pamāṇa panāmam S.A. X_2 8 vuttam S.A.
9 S.A. omitca.

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ASPECTS OF MAHĀYANA BUDDHISM
AND
ITS RELATION TO HĪNAYĀNA

By

NALINAKSHA DUTT, M.A., PH.D. (CAL.), D. LIT. (LOND.)
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WITH A FOREWARD BY

Prof. LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN
of the University of Ghent

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Maṇimekhalā, a Divinity of the Sea

A large number of the stories of the Pāli Jātaka has drawn materials from the adventures in the sea. The sea and its navigation evidently occupied a large place in Indian life in the period when these stories were conceived. The study of these texts throws much light on the glorious period, almost completely ignored in other branches of literature, of the Indian civilisation during which the mariners, the missionaries and the merchants of India carried the culture of their fatherland to the islands of the Archipelago, to the Malay peninsula and Indo-China. I shall confine myself here to the study of an obscure divinity of the sea, Maṇimekhalā, "Girdle of Gems," who appears in two stories of the Pāli Jātaka and, it seems, only in them.

The first, which bears the number 442 in Jātaka collection and is classified as the fourth in the section of the stories of 10 stanzas, is the Jātaka of the brahman Saṃkha. Buddha narrates this story in connection with a lay follower who had generously treated the community and had at last given footwear to the Teacher and his disciples.

Saṃkha Jātaka (442)

In the days of yore, Benares was called Molinī. When Brahmadatta was the king of Molinī there was a brahman call-

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ed Saṃkha who was rich and had founded alms-houses at the four gates of the city, in its centre, and at the gate of his own house, in six places in all, and in all those places he was used to make great charities to the poor every day and give away hundreds of thousands. One day he said to himself: "When I have exhausted all the money that I have at my house, I will no more be able to give anything; therefore, before it is exhausted, let me go in a boat to the Land of Gold and bring wealth." He had accordingly a ship constructed for him, filled it with merchandise and told his wife and children. "Till my return continue to give without any interruption." Then escorted by his slaves and following, he took his umbrella, put his shoes on and towards noon, left for the port.

A Pratyekabuddha who was on the (mount) Gandhamādana after recollecting his thoughts, saw this man who was going to search for fortune. "There is," he said to himself, "a great man who is going to search for wealth. Will he have difficulties on the sea or not ?" He thought within himself and discovered that he would have difficulties. "If he sees me," thought he, "he will give me his umbrella and shoes, it is for the gift of his shoes that he will find a plank in the sea to save himself after his ship-wreck. I would therefore be kind to him." He came through the air, descended at a little distance and treading on the burning sand which looked like a bed of charcoal under the power of the wind and the sun, he approached the brahman. The latter saw him and his heart rejoiced: "It is a field of merit that is coming towards me, I will sow there a seed to-day !" He hurried towards (the saint), bowed unto him and said: "Peace be unto you, grant me the favour of leaving the way for a moment and coming under the tree." Saṃkha proceeded towards the foot of the tree, spread out his tunic and made the Pratyekabuddha sit. He washed his feet with filtered and perfumed water, rubbed them with perfumed oil, and then taking off his own shoes, cleaned them, rubbed them with perfumed oil and passed over to

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(the saint). "Peace be unto you, put this umbrella over your head and go away if you like." He gave him his umbrella and shoes. The saint accepted them for pleasing him, and in order to increase his faith in him, he flew away before his eyes to return to the mount Gandhamādana. The bodhisattva, whose faith increased at this sight, went to the port and started on his voyage.

After navigating for seven days, his ship leaked and could not be emptied of water. The multitude trembling for the fear of death, invoked each his own god and created a great noise. The great saint took a servant with him, rubbed his whole body with oil, ate as much sugar as was necessary with melted butter, made his servant eat the same thing, then climbed with him the mast, observed the horizon and remarked : "It is on this side that our city lies" ; then taking precaution against the dangers caused by the fishes and tortoises, he jumped with his companion at a distance of several cubits. The multitude perished. The great saint began to cross the ocean with his servant. Seven days passed in this way and during all this time, he washed his mouth with the salt water and observed fast on the sabbath day. At this time the gods, who protected the earth, had installed the goddess Maṇimekhalā to watch over the sea. "If there is a ship-wreck and if men are in danger, men who have taken the three Refuges, or who observe the vow of holiness, or who piously worship their parents—thou protect them." The goddess for the pride of her sovereignty neglected her duty during seven days. But on the seventh day, she examined the sea and discovered the brahman Saṃkha who was pious and virtuous. "Now for seven days he has fallen in the sea," she said to herself, "if he had perished I would have been much reproved." Quite confused, she took a golden bowl, filled it with the heavenly viands of exquisite taste, then through the air she appeared before him in the sky and said : "It is now seven days that you have not eaten anything, take this heavenly food." He

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looked up and said : "Take your food away, I am observing the fast." His servant who was following him did not see the goddess, but heard him (his master) speaking. "This brahman," said he to himself, "is of a delicate nature ; it is now seven days that he has not eaten anything ; he suffers ; the fear of death, I think, is making him rave ; let me go to console him." The servant then recited a stanza, the first of the story :

"Thou knowest much, Oh Saṃkha. Thou knowest the doctrine well and thou hast seen many samaṇas and bahmaṇas. But for talking, thou choosest an improper time. There is nobody here except me to give a reply."

Saṃkha heard him and thought : "He does not know, I believe, that there is a goddess here." He said to him : "My friend, I have no fear of death, but I am talking to some one else." He then recited a stanza, the second :

"A beautiful maid with charming eyes, wearing bracelets of shell is offering me food in a golden bowl, and says "take and eat it," But as for myself, I have a pious soul and I declined her, saying, "No, thank you."

The servant thereupon addressed him in a stanza, the third :

"On seeing a supernatural being appearing before himself, a man of good sense would tell him "Arise". Ask her, therefore, with hands folded out, "Are you a woman or really a goddess ?"

"You are right," said the bodhisattva and recited a stanza, the fourth :

"Since you have been pleased to think of me and since you are requesting me to take food, may I ask you, madam, are you a woman or really a goddess ?"

The goddess then recited two stanzas :

"Saṃkha, I am a goddess of high rank. If I have come up to this place in the midst of the ocean, I have

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done it out of pity and not out of ill-will. I have come to give you protection."

"Do you want to eat and drink? Do you want either to sit or lie down? Do you want, Oh Saṃkha, carriages? Whatever it may be, Oh Saṃkha, you have only to ask for. You will get it as soon as you wish it."

The great sage on hearing it said to himself. "Here is a goddess who has come over the surface of the ocean to tell me that she wants to give me this or that. Is it due to my previous meritorious acts or is it through her power that she wants to make those gifts? I am going to ask her." Reflecting thus he questioned her in a stanza, the seventh:

"And my libations and all my offerings, if they yield any fruit, is it you who command it. Oh maiden of beautiful hips, fine form and eyebrows! what have I done, tell me, for acquiring it?"

The goddess then said to herself: "If this brahman asks me about the good act he has done, it is because he thinks that I do not know about it. Well, I will tell him about it," and then she uttered a stanza, the eighth:

"On the burning road a mendicant was walking. His feet were burning, his throat was dry and he was panting. Then you took off your own shoes for him. Such is the good act of which you are acquiring fruit."

The great sage having heard this was full of joy. "What! on this great ocean, where there is nothing on which to rest, the gift of my sandals can bring me whatever I desire! Oh! I did well in becoming charitable to a Pratyekabuddha!" He then uttered a stanza, the ninth:

"Oh! that I may have a boat with strong planks through which water cannot pass and which the wind carries! All other vehicles are out of place here. Take me at this very hour to Molinī."

The goddess was pleased to hear this. She made a ship of seven precious stones. It was eight times hundred and

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forty cubits in length and four times hundred and four cubits in breadth and twenty poles in depth (140 cubits). It had three masts of ruby, the riggings were of gold, the sails were of silver, and the bent oars were also of gold. The goddess filled the boat with seven kinds of precious stones, kissed the brahman, placed him on the fully equipped boat but did not take any notice of his servant. The brahman gave him the (marvellous) bowl which he had won on account of his good actions, the man became enjoyed at this. Thereupon the goddess kissed him also and placed him on board the ship. She herself piloted the ship to the city of Molinī, put all the wealth in the house of the brahman, and then came back to her own place...

The goddess of that time is to-day the nun Uppalavaṇṇā, the man is Ānanda, and the brahman Saṃkha is I myself."

The second story, no.539, more developed than the former, is one of the last of the collection. It is included in the "large section," and has for its hero one of the greatest names of the Indian tradition—the king Janaka, here Mahā-Janaka, of the country of Videha, who has been glorified by the Upaniṣads, as well as by the epics, as the accomplished type of wisdom and whom Buddhism could not afford to neglect. It is superfluous to say that Mahā-Janaka is no other than Buddha in a previous birth. The framework of the story is as vague as possible: One day the assembled monks were extolling the Master for having left the palace for searching and preaching the law. The Buddha intervenes and tells them: "It is not for the first time that I have left a palace," and he began to tell them the story of Mahā-Janaka. Of this long story, full of incidents, I will draw the attention of the reader only to the episode in which Maṇimekhalā, the goddess of the sea, appears.

Mahājanaka Jātaka (No. 539)

Mahājanaka, the posthumous son of king Ariṭṭhajanaka who had been killed by his brother, is brought up in exile at

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Campā, in the house of a brahman who had given hospitality to his mother. His mother puts at his disposal the jewels which she had saved (VI, p. 34.).

"Well, mother," said he, "give me this wealth, I will take half of it and go to the Land of Gold, I will bring from there much wealth and will recover my throne". He took half of this fortune, procured the articles of trade and embarked on his boat in the company of other merchants who were going to the Land of Gold. Before leaving, he bowed unto his mother and said: "Mother, I am going to the Land of Gold." The mother said: "My child, a voyage does not always succeed, there are many obstacles, better not go. You have abundant wealth for recovering the throne." "No, I will go there, Mother", and he saluted his mother, went out and got on board the ship. This very day, Polajanaka, the first younger brother and the murderer of Ariṭṭhajanaka, was attacked by illness and took to bed. Seven hundred merchants had embarked on the boat, in seven days the ship had done seven hundred leagues, but on account of her high speed she could not hold out, the planks cracked, water poured in everywhere and the vessel foundered in the deep ocean. The men wept and cried and invoked all kinds of divinities. But the great sage did neither weep nor cry, nor did he invoke any divinity; when he saw that the boat was foundering, he mixed sugar with clarified butter, filled his stomach with it, soaked in oil two of his robes which were very smooth, dressed himself tight, and held himself close to the mast. When the boat foundered, the mast floated, the men were eaten up by fishes and tortoises, and the water around was full of blood. The great sage clinging to the top of the mast observed: "It is towards this direction that Mithilā lies." He then jumped from the top of the mast over the fishes and the tortoises and fell into the sea at a distance of one hundred and forty cubits. This very day Polajanaka died, and from this very moment he began to cross the ocean by force of his arms like a golden trunk of tree rolling on the waves which

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had the colour of gems. He swam for a full day and further on till the seventh day when he observed that it was a full moon day. Then he washed his mouth with saline water and observed the fast. Thereupon the four gods, the protectors of the earth, said: "If there are beings that honour their mother even who are in danger of perishing in the ocean, a danger which they did not merit, you ought to save them." This is what they said to Maṇimekhalā, the daughter of a god, appointed to watch the ocean. But during seven days she did not throw her glance at the sea as the fortune she was enjoying had distracted her thoughts. It is also said that the daughter of a god had gone to an assembly of the gods. "It is now seven days", she said to herself, "that I have not thought of the sea. Let me see what passes there." She then perceived Mahājanaka. "If Mahājanaka had perished I would not have been any longer admitted into the assembly of the gods." At this thought she went near the great sage, standing in the sky with the ornaments on her body and addressing the great sage she pronounced the first stanza:

"Who is there that toils in the high sea without even sighting the shores? Thou shouldst know why thou makest such an effort."

The great sage told her: "Now it is seven days that I have been traversing the ocean and I have not seen any living being except myself. Who is there that speaks to me?"

He looked up into the sky and pronounced the second stanza: "I know what the world is and what the price of effort is. This is why I am striving in the ocean even without sighting the shores."

The goddess interested to hear him talking on religion told him in a verse: "In the endless abyss, thou seest not the shores. Thy effort is useless and thou runnest towards death." But the great sage said:

"Who tells you that? If after making all my efforts I must die, I will be blameless."

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He who acts bravely does not repent. He is discharged with regard to all, gods, parents, and ancestors.

As much as I can, I will exert myself. I will act bravely striving towards the shores."

On hearing this the goddess praised him in a stanza :

"On the vast ocean and without the shores in sight,
thou makest a long effort without losing thy courage.
Thou shalt reach the place which your heart longs for."

And she asked him still, "Oh, Sage of great energy, where shall I lead you ?"—"To the city of Mithilā" was the reply. Thereupon she took him in her arms raising him up like a bunch of garlands and pressing him in her bosom like a cherished child she shot forth through the sky. He had had his whole body burnt while remaining in sea water for seven days, and so he fell deeply asleep through the touch of the goddess. Thus she carried him to Mithilā.

The then goddess of the sea is to-day Uppalavaṇṇā, etc."

The two Jātakas have this feature in common that their connection with the life of Buddha is clearly artificial ; they have no bearing on any known positive episode of the biography ; the circumstances, which are supposed to lead to the story, have been invented for the necessity of the story itself. They have also a large number of other features in common. The two heroes Saṃkha and Janaka embark in search of fortune to the Land of Gold, Suvarṇabhūmī, the *Chrysê Chersonêsos* of the Greek geographers, this half fabulous land of the Far East which attracted all the adventurers. The place-names, collected by Ptolemy with great difficulty, show in what degree the search of gold haunted the pioneers of Indian civilisation. Let us not ask the narrator of our story for precise information about the voyage. The seven hundred leagues done in seven days by seven hundred merchants who embarked have no more positive significance than that of the mast of ruby, the riggings of gold and the sails of silver belonging to the boat which brought back Saṃkha.

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The precautions taken in both the cases just before the ship-wreck have a more real character. The teller of the story has not invented anything here but repeats the exact information. A man filled with sugar and butter and with his skin rubbed with oil or better, dressed with a robe soaked in oil which sticks to the body, can resist the slow freezing of the different parts of the body while plunged in the water of the sea. The competitors in swimming even to-day do not act otherwise. The narrator of the story further says that the sharks and the tortoises flock round the sinking boat and redden the water with the blood of the victims. He reproduces the same indications on the goddess Maṇimekhalā in both the texts. If she is asked to watch the sea at the time of ship-wrecks, it is by virtue of a temporary delegation; she was not accustomed to fill such a high post and in her joy she fails to acquit herself. Instead of saving the ship-wrecked hero at once, she lets him float at the mercy of the waves for seven days, confused as she is by the pride of her divine promotion. The story however contains another explanation of her negligence: "It is said (*vadanti*, ed. of Fausböll, or some say, *keci vadanti*, ed. of Siam) that she was gone to an assembly of the gods." As a good author who edificates, the narrator of the story has preferred the reading which bears a moral lesson: "Too sudden a turn of fortune confuses even the head of the gods." But we can perceive that Maṇimekhalā had interested story-tellers (*keci*) other than those of the two Jātaka accounts.

Is it forbidden to us to know more about her? If Maṇimekhalā has not been as yet met with elsewhere in the Sanskrit, Pāli or Prākṛt literatures, there is another region in India itself where her name has remained famous. Maṇimekhalā is the title of a great classical poem of the Tamil literature. Tamil, as we know, is a language of the Dravidian family spoken by 16 million people in South India from Madras to Cape Comorin, but its cultural horizon extends far beyond its geographical limits. It possesses a varied and

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original literature which is the richest and the most ancient of the Dravidian literatures with master-pieces of most of the literary types. The poem called Maṇimekhalā (*Manimégalei* or *Manimékhalai* in its Tamil form) is one of its classics ; it is, so to say, inseparable from another classical poem, the *Silappadigaram.* "The story of a ring of the knee", which forms the prologue of the former. These two works have been analysed in detail and translated into French by Prof. Julien Vinson in two small volumes published in 1900 under the title of *Légendes Bouddhistes et Djainas, traduites du tamoul,* in the *Collection des Conteurs et Poêtes de tous pays.* Recently again the Maṇimekhalā has been brought to the notice of the Indianists because of a controversy bearing on the literary history ; the case is too important to be passed in silence.

The master of Indian logic, Diṅnāga, the great doctor of the Buddhist Church, has written amongst others a work called the *Nyāyapraveśa* which had been preserved only in the Chinese and the Tibetan translations. The Sanskrit original which remained unknown for centuries was discovered a few years ago. A discussion opened on this text is still going on. Is the *Nyāyapraveśa* a work of Diṅnāga ? The last but one canto, the XXIXth of the Maṇimekhalā, contains an exposition of syllogisms and sophisms which is found in the *Nyāyapraveśa* with the same examples. This has become a weapon in the arsenal of controversy. Moreover, if we believe that the poet had copied from the logician, then he becomes posterior to the latter. In that case, he lived later than the 6th century A.D. But the Tamil nationalism, as the Tamil country is nowadays passing through a natioual crisis like all other civilised countries, claims for the poem a more ancient date and for its author a complete originality. Professor Krishnaswami Aiyengar of the University of Madras undertook the study of the Maṇimekhalā from this point of view and published in 1928 a series of articles under the title : "*The Maṇimekhalai in its historical setting*". He

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had the happy idea of joining with his impassioned arguments a complete translation of the Maṇimekhalā.

The work is of Buddhist inspiration and it aims at instructing and edificating. Maṇimekhalā is the name of the heroine, but it is also the name of a deity who is her guardian angel. The young girl is the issue of a tragic love affair between a merchant and a dancing girl. She is the ideal of chastity, charity and faith. She lives at Puhār also called Kāverīpaṭṭanam, the port of Kāverī, situated at the mouth of this river, which was one of the great markets between India and the Far East since the time of Ptolemy at the end of the second century A.D., and which remained such even in the time of Cosmas (6th century A.D.) and was destroyed in the 15th century by the silting up of the river. The city, of which the splendours have been so often described in the Tamil literature, is now no more than a village of fishermen but is still counted as a place of pilgrimage. The beauty of the young girl kindles love in the heart of prince Udaya who pursues her and intends to take her away during the joyful tumult of the festival of Indra. Her tutelary deity Maṇimekhalā descends from the heavens to protect her. She carries her away over the seas to a sacred island called Maṇipallavam. There is found a marvellous seat (*pīṭha*) on which Buddha had been seating. It awakens in men the memories of their past existences. In front of this seat there is a tank where every year on the day of the anniversary of Buddha's birth, on the full moon day of the month of Vaiśākha, appears a miraculous bowl which never gets exhausted. This bowl has a complicated history. In the days of yore the goddess of knowledge, Sarasvatī, had given it to one of her favourites, Āputra, "the son of cow," who used it for feeding the people of the extreme south of India. Then having learnt from the merchants from the other side of the sea that there was a famine in the island of Java (Sāvakam) caused by drought, Āputra embarked with his bowl for that country. The boat suddenly met a tempest

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and was compelled to stop at the island of Maṇipallavam for a day. Āputra got down on land, but could not rejoin the boat in time. He remained alone in the deserted island and threw the bowl, which was of no use then, into a tank, wishing that it might come back to the earth once in a year, that on that very day, if a charitable person happens to pass by those shores, the bowl might pass spontaneously into his hands. The young Maṇimekhalā, led there by her guardian angel at a propitious time, thus got the bowl and brought it back to Puhār where her protectress led her back through the sky. With the bowl in her hands she passes by the roads of the town and feeds the poor, the widows, and the orphans. Meanwhile, the prince who had pursued her assiduously is killed by a supernatural being, and public rumour makes the young girl responsible for this murder. She is compelled to flee away through the air to Java where Āputra by transmigration has been miraculously born of a cow, adopted by the king, and has succeeded to him on the throne. A minister of the king who had been to Puhār for signing a treaty of alliance between Java and the Cholas and had known her adventures, recognises her and takes her to the king. She induces Āputra to embark as a pilgrim for the island of Maṇipallavam, and goes there flying in advance, receives him, and leads him to the marvellous seat. The goddess of the island then comes to the maid to inform her about the catastrophy that had destroyed Puhār after her departure. The goddess Maṇimekhalā had submerged the capital of the Chola king to punish him for neglecting the celebration of the annual festivity of Indra. "If you are pained", she added, "to hear that Maṇimekhalā, the guardian of the sea, has cursed the city of Puhār in this way, you should know it by way of consolation that this same goddess had years ago saved from the sea one of your ancestors who was going to be drowned and who subsequently became the most charitable man of his time."

Maṇimekhalā then goes to Vañji (now called Karur, to

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the west of Trichinopoly), then to Kāñcī (Conjeeveram, to the south-east of Madras) one of the seats of Buddhist culture. The famine was ravaging the place. She visits the great temple raised in the centre of the city where there was a Bodhi tree of gold with leaves of emerald and she asks the king to construct at Kañcī a replica of the sacred seat of Maṇipallavam, and a temple of Maṇimekhalā and celebrate the periodical festivities. Then she goes to attend to the lessons of a famous saint called Aṛavana Adigal who explains to her the fundamental principles of Buddhism and delivers to her a complete course of logic for refuting the heretics. Aṛavana also confirmed the story of the events which she had heard at Maṇipallavam: "The king of Puhār had neglected the festivity of Indra. Indra, in his turn, ordered the goddess Maṇimekhalā to sink the town of Puhār into the sea. An ancestor of your father, many generations ago, was caught in a ship-wreck; he was lost in the sea like a golden needle on a fine carpet of gold; for seven days he desperately fought for saving his life. His attention being drawn by the quivering of the white cushion, Indra ordered the goddess to save the future Buddha who was endangered in the sea. She picked him up from the sea so that the perfections might be accomplished and the wheel of the law put in motion. Your father heard from the Cāraṇas who were always very well informed that such was the usual function of the goddess Maṇimekhalā and gave you her name."

This story, which has been twice repeated in the poem as if for pointing out its importance, is in perfect agreement with the Jātaka story. Most of the features reappear, in the Jātaka of the brahman Saṃkha as well as in that of the great Janaka. There may be some hesitation in choosing between the two, but a striking detail dissipates the uncertainty. The poet of the Maṇimekhalā has introduced in his story an unexpected ornament: the ship-wrecked who was floating is compared to 'a golden needle on a rich carpet of gold. This is at least the interpretation of Prof.

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Krishnaswami Aiyengar, but my colleague Prof. Jules Bloch, whom I requested to verify the original, tells me that the text should be translated as 'as a golden needle (*usi*-Sk. *sūcī*) sews (*tuṇṇiyad*) a green mantle (*kambala*).' The imagery is thus much more appropriate. This kind of ornament is infinitely rare in the poem ; to emphasise the interest of the story, the author counts, above all, on the charm of the rhyme which plays in subtle assonances on the second syllable of every verse and on the initial of each hemistich. He counts on the agreement of the assonant lines, each of which is arranged into a complete sentence of variable length. He counts still on the happy choice of words often borrowed from the most secret treasure of the language and for the rest he counts on the ardour of his faith and the value of his doctrines which he preaches. Such a curious comparison introduced by the saint Aṛvana in the recalling of an ancient miracle thus appears in an unexpected relief.

The Jātaka of the great Janaka offers an exact parallel to this case. The author who has always used a flat prose for his story while describing the ship-wrecked hero floating on the sea makes use of a comparison which does not fit in with the colourless weft of his style : "He began to cross the ocean as a golden trunk of tree rolls on the waves which have the colour of gems." Such is at least the meaning of the text edited by Fausböll without any variant. But the Siamese edition of the Jātaka, published from Bangkok in 1922, which gives a carefully established text, reads here (instead of *suvaṇṇakkhando viya*) *suvaṇṇakaddali* (sic) *khando viya*, "like the trunk of a plantain tree in gold," a detail, which completely modifies the spirit of comparison. The plantain tree, in the whole Sanskrit literature, is a symbol of illusion ; it has the appearance of a tree but is simply constituted by a bunch of leaves. Buddha on different occasions (*Majjh.* I, 233 ; *Saṃ.* IV, 167) uses the parable of the man who went with his axe in search of good wood (*sāra-*) and cut only the trunk of a plantain tree. The trunk of

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the plantain tree reappears again in the enumeration of illusions along with wave, bubble of water, mirage etc., in the *Saṃyutta*, II, 141 and in the Sanskrit *Mahāvyutpatti*, 2826 (edition of Sakaki). The trunk of the plantain tree is also the mark of physical beauty; the dictionary of "the Pali Text Society" quotes the authority of the commentary of the *Vimānavatthu*, p. 280. In fact, the commentator in this passage explains the expression *sampanna-uru-thanā* of the text by *kadalikkhanda-sadisa-uru* (a woman who has her thighs similar to trunks of banana tree). The same expression occurs in a witty stanza introduced by the commentator Ravicandra in his edition of Amaru, but not known to other commentators :

ūrudvayaṃ mṛgadṛśaḥ kadalasya kāṇḍau
madhyaṃ ca vedir atulaṃ stanayugmam asyāḥ/
lāvaṇyavāriparipūritaśātakumbha-
kumbhaṃ manojanṛpater abhiṣecanāya//

"Oh, the beauty with the eyes of a deer, her two thighs are like the trunks of a plantain tree, her middle is like the altar, her breasts are incomparable. Her two golden cups are filled with a liquor of salacity. (Every thing is ready) for the consecration of the king of love."

Chézy, the first Professor of Sanskrit in the Collège de France, in his *Anthologie Erotique* which he published under the pseudonym of Apudy, translated it or rather paraphrased it in this way (no. 42) : "with thighs firm and polished as the trunk of the plantain tree." The author could not be further misunderstood than this. The trunk of the plantain tree is neither strong nor polished. The poet wanted to suggest in the place of the ungraceful image of the two ritualistic posts the impression of delicate fragility which is attached to the plantain tree.

Therefore if we accept the reading of the Siamese edition, the ship-wrecked hero rocked by the waves, when he is compared with the trunk of a plantain tree, is shown to us as a poor little thing, weak and small, lost on the vast surface

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of the ocean. And it was no doubt thus that the Tamil poet understood the text of the Jātaka while he substituted the already used image by the comparison with the needle on a piece of cloth.

Let us go back to Maṇimekhalā[1] ; it is henceforth established that, whether heroine or goddess, she is precisely associated with a locality. Her original residence was at Puhār, in the port where the great river of the South, the Kāverī, empties itself and which was one of the great centres of traffic between India and the islands of the Archipelago. She had her temple, her cult and her festivities at Kāñchī (not far from Madras), the holy city of Buddhism in the south of India. She is one of the numerous deities, "the guardians of the sea," but her proper domain is that region of the ocean which extends from Cape Comorin to the marvellous El Dorado of the Far East. Beyond this zone of the earth and water she is unknown. The Jātakas in which she appears and plays the rôle which agrees so closely with her local functions could not have been imagined except in Puhār or Kānchī. They were surely narrated to the pious pilgrims in some temple or convent. We know, from the Chinese pilgrims specially, how other Jātakas were connected with well-determined sites or sanctuaries. In the very cycle of the Jātakas of the sea, I would content myself in referring to the Supāraka-Jātaka, preserved in the Sanskrit as well as the Pāli collections. The old and blind pilot who, by force of his piety, saves his boat from the submarine whirlpool hidden at the extremity of the earth is the eponymous hero of the great port situated in ancient times near Bombay which saw the flowing of the Greek trade towards

1 While this paper was going to the press the chance of a research in another line has led me to learn that the goddess of the sea, Maṇimekhalā, is still known under this same name in the Cambodian theatre. I have written to Cambodia for more information. When I get them, I hope to publish them in this same Quarterly.

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the beginning of the Christian era. We are too much used to consider India as a massive block. But the slow progress of our knowledge permits us to separate the elements little by little and to discover under the appearance of factitious unity, the infinite variety of elements which have formed the magnificent whole of Indian civilisation. The Jātaka, the epic of stories, has been able to mould in a harmonious contrast, the legends, the short local stories collected from the four corners of India; it is for a merit of the same kind that the noble epics, the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, and in Greece the Homeric poems, have been recognised as the symbols of the civilisation which produced them.*

SYLVAIN LÉVI

On some points relating to the Maurya Administrative System†

IV

The significance of PE. IV

In *Hindu Polity* (Pt. II, p. 143 ff.) Mr. K. P. Jayaswal claims to have discovered on the basis of "the combined evidence of Aśoka's inscription and the Divyāvadāna" a concrete instance of the high constitutional position of the council of ministers in Ancient India. His view of the matter may best be described in his own words which are reproduced below. "We have the recorded instance of the pious despotism developed by Aśoka and what was the result? Was the Ministry overthrown and [were] the constitutional laws set at naught? Or was the despot deprived, if not of his throne, of his sovereignty?" In other words, we

* Translated from French into English by Dr. P. Bagchi.

† Continued from IHQ., p. 435.

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are asked to believe that Aśoka sought to make himself a despot whereupon the Ministers in defence of the "constitutional laws" of the country combined to deprive him of his sovereignty.

The inscription of Aśoka which is sought to support Mr. J.'s important discovery is PE. IV. Mr. J., who regards it as "one of the most important documents of the constitutional history of Hindu India", draws from it the conclusion that the *rājukas* acting on behalf of "the *Jānapada* Body" and with its support "deprived the Emperor of India of his *aiśvarya* or sovereign authority". Before we proceed to consider the arguments in favour of this proposition we may make a few general observations. Such a strong "adverse statement against interest" as that involved in Mr. J.'s interpretation wherein the Emperor is made to proclaim the abject surrender of his authority would require the strongest corroborative evidence to be worthy of credence, more especially when we remember that the inscription in question is distributed in no less than six recensions embracing all the home provinces of the Empire. But apart from Mr. J.'s interpretation of PE. IV and the late Buddhist religious tradition to which we shall presently refer, there is no independent testimony in support of Mr. J.'s statement. On the other hand, the evidence of the contemporary inscriptions makes it clear that down at least to the 26th year of his consecration when PE. IV was written, Aśoka's sovereign authority remained unimpaired. We thus find in other inscriptions written or engraved in the same year that Aśoka claims his officials to be conforming to his precepts (PE. I), that he is attending to the welfare not only of his relatives but of all classes (PE. VI) and, most important of all, that he has ordered (*ānapitā*) the *rājukas* to preach the *Dharma* (PE. VII).

Let us now turn to the interpretation of PE. IV on which primarily rests the admissibility of Mr. J.'s contention. The crucial passage is the following :—

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Lajūkā pi laghaṃti paṭicalitave maṃ pulisāni pi me caṃdaṃnāni paṭicalisaṃti.[1]

In the above Mr. J. takes *laghanti* (evidently a mistake for *laghaṃti* in the original) to be equivalent to the Sanskrit *laṅghanti*, and he translates the whole passage as follows:—

"And the Rājukas disregard my proclamations, while my own subordinate officers will promulgate my opinions and orders".

This is an admittedly obscure passage which cannot yet be said to have been properly explained. We may first mention the authoritative versions that are already in the field. Bühler who took *laghaṃti* to be equivalent to Sans. *raṅghante*[2] ('they hasten, are eager') translated the whole passage as follows[3] :—

'But the *lajukas* are eager to serve me, my (other) servants also, who know my will, will serve (me)'.

Senart, who corrected *laghaṃti* into *caghaṃti* of the following passage and took *paṭicalati* to stand for Sans. *paricarati*, gave the following translation[4]:—

"Les rājukas śappliquent à m'obéia ; eux aussi les purusas obéiront à més volontés et à mes ordres"

Lüders connected *laghaṃti* with Sans. *arhanti*, 'they must' and held *pulisāni* to be the accusative plural of *pulisa*. His translation is as follows[5] :—

"Auch die Lājjukas müssen mir gehorchen und auch den Beamten die meinen willen kennen, werden Sie gehorchen," which is paraphrased by Hultzsch[6] :—

1 The transcript of the Delhi-Sewalik version in Bhandarkar and Śāstrī has *paṭicalitave*, which is evidently a mistake for *paṭicalitave* in the original.

2 Not *raghaṃte*, as alleged by Bhandarkar (*Asoka*, p. 311, *n.* 4).

3 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 253.

4 Senart, *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, II, p. 42.

5 *SKPAW*, 1913, p. 993. 6 *Corpus*, p. 124.

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'The Lajukas must obey me. They will also obey the agents who know (my) wishes'. Recently Prof. S. K. Chatterji has proposed[1] to connect the root *lagh* with NIA *rah* to remain, and derive it from a hypothetical Indo-European root *regh-o, rgh-e*. He gives the following translation :—

PLATE

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I.H.Q., December, 1930

'te pi ca kāni viyovadisaṃti yena mam lajūkā caghaṃti ālādhayitave'. Mr. J. proposes to correct *yena mama lajūkā* in the above into *ye na mam lajūkaṃ* which he alleges to be the reading of the Mathiah recension of PE. IV. Accordingly he translates this passage as follows[2] :—

"And they [*Rājūkas*] will advise the Provinces which wish

1 *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, pp. 1041-2.
2 *Hindu Polity*, p. 145.

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"The Lajukas also remain (are staying) to serve (to obey) me and they will also serve (obey) the officials who know my will". Mr. J. evidently takes *paṭicalitave*, to be equivalent to Sans. *praticalitum*, 'to go against', and gives on this assumption a free translation of the above passage. This only adds one more to the list of hypothetical interpretations of the passage concerned. We, however, fail to understand why Mr. J. in the very next sentence translates *paṭicalisaṃti* as 'will promulgate', evidently making it stand for Sans. *paricālayiṣyanti*. Nor does he show any reason for rejecting Prof. Lüders' construction of *pulisāni* as a plural accusative. Indeed if Mr. J. were consistent, he would have construed the whole passage in some such way as the following :—

"The Rājukas, too, proceed to disregard me, and they will disregard those officers of mine, who know my wishes". In any case, Mr. J.'s interpretation, as it stands, is purely hypothetical and no certain conclusion can be based upon it.

The passage immediately following the one we have discussed above is usually read as follows :—

'*te pi ca kāni viyovadisaṃti yena mam lajūkā caghaṃti ālādhayitave*'. Mr. J. proposes to correct *yena mama lajūkā* in the above into *ye na mam lajūkaṃ* which he alleges to be the reading of the Mathiah recension of PE. IV. Accordingly he translates this passage as follows[2] :—

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2 *Hindu Polity*, p. 145.

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to serve the Rājūkas, not me". In connection with this passage we may observe that *te* is held by other authorities to stand for the *purusas* of the preceding passage, while *ca kāni* are read as two independent words, and *caghaṃti* is taken in the sense of Sans. *śakṣyanti*.[1] As Mr. J. gives no reason for differing from these interpretations, it is difficult to agree with his conclusions. Let us confine ourselves to the reading of the text in question. The above passage is completely preserved in three recensions, namely, Delhi-Topra, Radhiah and Mathiah, while it is imperfectly preserved in two other versions, namely, the Delhi-Meerut and the Rampurwa and is altogether absent in the Allahabad version. Mr. J. apparently does not dispute the accepted reading *yena mam lajūkā* in the first two versions. Why, then, should the supposed reading of the single Mathiah version have the preference over that of the two other versions combined? How, again, to account for the sudden change from *lajūkā* in the plural into *lajūkam* in the singular? And going to the root of the matter, let us ask whether the reading on the Mathiah pillar is what is stated by Mr. J. The answer is furnished by the mechanical copy of the transcript in Hultzsch's work which we reproduce overleaf.

Another passage which ought to be mentioned in this connection occurs later on in the inscription and reads as follows :—

Ava (var. āvā) ite pi ca me āvuti.

In the above *āvuti* has been held to be equivalent to Sans. *āyukti* ('order') by Senart whose view has been accepted by later scholars. As to *ava ite* Senart translates it as 'from this day' (Sans. *yāvad itaḥ*), while Bühler explained it to mean 'even so far'. Mr. J. equates *ava ite* with Sans. *ava rte* for which he finds a parallel in the Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā.

1 Cf. *Hultzsch*, p. 124 *n*.

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He also compares *āvuti* with Sans. *āvṛtti* which he claims on the authority of 'Monier-William' (sic) (Dict. s.v. *ā-vṛ*) to bear the sense of 'prayer'. His translation of the above passage accordingly is as follows :—

'And though fallen from position, my prayer is that', on which he comments thus :—

"It is significant that the king now 'prays', and does not 'command' as in other documents".

In discussing this point we have first to observe that the reading *ava ite* occurs in two versions of PE. IV. (Delhi-Topra and Allahabad), while in three other versions (Radhiah, Mathiah and Rampurwa) it has the form *āvā ite.*[1] Mr. J.'s suggested equivalence of *ava ite* with Vedic *ava ṛte* which in itself is extremely problematic, fails entirely to account for the word-form *āvā ite.* On the other hand, Bühler's rendering, which exactly fits in with the form *āvā ite*, is supported by Hultzsch[2] on the authority of *āvā gamu*[*k*]*e* of the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa Separate Edict I. We may also compare the words *āva saṃvaṭakapā* in RE. IV and V. In view of these difficulties it seems impossible to support Mr. J.'s rendering of *ava ite* given above. Turning to the word *āvuti* we find on a reference to the latest (1899) edition of Monier-Williams' Dict. (s. v. *ā-vṛ*) that its meanings are given in one place as 'to choose, desire, prefer', 'to fulfil', 'to grant (a wish)', while elsewhere it is taken to mean 'to cover, hide, conceal,' 'to surround, enclose' etc. The first group of meanings is found mostly in the Vedic literature, and the second group in the classical literature. It is therefore incomprehensible how Monier-Williams' authority can be quoted for the explanation of *āvuti* as 'prayer'. On the other hand, Senart's rendering of the word is supported by the fact

1 The transcript of the Rampurwa version in Bhandarkar and Śāstrī (op. cit., p. 70) under these words is a blank. This is evidently a mistake.

2 *Corpus*, p. 125, n.

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that *āvutike* of the Dhauli Separate Edict II corresponds to *āyutike* of the Jaugaḍa Separate Edict II.[1]

Finally we may mention a few general considerations which tend to cast some doubt upon the correctness of Mr. J.'s interpretation of PE. IV. Throughout the inscription the tone is that of one administering affairs on his own authority, not that of a person who has been forced to bow to the authority of others. Let us notice the significant expression *kaṭe* (Sans. *kṛtaḥ*) (instead of *kāritaḥ*) used no less than three times with reference to the vesting of authority in the Rājukas. In the second place the author of the inscription is throughout anxious to declare the object of his administrative measure, namely, to secure the earthly and spiritual well-being of his subjects, and he closes with an important modification of the current rule relating to criminal trials, namely the grant of a respite of three days. Would not a sovereign who has been deprived of his authority by his ministers draw ridicule and contempt upon himself by issuing appeals in public to those who had superseded him ? As for Mr. J.'s explanation of *Jānapada* as a Corporate Body, it has been disposed of by Dr. Narendra Nath Law whose arguments have not yet been seriously challenged. Lastly, we may mention that if the Rājukas, as appears probable from our preceding discussion, were provincial officers, their supersession of the king would be altogether out of the question. The only Body which could properly deprive the king of his authority would be the Council of Ministers or the *Pariṣat*.

V

The authenticity of the Buddhist traditions of Aśoka's loss of sovereignty

In support of his contention that Aśoka was deprived of his sovereignty by his Ministers, Mr. J. in addition to the

1 See *Hultzsch*, p. 125, n. 1.

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alleged testimony of PE IV, brings forward the evidence of a story in the Divyāvadāna.[1] There we are told how the heir-apparent Saṃpadī at the instance of the ministers prevented the Emperor from making further gifts from the Treasury to the monks, and how Aśoka's allowance was cut down till at last he received only half an *āmalaka* which he sent as his last offering to the Saṃgha.

The story in the Divyāvadāna forms the last of a cycle of four legends in this work (Nos. XXV-XXIX) dealing with Aśoka's reign, and bearing the titles of Pāṃśupradāna, Kunāla, Vītaśoka, and Aśoka. These stories evidently at first belonged to an independent work which was completely incorporated in the Divyāvadāna. The Aśokāvadāna, as this work is called, exists also in two Chinese versions, one of which, called the *A-Yu Wang Tchouan*, was prepared by the Parthian Fa K'in about 300 A.C., and the other called *A-yu Wang King* was written by the monk Saṃghabhara (?) of Fou-nan in 512 A.C.[2] Considerable fragments of the Aśokāvadāna again occur in Chap. XXV of the Chinese version of the Saṃyukta Āgama which was prepared between 435 and 468 A.C.[1]. Three stories of the Aśokan cycle (including that of the Emperor's gift of half an *āmalaka* with which we are here concerned) are found in the collection of stories which has been called Sūtrālaṃkāra and attributed to the famous Aśvaghoṣa.[3] The original of this work is lost, but

1 Ibid., pp. 429-32.

2 See Przyluski, *La Légende de l'Empereur Aśoka*, pp. xi-xii. In this paper we follow the French spelling of the Chinese characters. The abbreviation A. W. Tch stands for A-yu Wang tchouan and Div. for Divyāvadāna. The French translations of A. W. Tch by Przyluski and of the 'Sūtrālaṃkāra' by Huber are referred to by their page-numbers in *Légende* and the BEFEO, IV respectively. The translations from the Chinese Saṃyukta Āgama, I owe to the kindness of Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi of the Calcutta University.

3 See the article of Prof. Sylvain Lévi called *Les éléments de formation du Divyāvadāna* in T'oung Pao, VIII, pp. 105-22. We leave out

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it has come down to us in a Chinese version which has been made accessible to us by a French scholar, M. Edouard Huber.

A comparison of the parallel versions of the story of the gift of half an *āmalaka* shows a common agreement on the point that Aśoka was deprived of his sovereign authority because of his extravagant donations to the Buddhist monks. This is shown in all the versions by the king's emphatic repudiation of the Minister's courtly statement that he was still the sovereign.[1] The same note is struck in all the versions of the story in the message which Aśoka sends to the Ministry along with his gift of half an *āmalaka* and the comment which the head of the Ministry makes on receiving the same.[2]

Admitting the unanimity of our authorities on the point just mentioned, we have now to ask whether we are justified in treating their account as a historical fact. There seems to be no ground for assigning a high antiquity to the Buddhist story. "The *Gāthā* quoted by the Divyāvadāna", says Mr. J.[3], "is more ancient than the compilation of the Divyā-

of account later compilations like the Aśokāvadāna or the Ratnāvadānamālā (H. P. Sastri's Descr. Cat. Sans. Mss., vol. I, No. 25).

1 See Divy. p. 431 :—'*atha rājāśokaḥ... ..dāridryam abhyāgatam*'; Sūtrālaṃkāra, p. 723 :—"Alors le roi prononça ces stances :—'Vous dites que j'exerce la royauté, et que mes ordes sont exécutés. C'est pour me flatter que vous parlez ainsi. Ce que vous dites n'est que mensonge. Mon autorité est mort, je ne dispose plus de rien"; A. W. Tch, p. 298 :—"Le roi dit, "Vous étes dans l'erreur quand vous dites que je suis le maitre. Je ne suis pas le maitre." [cf. New Tokyo ed. of the Tripiṭaka, II, *Saṃyukta*, ch. 25, p. 180b :—"You all are telling a lie to please me that I am the established king. But I have nothing which I can call mine own"].

2 We refrain from quoting further references as they may be easily verified. We may note especially the significant expressions in the Divy. story (pp. 431-2), *bhraṣṭādhirājya*, *bhraṣṭāsthāyatana* and *hṛtādhikāra*.

3 *Hindu Polity*, p. 121.

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vadāna and the former could not have been composed many centuries after the event". This argument is not convincing, as the Divyāvadāna, according to competent authorities,[1] is not later in date than the second century A.C., and the result of this late date is not likely to be much affected by the supposed relative priority of the Gāthā. A more weighty argument is that the story of Aśoka's gift of the half *āmalaka* occurs in the 'Sūtrālaṃkāra' attributed to Aśvaghoṣa which helps to push back its date probably to the first century A.C. The relative antiquity of the story is also suggested by the fact that it is incorporated in the Chinese version of the Saṃyukta Āgama and is thus made to form part of the Canon. But even if the date could be pushed back with certainty to the first century of the Christian era, there would still be a gap of three centuries from Aśoka's time. Mr. J.'s arguments from internal evidence in favour of the authenticity of the Buddhist story are equally unconvincing. "The monks", he says[2], "were to gain nothing by an invention of such a story which (sic) threw discredit on a great personage of their religious history". A careful study of the story in its parallel versions, however, makes it quite clear that every detail of it, so far from throwing discredit upon the Emperor, is quite consistent with his position as a shining light of the faith, while serving to vindicate its cardinal principles. Indeed if the Buddhist monks were to think of demonstrating doctrines like the evanescence of earthly greatness, the paramountcy of fate and so forth by the example of "a great personage of their religious history", they could not have done better than invent the story of the great Emperor, "the elephant among the Mauryas", who, when reduced by adverse circumstances from the position of 'Lord of Jambudvīpa' to that of 'the Lord of half an *āmalaka*', found solace in the words of the Master and gave his last

1 Cf. Winternitz, *Geschichte*, II, 222-3.
2 *Hindu Polity*, p. 122.

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possession to the order. Witness for example the passionate words which break forth alike in Aśoka's own pathetic lament[1] and the grave comments of his associates.[2] But then, it is urged by Mr. J.[3], the monks "would not have invented a story which would have been a bad precedent in case other monarchs wanting (*sic*) to imitate the munificence of the Maurya Emperor." In the form in which the story has come down to us in its complete versions there is no room for the monks' apprehension of the consequences contemplated by Mr. J., for we are told, immediately after the account of the king's gift of his half *āmalaka*, that he gave away before his death his whole kingdom to the Saṃgha by a sealed deed of gift, and that the Ministers so far respected the Emperor's

1 Cf. *Saṃyukta* (p. 180) :—"Oh, the wealth is to be greatly hated and abandoned. Besides let us remember the gāthā that Buddha has pronounced : Everything flourishing has its decline from which arises a gulf !" Cf. Sūtrālaṃkāra (p. 723) :—"...La puissance est quelque choose de misérable. O combien elle est à mépriser !.....Vraies et non pas vaines sont les paroles du Sublime....." A. W. Tch, p. 298 :—"Oh ! les richesses sont profondément méprisables....Les paroles du Buddha sont véridiques. Dans ses paroles, il n'est rien qui ne soit exact. Il a dit que tous ceux qui s'aiment ont la douleur de se séparer....." ; Divy., p. 431 :—"*.....aiśvaryaṃ dhig anāryam uddhatanaañtoyapraveśopamam.....athavā ko Bhagavato vākyam anyathā kariṣyati sampattayo hi sarvā vipattinidhanā iti pratijñātam.*"

2 In the Sūtrālaṃkāra, p. 725, the messenger who takes Aśoka's gift to the monks says of the Emperor :—".....Ses bons *karmans* sont épuisés ; brusquement sa chúte est survenue. Trompé par ses *karmans*, il est sombré, il a perdu sa majesté, tel le soleil qui s'approche du conchant." In the A. W. Tch (p. 299) the Sthavira of the monastery on receiving the gift thus addressed the monks : ".....Il convient, à cause de cela, de ressentir pour la transmigration un dégout et une aversion profonds. Les richesses et les plaisirs s'évanouissent rapidement. La puissance et la souveraineté sont bientot perdues....." In the Divy., p. 432, the Saṃghasthavira says : "*.....bhadantā bhavantaḥ śakyam idānīṃ saṃvegam utpādayituṃ kutaḥ evaṃ hy uktam Bhagavatā paravipattiḥ saṃvejanīyam sthānam iti.....*"

3 *Hindu Polity*, p. 122.

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act that they redeemed it from the monks by paying four *koṭis* of gold.[1] From the point of view of the Buddhist monks, then, there could be no better precedent for later "monarchs wanting to imitate the munificence of the great Emperor".

Even if we were to admit that the Buddhist story embodied a genuine historical tradition, it is difficult to follow Mr. J. when he acclaims it as 'the great constitutional datum on the reign of Aśoka'.[2] The parallel versions in the first place do not agree as to the authority that deprived Aśoka of his sovereignty. In the Sūtrālaṃkāra story,[3] we are told that when the Emperor urged his Ministers to procure fresh treasures which he could bestow upon the monks, they refused to give him the same. According to the A. W. Tch[4] the heir-apparent Sampadī agreeing with the Ministers deprived the king of all that belonged to him. In the Divyāvadāna story[5] Sampadī acting in accordance with the advice of his Ministers forbade the treasurer to send Aśoka's gift to the monastery. When Mr. J. makes "Chancellor Rādhagupta" whom he thinks with true historical insight to be "probably a descendant of Viṣṇugupta", he overlooks the fact that Rādhagupta's name is not mentioned in any version among the ministers responsible for the

1 A. W. Tch, op. cit. pp. 300-1. *Divy.*, pp. 432-3.

2 *Hindu Polity*, 121.

3 Op. cit., p. 723 :—"Il exigea de ses ministres de lui procurer encore d'autres trésors ; mais ses ministres ne voulurent plus lui en donner."

4 See Ibid, p. 298 :—"Là-dessus Eulmo t'i[Sampadī] d'accord avec les ministres, profita de la maladie du roi pour lui retirer tout ce qui lui appartenait." Cf. *Saṃyukta.* :—"At this the prince (*San-po-ti*) promptly ordered that no treasure should go out for the use of the great king (=Mahārāja)."

5 Op. cit., p. 430 :—*tasmiṃś ca samaye Kunālasya Sampadī nāma putro yuvarjye pravartate tasyāmātyair abhihitam.....yāvat kumāreṇa bhāṇḍāgārikaḥ pratiṣiddhaḥ.*

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revolution, while the A. W. Tch expressly states that he advised the gift of the whole four *koṭis* to the monks but the bad ministers advised the heir-apparent otherwise. Mr. J. is not quite correct in saying[1] that the Buddhist monks do not call the ministers sinful for their act. The version of A. W. Tch explicitly states that it was the bad ministers of perverse views ("de mauvais ministres aux vues perverses") that advised the heir-apparent. Indeed it is clear both from the accounts of the A. W. Tch and the Divy. that the monks regarded the action of the heir-apparent and ministers as an act of usurpation. For we read in the former work,[2] 'Aujourd'hui il est gouverné par la foule de ses sujets," while the Divy. says,[3] "*Bhṛtyaiḥ sa bhūmipatir adya hṛtādhikāraḥ*". If any doubt were left on this point, we would refer to the description (which is common to all versions) of the circumstances under which Aśoka was deprived of his sovereignty. The Emperor, we are told, had fallen ill and grieved that the balance of 4 *koṭis* out of his contemplated gift of one thousand *koṭis* to the Saṃgha was yet unpaid. When he proceeded to send the gifts to the Kukkuṭārāma monastery, the ministers told the heir apparent that Aśoka had not long to live and was dissipating the treasure, and that since the strength of kings lay in the treasury, this ought to be prevented.[4] It was thus not in

1 *Hindu Polity*, p. 146. 2 Op. cit., p. 299.

3 Ibid., p. 432.

4 Cf. A. W. Tch (Op. cit. pp. 296-7) :—"Puis le roi Aśoka tomba malade et, sachant qu'il allait mourir, il pleura et fut affligé.....Alors le roi donna de l'or, de l'argent et des objets precieux au monastère de Kukuṭa-ārāma....De Mauvais ministres aux vues perverses dirent au prince heritier : 'Le roi Aśoka approche du terme de sa vie ; il dissipe ses tresors et, donnant tout, il est sur le point de se ruiner. Vous serez roi ; or les trésors et les objets précieux constituent les ressources d'un roi ; il faut maintenant empecher qu'ils ne soient complètement dissipés." *Divy.*, pp. 429-30 has practically the same account. Even in the version of the Sūtrālaṃkāra (p. 723) the occa-

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vindication of "the constitutional law" of the country but in the interests of the prospective successor to the throne that the ministers advised, if the Buddhist tradition is to be believed, the withdrawal of sovereign authority from the great Maurya.

U. N. GHOSHAL

APPENDIX

A Note on the Orthography of the Early Brāhmī Inscriptions in the matter of Indication of the Double Consonants

T. W. Rhys Davids already noted in his *Buddhist India* that in the early orthography of the inscriptions what was actually a double consonant in pronunciation was written by a single consonant : *s* k^i *y* n^m, according to him, may have been either *Sākiyānāṃ* or *Sakkiyānaṃ* (pp. 130-1).

The early Brāhmī orthography was not a rigorous but only a haphazard one. The device of putting one consonant on the top of another to indicate a group may be said to be just coming in vogue, for we find a great deal of hesitancy and obvious mistake in the proper writing of some of these groups (e.g., *yv* for *vy* in *katayvo* for *kattavvyo* as in Girnar). Even though groups of dissimilar consonants would be attempted to be indicated (e.g., *tp*, *vy*, *mh*, *pr*, *ṣṭ*, as in Girnar), the same consonant doubled was never expressed in the orthography as such : there are no cases of *kk*, *gg*, *pp*, *tt*, etc.

A double consonant is really a *long* consonant. To indicate this long consonant, the early Indian scribes who used the Brāhmī alphabet either (i) wrote a single consonant, leaving it to the reader's acquaintance with the language to enable him to pronounce it doubly (or long) in the right

sion of the Emperor's being deprived of his authority is said to be that he fell seriously ill.

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place ; or (ii) in some rare cases, it seems they transferred the length-mark to the preceding vowel, i.e., made the preceding vowel long when the consonant immediately after that vowel was pronounced long (or double). Thus, *varṣa*> *vassa* would be written (i) either as *vasa*, (ii) or as *vāsa* ; *cikitsā*>*cikicchā* as (i) *cikichā*, (ii) or as *cikīchā*. The lengthening of the vowel as an orthographical device in this connexion is rather uncommon, and is found mainly at Girnar ; *rāñā*=*rañnā*, *rāño*=*rañño* (cf. in a local i.e. Gujrat Kṣatrapa coin the transcription in Greek characters as PANNIO= *rannio*=*rāñño*), *vāsa*=*vassa*, *yāta*=*yatta-* (=*yātra-*), *sūpāthāya*=*sūpatthāya* (*sūpārthāya*), etc. The subsequent history of Indo-Aryan, as in the Prākṛts and the Modern Vernaculars, amply demonstrates that in the 3rd century B.C., and later, the double (or long) consonant pronunciation was the one actually current, and at this early period the modern or vernacular habit of dropping one member of a double consonant group with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel could not have been established. Thus, Old Indo-Aryan *bhakta*>Middle Indo-Aryan *bhatta*>New Indo-Aryan *bhāta* ; Old Indo-Aryan *anya*>Middle Indo-Aryan *aṇṇa*, *añña*>New Indo-Aryan *āna* ; *kārya*>*kajja*>*kāja* etc. The *bhāta*, *āṇa* and *kāja* stage, as apparently suggested by the inscriptional orthographies (rare enough as they are) *vāsa* and *rāño*(=*vassa* and *rañño*), could not possibly have characterised early Middle Indo-Aryan of the 3rd century B.C. The long *-ās-* and *-āñ-* can only be taken as an orthographic device for *-ass-* and *-añ-*. As regards the word *rājūka-rajuka-lajuka*, the spellings with *ā-* (*rajuka*, *lajuka*) show that we do not have the Sk. word *rājan* here. The word in the vernacular was evidently pronounced as *rajjūka* or *lajjūka* (<*rajju*+*ka* or *rajju*+*uka*) ; and *rajju-* could evidently be written either as *rāju-* or as *raju*, as we have seen above ; and *laju-*, of course, is the graphic device for *lajju-*, which was the Eastern form of the word.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJEE

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Yuddhakāṇḍa Campū of Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita

It is a well-known fact that the Rāmāyaṇa Campū of Bhoja, the king of Dhāra, has been left incomplete. The reasons for his not having finished it are not quite clear at this distance of time. A tradition has come to stay that the portion available to us at present was composed by the author during the course of a single night. Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita says

भोजेन रामचरितं यदितं निशयैकया ।
एकेन पूरयत्यङ्का श्रीचूडामणिदीक्षितः ॥

Following the mode of his illustrious predecessor, Cūḍāmaṇi composed in the course of a single day the portion of the story not covered by the work of Bhoja.

Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita belonged to the family of illustrious scholars in the South Arcot District of the Madras Presidency. Ratnakheṭa Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita, the famous father-in-law of Appayya Dīkṣita, was the father of Śrī Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita. While yet young, the father of Rājacūḍāmaṇi died and the task of educating the young boy devolved on his elder brother Ardhanārīśvara Dīkṣita who discharged his duty well. Very soon the boy grew up to be a prodigy, and early in his literary career, at the young age of six, he composed the drama that is known by the name of Kamalinī kalahaṃsa.[1] Whatever may be the technical imperfections of the drama, it redounds much to the creative genius of a boy of six. It is perhaps impossible to find a parallel to this in any other country and any other literature.

Regarding the date of Rājacūḍāmaṇi, we are in a position to determine with tolerable accuracy the period in which he should have flourished. In his Tantraśikhāmaṇi, a

[1] The work has been published by the Śrī Vāṇī Vilās Press, Śrīraṅgam.

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commentary on the Sūtras of Jaimini, we find the author giving the date of the composition of the work in the following verse

धीमान्मान्ये शाकस्याब्दे हायने चौत्तराभिधे।
चूड़ामणिः कलयते यज्वा तन्त्रशिखामणिम् ॥

The date corresponds to Śaka 1559 or A. D. 1636. Tantraśikhāmaṇi is one of the works that he must have produced after maturity. We may not be wrong in assuming that the work was composed when he was at least 40 years of age. This pushes back the date of the birth of Rājacūḍāmaṇi to the last quarter of the 16th century A.D.

Several works of Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita are now available, a few printed, and others in manuscript. In my Introduction to the Adyar Library Edition of the author's Rukmiṇīkalyāṇa Mahākāvya, I have set forth in detail the information available regarding the author, his parents and his contemporaries and they are not repeated here.

The text of the Yuddhakāṇḍa Campū, published in the following pages, is based upon three different manuscripts, two belonging to the Adyar Library and one to the Maharaja Serfoji's Sarasvati Mahal Palace Library of Tanjore. There is not much difference by way of alternative readings as the manuscripts agree with each other to a large extent. I have not given the differences which are due to the scribe and are therefore negligible. Let me now proceed to give the text.

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श्रीराजचूड़ामणिदीक्षितकृतयुद्धकाण्डचम्पूः

वामालकावल्लभभावमुद्रासोमाविभागेन्द्रमणीशिलेव ।
रोमावली राजति यस्य मध्ये सोमावतंसः स सुखाय भूयात् ॥ १ ॥

भव्यारम्भाय वो भूयादव्याजकरुणानिधिः ।
सव्यार्धालोकने नम्रा दिव्या या कापि देवता ॥ २ ॥

भोजेन रामचरितं ग्रथितं निश्चयैकया ।
एकेन पूरयत्यङ्गा श्रीचूड़ामणिदीक्षितः ॥ ३ ॥

अनन्तरमनिन्दितामवनिनन्दनायाः कथां
प्रभञ्जनतनूभुवः प्रभुरसौ समाकर्णयन् ।
कटाक्षरुचिरेखया कलयति स्म धीरोद्धतं
शरासनमतल्लिकां समधिरोपितज्यामिव ॥ ४ ॥

विरोधिपरिमाथिनी हरिवरूथिनी मेदिनी-
सुतादयितसेवनोन्मुखबलीमुखेन्द्रानुगा ।
हृदन्तरनिरन्तराङ्कुरदमङ्गुराहंक्रिया
चचाल चलवालधिर्जलधिलङ्घनाशाघना ॥ ५ ॥

क्रीड़ाक्रोड़ेन्द्रघर्घूरवगरिमसखच्चे ड़िताम्रे ड़नानि
त्रस्यत्पञ्चास्यसंसद्द्रुतपरिहृतपर्यन्तदर्यन्तरालम् ।
मुह्यन्तं द्रागसह्याक्रमणरभसतस्सह्यमारुह्य शैलं
सेना सा नालिकेरासवरसमपिबत् सह्यजातीरजातम् ॥ ६ ॥

तरङ्गितामोदमनङ्गवीरतरङ्गमारिष्टतटीकुटीरम् ।
अटीकतारूढहनूमदंसपटीरशैलप्रभुरङ्गुतं सः ॥ ७ ॥

तदनु महीमहेन्द्रोऽयमतितुङ्गतरशृङ्गसंगतमहेन्द्रपुरं महेन्द्रगिरिमासाद्य विदधे निरवधिमणिशेवधेर्महोदधेरुपरोधः प्रदेशमनुपरोधमपरदुष्प्रवेशं सेनानिवेशम् । तत्र च

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घनतरशङ्खसङ्घनिभतुङ्गमुखप्रसरत्-
सलिलसलोलसिक्तवपुषः पररावपुषः ।
चटुलतरङ्गभङ्गविहितप्लवना विहृतौ-
रथ विदधुस्तरामधिपयोधिपयः कपयः ॥ ८ ॥

इति च समयेऽतिवियति समन्त्रिभिरेकाधिकैर्मन्त्रिभिर्भवच्चरणमूलमेव शरणमिति कृतोद्घोषणं रावणकृतदुर्भाषणं विभीषणं विलोक्य शङ्काकुलेषु सकलेषु हरिबलेषु रघुपतिरिदमुदितदयमवादीत् ।

सरजोनिधिरवरजोऽस्त्वयं द्विष-
स्त्रिदशारिरेव स दशाननोऽथ वा ।
भवतां तथापि भवतां न भीर्भया-
दविताहमस्य भवितास्मि सर्वथा ॥ ९ ॥

तदनु च सदयमिति वदन्तं रघुकुलककुदन्तमवन्दत चरणारविन्दयोः सदागति सुतानुमोदितागतिराशरपतिः ।

विस्रम्भभाजनतया न परं परं तु
साम्राज्यदानविधिनापि सहोदरस्य ।
वीरः प्लवङ्गकुलपुङ्गवनिर्विशेषं
दोषाचरेश्वरमसुं व्यतनीत्तदानीम् ॥ १० ॥

सेतुं विधातुमनसोत्तरणैकहेतुं
वीरेण विस्तृतकुशास्तरणस्थितेन ।
तिस्रोऽमुनाथ रजनीरनुनीयमान-
स्त्रिस्रोतसो न भजति स्म पतिः प्रसादम् ॥ ११ ॥

दुरारोपे चापे कलयति रघूणामधिपतौ
ज्वलज्ज्वालामालावलयितशिखं मङ्गु विशिखम् ।
क्षणादेवोच्छुष्यत् प्रबलजलपूरोऽपि निखिल-
स्रवन्तीनामास्रैः पुनरपि पुपूरे जलनिधिः ॥ १२ ॥

तत्क्षणं च लक्ष्मणाग्रजोदग्रशिलीमुखमुखविसृङ्गलाखिलशिखिशिखाकलाप-लीलावलीढदुःखलेपः प्रालेयमिलनशीतशीतलमलयजालेपतुलितमेव जलनिधिरकलयत कालानलम् ।

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अन्तःपुरेऽपि विहितागसि वायसे प्रा-
गन्तःपरिस्फुरदपारकृपापयोधिम् ।
विज्ञाय वीरमुदधिर्विततापराधोऽ-
प्यङ्गाय जह्नुसुतया शरणं प्रपेदे ॥ १३ ॥

कल्पान्ततल्पमयमीश खिलीकृतश्चेत्
कालेषु शेषशयन क्व शयिष्यसे त्वम् ।
इत्याहितस्तुतिवचस्यमरस्रवन्त्यां
वीरो मरौ जलनिधेर्विदधे तदस्त्रम् ॥ १४ ॥

तदनु नदीनोऽपि दीनदीनो विबुधनदीसूतिकासदने विनताखिल-जनताहितसंपदि पदि भगवतः प्रणम्य "क्षम्यतामयं ममापराधो माधव । विधीयतां सेतुः" इत्यभिधाय जलनिधिरन्तरधात् ।

अथ दशरथसूनोरञ्चले चञ्चलेक्षो-
रहमहमिकयाद्रीनाहृतान् वानरेन्द्रैः ।
नल इह लघु गृह्णन् विक्षिपन् वा न दृष्टो
जलधिपयसि सेतुः केवलं दृश्यते स्म ॥ १५ ॥

पार्श्वद्वयीघटितसह्यगिरित्रिकूटं
विंसेतुदण्डमुदरे विनिधाय गाढम् ।
काकुत्स्थवन्दनविलम्बकृतापराधं
वाराकरं विधिरपीडयदात्तघोषम् ॥ १६ ॥

अथ कपिकुललीलालंघनालोलसाल-
व्रजपतितफलालीदन्तुराभ्यन्तरेण ।
विभुरतुलयशःश्रीकेतुना सेतुनासौ
परिमिलदतिशैलं प्राप शैलं सुवेलम् ॥ १७ ॥

तदनु परिज्ञाताभिज्ञानविभीषणभाषणश्रवणसमसमयसम्पतितवनौकःपतितति-विधीयमानविविधोपरोधनिरोधनसदयहृदयदाशरथिकृतप्राणधारणाभ्यां प्रत्येक-मावेद्यमानान् मानापहसितवासवानेकपान् वानरानीकपानालोकितुमुत्तुंगं प्रासादशृङ्गमारुह्य बाह्याङ्गणभुवि समुद्ग्रीवं दशग्रीवमुद्वीक्ष्य सुग्रीवस्तत्क्षण-

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जृम्भमाणमहाग्रहः समुत्प्लुत्य निरुपप्लवमपरमिव त्रिकूटकूटं निशाटपतिकिरीटमाहरन् लाघवेन राघवनिकटमाटीकत ।

प्राणा मम प्रणिहितास्तववीर पाणौ
मा साहसेन सहसाहवसंमुखो भूः ।
इत्यालपञ्जयरमासुदृढोपगूढ-
मालिङ्ग्य गाढमधिपो मुमुचे कपीन्द्रम् ॥ १८ ॥

राघवोऽथ महाहवोचितसाहसोपचितैरखिलैरपि हरिबलैररिकुलैकशंकाकरमुपररोध लंकापुरम् ।

लीलाकुलीकृतजगत्स्वथ वीरवाद-
कोलाहलेषु तुमुलेषु हरीश्वराणाम् ।
बन्दीकृतामरनितम्बवतीजनानां
मन्दीबभूवुरकृशाः क्रमशः प्रलापाः ॥ १९ ॥

रणोन्मुखवलीमुखावलिसलीलकोलाहल-
ज्वलच्छ्रवणसञ्ज्वरैरथ रयेण नक्तञ्चरैः ।
अतानि जयदुन्दुभिक्षुभितसिन्धुभिर्बन्धुभि-
र्घनस्तनितसंपदां स्तवकितो घनैर्निस्वनैः ॥ २० ॥

तदनु चतुरङ्गतरशृङ्गगतिशृङ्गहतिभङ्गुररथाङ्गशताङ्गसङ्कुले खरतरकरास्फालनस्फुटितमस्तकहास्तिके लीलाचलबालाहतिखेदनिश्वासदश्वीये पादाभिघातसविषादपादाते नखमुखविमुखीकृतशिलीमुखे शिलाशकलशकलीकृततातनुतनुत्राणे हठपातितविटपावलिविनिवारिततोमरे परिपूरितहरिदष्टकमहाट्टहासपरिच्यावितपट्टसे साहङ्कारहुङ्कारविस्मयपरप्रवधे गुरुतरभुजपरिघलघुशातितपरिघातने महत्यायोधने शाखाचरनिशाचरयोः प्रतायमाने समराभिमुखवीरावधीरणधीराशयतारासुतावस्कन्दितस्यन्दनसंक्रन्दनशासनसमीरितसमीरशनमयशरपञ्जरबन्धनवैधुर्यविधूननयुद्धविहङ्गमपुङ्गवगारुतमारुतपरिष्वङ्गपुलकुरितसङ्गरालुषङ्गेषु प्लवङ्गेषु, करतलसमानसानुना पवमानसूनुना कोपाधिकताम्राक्षे धूम्राक्षे परिक्षिप्ते द्विपक्षकुलकम्पनेऽप्यकम्पने सरभसलम्भितालम्भने निखिलजनदेवान्तके देवान्तके च प्रापितान्तके श्रुतिकटुवचसि त्रिशिरसि च समुद्वर्त्तितशिरसि निरन्तराकृष्टधनुर्यष्टिकाविसृष्टसायकनिकुम्भे निकुम्भे च परिष्वक्तरम्भाकुचकुम्भे समरारम्भजृम्भमाणजम्भारिविमतभङ्गदेन च अङ्गदेन शताङ्गायोजितशतोष्ट्रे च दन्तदंष्ट्रे च निष्ठुर-

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मुष्टिपतननिष्पिष्टे तृणीकृतपुरान्तके नरान्तके च संग्रामकृतान्तपुरान्तिके, घोरतरपरिघातनघातितवैरिसङ्घे प्रजङ्घे च कराहतिजडीकृतजङ्घे संख्याभिमुखशूरजनहृदयशूलशीलेन नीलेन च समस्तजगदेकलघुहस्ते प्रहस्ते च निरस्ते निस्तन्द्रकदनादरे महोदरे च विदारितोदरे सादरसंग्राममहाग्रहव्यग्रीकृतेन सुग्रीवेण च दम्भोलकरसंस्तम्भकरदोस्तम्भे कुम्भे च, समासादितसुरवधूकुचपरिरम्भारम्भे, दारुणशरनिकरदारितहृदयाशररथिना दाशरथिना निशितमुखविशिखचकितरक्षोऽधिपासमयसमुद्बोधिते सुग्रीवनखमुखविदीर्णशूर्पनखासाधर्म्यतया शोणितार्णःपरिपूर्णनिजाभ्यर्णे कुम्भकर्णे च विदीर्णे जाम्बवदनुनीतहनुमदविलम्बोपनीतमहौषधिवेगमहिमव्यपोहितपैतामहमहास्त्रविहितमोहानपि महोत्साहान् वानरवीरान् मायामयराघवजायाहननभवदायामवदायासेन मोहयित्वा निकुम्भिलाकुम्भिन्यां निभृतसम्भृतयज्ञसम्भारे जम्भारिवैरिण्यपि अतिकायकायविस्रंसितमांसलमांससंप्रोणितपतत्रिभिः सौमित्रिपत्रिभिः सूत्रामलोकयात्रापरे समन्ततोऽपि निरन्तकन्दलदमरसुन्दरीजनाक्रन्दरवदन्तुरहरिदन्तरादन्तःपुरान्निष्क्रम्य निसर्गपरुषसांराविणो रावणो राघवमभिबुभूषुराहव इव भुवमभिजगाहे ।

विंशत्यर्धकठोरकार्मुकहठाकृष्टस्फुरन्मुष्टिके
वर्षत्याशुगवर्षमाशरपतौ हर्षादमर्षादपि ।
जानीमोऽभिमुखे निपत्य निहतान्वीरान्वरीतुं हरीन्
पर्याप्ता न बभूवुराहवमुखे स्वर्वारवामभ्रुवः ॥ २१ ॥

समसमयावकृष्टदशकार्मुकयन्त्रगल-
न्निशितशिलीमुखक्षतवलीमुखसन्ततिकः ।
अधिसमरं क्षणादनभिलक्षितलक्षितया
परमजनिष्ट सोऽयमपराह्णपृषद्गणः ॥ २२ ॥

तदनु च कथावशेषमशेषमपि हरिबलमवलोक्य रोषणो विभीषणः प्रोणयन् दाशरथिमाशरपतिसारथिमप्रतिमरथमप्रतिमरयभङ्गदया गदया निर्दयं मर्दयामास ।

रक्षःपतिस्तदनु शक्तिमकुण्ठशक्तिं
चिक्षेप वक्षसि शिलाकठिनेऽनुजस्य ।
मध्ये भवन् विनतवत्सलतैकसीमा
रामानुजो बत मुमोह तयापविद्धः ॥ २३ ॥

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आकर्णकृष्टधनुषं दशकण्ठमग्रे
मोहाकुलं च सहजं मुहुरोचमाणः ।
कोपेन शोकरभसेन च दुर्निरोचो
वीरोऽथ वीरकरुणाविव लक्ष्यते स्म ॥ २४ ॥

सौमित्रिवक्षसि पपात सुरारिशक्ति-
र्वीरस्य रूढ़मभवद्धृदि शोकशल्यम् ।
विद्धेऽथ तत्र विभुरेष बभूव चित्रं
नीरन्ध्रनिस्सरदमन्दतरास्त्रदण्डः ॥ २५ ॥

अवलम्ब्य धैर्यमवधीर्य दीनतां
विभुना कृतप्रतिकृतं चिकीर्षुणा ।
विबुधाहितं युधि शरैर्विमोहितं
विदधेऽपनीतमपरत्र सारथिः ॥ २६ ॥

जिघ्रन्नोषधिमज्जनासुतसमानीतामसौ लक्ष्मणो
यावज्जीवति यावदेव च विभुर्गाढं तमालिङ्गति ।
तावत्पङ्क्तिमुखः क्षणाद्रणमुखे विष्फारितज्यालता-
टङ्कारध्वनिधिक्कृतार्णवरवस्थेमाऽवतस्थेतराम् ॥ २७ ॥

तदनु च दशस्यन्दननन्दनोऽपि मातलिसमानीतसंक्रन्दनस्यन्दनमलङ्कुर्वन्नहङ्कुर्वदभियातिगर्वनिर्वापणोद्दण्डं कुण्डलयति स्म कोदण्डम् ।

आकर्णं परिकृष्य कार्मुकमसावङ्गाय रक्षःपते-
रम्भोजासनशासनेन कवचं दुर्भेदमालोचयन् ।
आयुष्याक्षरपङ्क्तिकामिव मृजन्नस्याष्टकाभ्यन्तरे
दम्भोलप्रतिमानमुच्चदुदयज्ज्योतिर्गणान्मार्गणान् ॥ २८ ॥

तदनु च तत्ताटशानां विभीषणोपदेशानामनुस्मरन् अन्तःपरिणमदर्दिनाददीनमुखो दशमुखो भृशमखिद्यत । तत्क्षणेन कथंचिदवलम्ब्य धैर्यं युगविपर्ययार्थमिव रोषोषर्बुधेन प्रज्वलन्नस्त्रप्रत्यस्त्रप्रयोगवित्रस्तसमस्तभुवनं प्रस्तावयति स्म विस्मयविस्तारकमतिदारुणमनन्योदाहरणं रणम् ।

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अम्भोधेरिव बुद्बुदावलिरहो धारामुचा वार्मुचा
सन्नद्धेन रघूद्वहेन शतशो नाराचधाराकिरा ।
अर्धोदित्वरनिष्ठुरोक्तिरसकृत्तत्रापि तत्ताटशो
सद्यो हन्त समुद्ययौ दशमुखीकृत्यात्प्रभोरक्रमात् ॥ २९ ॥

तदनु च वैरिवधाय विबुधाधिपसारथिबोधितो दाशरथिः सन्धाय वैधात्रमस्त्रं निर्जरारेरुरसि ससर्ज ।

दम्भोलिर्भवति स्म यत्र भिदुरो जम्भारिमुक्तः स्वयं
चक्रन्नक्रमते स्म विप्लुटतरं त्रैविक्रमं यत्र च ।
क्षिप्रं वक्षसि रक्षसामधिपतेस्तस्मिन्नपस्तद्विधे-
रस्त्रं सोऽप्यवनावमुष्य च शिरःश्रेणीषु गृध्रावलिः ॥ ३० ॥

पुनरुज्जीवनाशङ्कातरलं दिविषद्बलम् ।
हतेऽपि रावणे नैव क्षणं पुष्पाण्यवाकिरत् ॥ ३१ ॥
कचभरनहनं पुलोमजायां कतिचिदहान्यपगर्भकं यथा स्यात् ।
विभुशिरसि तथा सुधाशनाः स्वस्तरुकुसुमान्यथ हर्षतोऽभ्यषिञ्चत् ॥३२॥

तदनु च उपश्रुत्य पत्यपायमत्याकुलमतिः अमन्दोदितशोकभारा मन्दोदरी शातोदरी जनशतपरिवारिता नयनयुगलविगलदविरलास्रा विललाप ।

नक्तञ्चरेन्द्र बहुधा वसुधासुतायां
नक्तन्दिवं विदधतो भवतोऽनुरागम् ।
युक्तं किमेवमवनीं जननीममुष्या
व्यक्तं विधाय शयितुं सुदृढोपगूढाम् ॥ ३३ ॥

स्वर्वन्दीजनधूतचामरमरुत्पोतापनीतश्रम-
स्तल्पे कल्पकपुष्पकल्पितमहाशिल्पे शयानः पुरा ।
रक्षोराज ! कथंनु गृध्रपटलीपक्षानिलावीजितः
शेषे कीशचमूविमुक्तपरुषग्रावाकुले भूतले ॥ ३४ ॥

विद्धो दशास्यो विशिखैर्मयेति

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गर्वायसे राघव ! किं वृथैव ।
चित्ते वसत्येव ममैष तत्ते
मामप्यहत्वा कथमिष्टसिद्धिः ॥ ३५ ॥

इति बहुविधं कुररीमिव चिरमुररीकृतरोदनां चेतनाचेतनापहवेदनावतीं प्रजावतीमाश्वासयन् विश्वाधिकदयानिधेर्दाशरथेरनुज्ञया विज्ञानभूषणो विभीषणो निखिलमपि समग्रमग्रजन्मनः कर्तव्यं कर्म निर्वर्तयन् तत्कालप्रवर्तितप्रशस्तालङ्कारां प्रविश्य लङ्कापुरीं तत्क्षणावर्तितराज्याभिषेकः सविशेषविनीतवेषः पुनरपि समाजगाम ।

पूर्वं प्रतिश्रुतपुलस्त्यजसूनुराज्य-
साम्राज्यदानमुदितेन विभीषणेन ।
कोटीरकोटिकुसुमार्पितपादमूलो
मेने विभुः स्वमृणतो महतो विमुक्तम् ॥ ३६ ॥

द्विषा रुद्धामिद्धामनिलसखशुद्धां प्रियतमां
विधायाङ्के पङ्केरुहदशमशङ्केन मनसा ।
विमानं कौबेरं वियति वलमानं सफलयन्
कपिव्रातोपेतो नगरमुपयातो रघुपतिः ॥ ३७ ॥

संश्लिष्यन् भरतं पदाग्रविनतं शत्रुघ्नमप्यादरा-
द्भ्रातॄणामविशेषतः सविनयं मौलौ वितन्वन् पदे ।
सर्वानप्यनुरञ्जयन् पुरजनान् साम्राज्यसिंहासने
वीरोऽसौ विहिताभिषेचनविधिर्विश्वं ररक्षाक्षतम् ॥ ३८ ॥

इति

दन्तिद्योतिदिवाप्रदीपाङ्कसत्यमङ्गलरत्नखेटदीक्षितनयस्य
कामाक्षीगर्भसम्भवस्य श्रीमदर्धनारीश्वरगुरुचरणसहजितालब्धविद्यावैशद्यस्य
श्रीराजचूडामणिदीक्षितस्य
कृतिषु एकदिवससंदृब्धा
युद्धकाण्डचम्पूः
सम्पूर्णा ॥

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Some Difficult Vedic Words

II

समोकाः

(28) स यो वृषा वृष्णेभिः समोका महो दिवः पृथिव्याश्च सम्राट् ।
सतीनसत्वा हव्योभरेषु मरुत्वान्नो भवन्विन्द्र जूती ॥ १।१००।१

यः वृषा वृष्णेभिः वृष्णेः वृषवलैः मरुद्भिः समोकाः एकस्थानवासी यश्च महः महतः दिवः पृथिव्याश्च सम्राट् यस्य सत्वानः योधाः मरुतः सतीनाः सत्यशौर्याः यश्च भरेषु संग्रामेषु हव्यः स मरुत्वान् इन्द्रः नः अस्माकम् ऊतये कल्याणाय भवतु ।

The Maruts are Indra's soldiers, his warriors. सतीन is सत्य and not water as the Nighantu says. Indra and the Maruts live in mid-air.

(29) स मज्मना जनिम मानुषाणाममर्त्येन नाम्नाति प्रससे ।
स द्युम्नेन स श्रवसोत राया स वीर्येण नृतमः समोकाः ॥ ६।१८।७

मज्मना—श्रवसा—वीर्येण । द्युम्नेन=राया । जनिम=जनिमानि=कृत्यानि । अति प्र ससे surpassed. सृ reduplicated becomes ससृ+ए=ससे. नृतम—the greatest warrior. वीर्येण समोकाः—Indra and heroism are convertible terms. वीर्य does not exist apart from Indra.

(30) विश्ववेदसो रयिभिः समोकसः संमिश्लासस्तविषीभिः ॥ १।६४।१०

The Maruts who possess universal wealth (विश्वं वेदः धनं येषां ते) are co-inhabitants with wealth and inseparably united with strength तविषी=strength. संमिश्लाः—united wholly with.

(31) यमीं हा सवयसा सपर्यतः समाने योना मिथुना समोकसा ।
दिवा न नक्तं पलितो युवाजनि पुरू चरन्नजरो मानुषा युगा ॥ १।१४४।४

यम् ईम् एतम् अग्निं सवयसा समानवयस्कौ मिथुना सहजाते समानम् ओकः जन्मस्थानं ययोः ते हा द्वे द्यावापृथिव्यौ दिवा इव नक्तं समाने योनौ सपर्यतः परिचरतः स पलितः शुक्लवर्णः अजरः जरारहितः युवा अग्निः पुरूणि मानुषाणि युगानि चरन् अजनि ॥

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Heaven and Earth are twins, born of the same womb (मिथुना = समोकसा).

समाने योनौ सपर्यतः—the two tend him in the same womb. The two have one common womb in which Agni is conceived and where he grows.

दिवा न नक्तं—they tend him day and night.

पुरू चरन् मानुषा युगा—Agni's work of illumination outlasts any number of human generations. Men may come and men may go, but Agni like the Brook pursues his work without ceasing.

(32) ते मायिनो ममिरे सुप्रचेतसो जामी सयोनी मिथुना समोकसा ॥ १।१५८।४

मायिनः देवा ते द्यावापृथिव्यौ ममिरे—the gods, performers of marvels, measured the two.

जामी—two sisters.

सयोनी—मिथुना—समोकसा—born of the same womb. So in १।१४४।४ समाने योना may be the same as सयोनी। समाने योना वर्तमाने—living in the same womb.

सु + प्रचेतसः—exceedingly clever.

(33) यदिन्द्रेण सरथं याथो अश्विना यद्वा वायुना भवथः समोकसा।
यदादित्यैर्भिरृभुभिः सजोषसा यद्वा विष्णोर्विक्रमणेषु तिष्ठथः ॥ ८।८।१२

Whether, Oh Asvins, you are travelling in the same chariot with Indra, or are dwelling in the same house or nest with Vayu, or are in the company of Adityas and the Ribhus, or are accompanying Vishnu in his strides. सजोषसा and समोकसा seem to have the same sense viz. in company with, together.

(34] इन्द्राग्नी वृत्रहत्येषु सत्पती मिथो हिन्वाना तन्वा समोकसा।
अन्तरिक्षं महया पप्रुरोजसा सोमो धृतश्रीर्महिमानमीरयन् ॥ १०॥६५।२

वृत्रहत्येषु मिथः इतरेतरं हिन्वानौ प्रेरयन्तौ सत्पती समोकसौ एकीभूतौ स्वकीयं महिमानम् इरयन् विस्तारयन् धृतश्रीः सोमः एते सर्वे देवाः तन्वा महि महत् अन्तरिक्षम् ओजसा बलेन आपप्रुः।

Every one of these can physically fill the whole sky. समोकसा perhaps stands for Heaven and Earth. धृतश्रीः—having the beauty, the hue of ghee.

(35) परिक्षिता पितरा पूर्वजावरी ऋतस्य योना क्षयतः समोकसा।
द्यावापृथिवी वरुणाय सव्रते धृतवत्पयो महिषाय पिन्वतः ॥ १०।६५।७

परितः सर्वत्र क्षयन्त्यौ पितरौ मातापितरौ पूर्वजावरी पूर्वजे समोकसौ ऋतस्य योनौ क्षयतः। सव्रते व्रतानि पालयन्त्यौ द्यावापृथिव्यौ महिषाय महिषसदृशाय वरुणाय घृतवत् पयः उदकं पिन्वतः।

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परिचितौ—Heaven and Earth rule everywhere. पितरौ—Dyaus is father, Earth is mother. पूर्वजावरी—born before the gods. वरी is a useless affix ; पूर्वजे would be enough. ऋतस्य योना—May be the same as समाने योना। ऋतस्य योनौ चयतः may be the sense of सयोनी and समोकसा। ऋत is the highest entity which pervades the universe. सव्रते—Heaven and Earth administer the laws of Varuna and produce water by his order. घृतवत्—full of water. घृत and पयः both mean water. The adjective is useless.

दानौकसम्

(36) अस्मा इदु सप्तिमिव श्रवस्येन्द्रायार्कं जुह्वा समञ्जे।
वीरं दानौकसं वन्दध्यै पुरां गूर्तश्रवसं दर्माणम् ॥ १।६१।५

अस्मै इत् एव इन्द्राय श्रवस्या श्रवस्यया धनेच्छया जुह्वा जुह्वपावेण अर्कं हविः समञ्जे अर्पयामि। वीरं दानम् ओकः यस्य तं गूर्तं दत्तं श्रवः धनं येन पुरां दर्माणं दारयितारम् इन्द्रं वन्दध्यै वन्दितुं सज्जोऽस्मि।

सप्तिमिव should be construed with वीरं। Indra is as brave as a war-horse. दानौकसं—Indra is never more happy than when making gifts. अर्कं—is a particular kind of Rik but here it seems to mean an offering preceded by such a Rik. वन्दध्यै—seems almost equal to वन्दे।

ओक्यः

(37) अग्रे गो राजाप्यस्तविष्यते विमानो अह्नां भुवनेष्वर्पितः।
हरिर्घृतस्नुः सुदृशीको अर्णवो ज्योतीरथः पवते राय ओक्यः ॥ ८।८६।४५

अग्रे गच्छतीति अग्रेगः राजा आप्यः अद्भिः मिश्रितः अह्नां विमानः भुवनेषु अर्पितः हरिः पीतवर्णः घृतस्नुः घृतेन स्नातः इव सुदृशीकः दर्शनीयः ज्योतिः सूर्यः रथः यस्य सः रायः अर्णवः ओक्यः तविष्यते पवते च।

आप्यः—आपिः—a friend ? तविष्यते—grows strong. अह्नां विमानः—Soma creates days like the sun. भुवनेषु अर्पितः—he is presented to the worlds like the sun घृतस्नुः—yellow like ghee. ज्योतीरथः—he rides the sun. अर्णवः—ओक्यः—a store house.

The पदपाठ is राये ; in that case, राये पवते would be the constructtion. ओक्यः—Soma who is the home of Indra.

(38) इन्द्र ओक्यं दिधिषन्त धीतयो देवाँ अच्छा न धीतयः ॥ १।१३२।५

Prayers make their home in Indra as they do in the gods.

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दिधिषन्त—धारयन्ति। देवान् अच्छा=देवेषु। धीतयः—may mean wealth also. Indra is the storehouse of wealth.

(39) आ त्वा सुतास इन्दवो मदा य इन्द्र गिर्वणः।
आपो नु वज्रिन्नन्वोक्यं सरः पृणन्ति शूर राधसे ॥ ८।४९।३

हे गिर्वणः शूर वज्रिन् इन्द्र ये इन्दवः मदाः सुताः ते ओक्यं त्वाम् राधसे अनु आपृणन्ति नु यथा आपः ओक्यं सरः आपृणन्ति।

गिर्वणः—Oh thou enjoyer of praises.

नु=इव—ननु—verily may be the pada instead of अनु।

As water fills a deep lake, so does Soma fill Indra. Both Indra and the lake are storehouses.

(40) ते जानत स्वमोक्यं सं वत्सासो न मातृभिः।
मिथो नसन्त जामिभिः ॥ ८।७२।१४

ते सोमाः स्वम् ओक्यं कलशं जानते। नः यथा वत्साः मातृभिः गोभिः संनसन्ते तथा ते सोमाः कलशे स्वितामिः अद्भिः संनसन्ते। ताः आपः सोमानां जामयः भार्याः।

Soma-juice rushes towards its destination, viz., the big pot which contains water. As calves join their mother cows, so Somas join their wives and become united with them.

Two ideas are rather mixed up. Calves seek the company of the mother cows, but Soma seeks the company of his wives.

(41) इमं बिभर्मि सुकृतं ते अङ्कुशं येना रुजासि मघवन् शफारुजः।
अस्मिन् सु ते सवने अस्त्वोक्यं सुत इष्टौ मघवन् बोध्याभगः ॥ १०।४४।९

I bear this well-fashioned (सुकृतं) lance (अङ्कुशं) of thine with which thou didst wound those that hurt the hoofs of kine (शफारुजः). Have thy residence in this Soma-extractton (सुते) of ours. Oh Indra be (बोधि=भव) a giver (आभगः) in this distribution of wealth (इष्टौ).

I will relieve thee of thy weapon. Now make thyself at home in this drink ing bout.

आभगः—a distributor. This is what is the Rik means. इष्टौ—धने।

(42) अनु पूर्वाण्योक्या साम्राज्यस्य सश्चिम।
मित्रस्य व्रता वरुणस्य दौर्घश्रुत् ॥ ८।२५।१७

दौर्घश्रुत् यः मित्रः तस्य दौर्घश्रुत् यः वरुणः तस्य व्रतानि वयम् अनुसश्चिम पालयामः। तानि व्रतानि मित्रावरुणयोः साम्राज्यस्य पूर्वाणि पुरातनानि ओक्यानि।

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Mitra and Varuna see and hear far and wide (दीर्घश्रुत्)। All must obey their laws which have been the mainstay of their rule.

ओक्यानि—abodes, mainstays.

(43) सोम रारन्धि नो हृदि गावो न यवसेष्वा।
मर्य इव स्व ओक्ये ॥ १।८१।१३

न यथा गावः यवसेषु आ मध्ये रणन्ति रमन्ते यथा वा मर्यः शूरः स्वे ओक्ये रमते। तथा हे सोम नः अस्माकं हृदि रारन्धि रमस्व।

Oh Soma ! have thy pleasure in our hearts, as cows have their pleasure in the midst of grass or as a brave man has his in his own home.

This home may be his wife or better still the battle field. What can delight his heart better than a battle ? रण् (to take pleasure in) becomes रारण् by reduplication (रारण + धि = रारन्धि).

(44) तुभ्येदिन्द्र स्व ओक्ये सोमं चोदामि पीतये।
एष रारन्तु ते हृदि ॥ ३।४२।८

हे इन्द्र तुभ्य इत् तुभ्यम् एव पीतये स्वे ओक्ये सोमं चोदामि चोदयामि। एष सोमः तव हृदि रारन्तु।

This is thy own home, Oh Indra. And here I offer Soma for thy drink. May it rejoice thy heart.

रण् becomes रारण् by reduplication. रारण् + तु = रारन्तु।

दुरोकम्

(45) अस्य देवस्य संसद्यनीके यं मर्तासः श्येतं जगृभ्रे।
नि यो गृभं पौरुषेयीमुवोच दुरोकमग्निरायवे शुशोच ॥ ७।४।३ ॥

यं मर्ताः श्येतं जगृभ्रे जगृहुः तस्य अस्य देवस्य अग्नेः संसदि अनीके समीपे यः आयुः पौरुषेयीं पुरुषकृतां गृभं ग्रहणं नि उवोच तस्मै आयवे अग्निः दुरोकं दुर्वचं यथा स्यात् तथा शुशोच अज्वलत्।

संसदि—अनीके—समीपे।

श्येतं occurs thrice only in R. V. Twice it is used of Agni and once of mares White may be the meaning.

नि यो etc. if any man speaks of holding Agni as one man does another, then

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दुरोक' etc. Agni blazes unspeakably. One may touch ashy Agni but not when Agni is blazing.

ओक' form वच्—वच, becomes उच and then ओक' दुः + ओक' = दुर्वचम्।

अगिरौकसः

(46) इमे ये ते सु वायो बाह्वोजसोऽन्तर्नदी ते पतयन्त्युक्षणो महो व्राधन्त उक्षणः। धन्वन् चिद्ये अनाशवो जीराश्चिदगिरौकसः। सूर्यस्येव रश्मयो दुर्नियन्तवो हस्तयोर्दुर्नियन्तवः॥ १।१३५।७॥

हे वायो ये इमे ते तव बाह्वोजसः उक्षणः ते महो नदी महत्यौ नद्यौ अन्तः पतयन्ति उड्डयन्ते व्राधन्ते वर्धन्ते च। धन्वन् धन्वनि मरुप्रदेशे चित् अपि ते अनाशवः न शीघ्रगामिनः। जीराः क्षिप्रगामिनः अपि अगिरौकसः गिरां न ओकसः वचनीयाः। यथा सूर्यस्य रश्मयः हस्तेन दुर्नियन्तवः न नियम्यन्ते तथा ते उक्षणः।

बाह्वोजसः = whose strength lies in their arms i. e. legs. Or it may qualify ते।

महो नदी = Heaven and Earth ?

धन्वन् चिद्ये etc. these bulls do not quicken their pace even in hot sandy deserts, though they are quick (जीराः) beyond all description (अ + गिरौकसः)।

धन्वन् चिद्ये अनाशवः is not intelligible.

V. R. RAJVADE.

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Naval Warfare in Ancient India

I

Introduction

India has an extensive sea-board, being bounded on three sides of her borders by the sea. She has a net-work of large and navigable rivers, free from the freezing effects of a severely cold climate. She has also a wealth of forests, abounding in strong timber which might be readily utilised for the construction of ships and boats. These natural advantages—coupled with the steadiness in the direction of the monsoons over the Indian Ocean and China Sea—aided the Hindus to acquire that nautical skill and enterprise for which they were justly famous in the ancient world.

The history of Indian shipping and maritime activities goes back probably to the early times of the Ṛgveda (I, 48, 3 and I, 116, 5). The Jātakas, the Greek and Roman authors, the early Tamil poems as well as a host of archæological discoveries in India and abroad—all go to prove that long before the birth of Christ the Hindus had acquired a fair knowledge of the art of navigation and that they plied their boats not only on the inland rivers but also on the high seas. There were ports and harbours all along the coast-line, such as Tāmralipti, Kāviri-paṭṭanam, Bharukaccha and Surpāraka; and it was practicable to attain to any of them starting from up the Ganges, not only from Campā (Bhagalpur) but even from Benares. The Samudda-vāṇija Jātaka (iv, 159) relates how a settlement of wood-workers, failing to carry out the orders for which pre-payment had been made, made a 'mighty ship' secretly, and emigrated with their families, shipping down the Ganges, by night, and so out to the sea, till they reached a fertile island. The Mahājanaka Jātaka (vi, 34) tells us that prince Mahājanaka set out for Suvaṇṇabhūmi from Campā. And according to the Vinaya (iii, 338) Mahinda travelled by water from Patna to Tāmalitti, and to Ceylon. Not only were coasting voyages round India frequent, but distant over-sea journeys were also carried out with equal boldness and alacrity. The Bāveru-Jātaka indicates "that the Vāṇijas of Western India undertook trading voyages to the shores of the Persian Gulf and of its rivers in the 5th, perhaps even in the 6th century B.C. just as in our

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own days." The author of the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea saw Hindu merchants settled down in the desert island of Socotra off the coast of Africa. Tacitus refers to "some Indians who sailing from India for the purpose of commerce had been driven by storm into Germany." Euxodus speaks of the famished Hindu sailor who piloted the Greeks across the Arabian sea to the Malabar coast.

There were obvious risks attending sea-voyages. Sanskrit and Pāli literature contains innumerable allusions to vessels wrecked on the high seas so much so that we seem to hear across the ages the piteous wailings of souls lost in the ocean. But nothing could daunt the people into passivity. Love of adventure and wealth stimulated them to defy death; and in storm and tempest these early navigators and their comrades learned the art and craft of the sea. They established commercial relations not only with Burma and the islands of the Indian Archipelago on the east but also with Mesopotamia, Arabia, Phœnicia and Egypt on the West. And the same *völkerwanderung*, which had impelled the primitive Aryans to move out of their original home, found expression in the colonial empire which their descendants built up in southern Asia. Ceylon was colonised before the 3rd century B.C., and Burma and Siam not much later. The colonial movement went on apace, and by the 2nd century A.D. Hindu soverignty and Hindu culture dominated almost all the lands and islands, which constitute the Indian Archipelago.

It is not the purpose of the present writer to attempt anything like a history of the art of navigation in ancient India, nor even of the colonial activities of that distant past—however fascinating such a study might be—but to limit himself to the less ambitious subject of navy, meaning thereby ships and vessels employed for military and police purposes.

II

Early traces in literature

That the art of employing boats and ships for military purposes was known and practised in very remote days is testified to by the ancient literature of India. The Ṛgveda retains the echo of a naval expedition, on which Tugra, the Ṛṣi king, commissioned his son Bhujyu. Bhujyu, however, was ship-wrecked on the ocean, "where there is no support, no rest for the foot or the hand," but was rescued by the twin Aśvins in their hundred-oared galley (Ṛv. i. 112, 6;

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116, 3; 117, 14-15; 119, 4; iv. 27, 4; vi. 62, 6). The Mahābhārata relates how the Pāṇḍavas, ingeniously escaping from the 'house of lac' by a subterranean passage, came upon the Ganges and got on board a vessel, which 'was provided with machinery and all kinds of weapons and was capable of defying storms and waves': *sarva-vātasahāṃ nāvaṃ yantra-yuktāṃ patākinīm* (Ādi Parva, ch. 15). Elsewhere in the same work we read how Sahadeva, the youngest of the Pāṇḍava brothers, continued his march of conquest till he reached several islands in the sea (no doubt with the help of ships) and subjugated the Mleccha inhabitants thereof.[1] In the Śānti Parva there is a verse which specifically refers to the navy as one of the *aṅgas* of a complete army [2]. In the Rāmāyaṇa we have a picture of the preparations made by a Niṣāda chief for an impending naval encounter with Bharata. Finding the huge following of Bharata from a distance, the tribal chieftain thus ordered his retinue:

tiṣṭhantu sarvadāśāś ca Gaṅgām anvāśritā nadīm /
balayuktā nadīrakṣā māṃsamūlaphalāśanāḥ //
nāvāṃ śatānāṃ pañcānāṃ kaivartānāṃ śataṃ śataṃ /
sannadhānāṃ tathā yūnāṃ tiṣṭhatv ity abhyacodayat //[3]

Naval warfare was also well-known in the days of Manu, for he had laid it down that boats should be utilised for military purposes when the theatre of hostilities abounded in water (VII, 192). A very much later work, the Yuktikalpataru, specifies a class of boats called *agramandirā* (because they had their cabins towards their prows) as eminently adapted for naval warfare (*raṇe kūle ghanātyaye*).[4]

III

From the 4th Century B.C. to the 7th Century A.D.

So far as our information goes, it was in the time of Candragupta Maurya that the first real attempt to build up a royal navy of any magnitude was made. Megasthenes states that Candragupta's war-office was divided into six boards, of which the first was "associated with the Chief Naval Superintendent". The fact that a commi-

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1 Sabhā Parva, ch. 31, vv. 66-8.

2 Rathā nāgā hayāś caiva pādātāś caiva Pāṇḍava /
Viṣṭir nāvaś crāś civa deśikā iti cāṣṭamam // Ch. 59. v. 41.

3 Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa, ch. 84, vv, 7-8.

2 Yuktikalpataru (Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 1), p. 228.

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ttee of five members was appointed to co-operate with the admiral of the fleet probably indicates that the number of war-boats maintained by the Maurya emperor was not altogether insignificant. The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭalya (Bk. II, ch. 28), in agreement with Megasthenes, speaks of an official called Nāvadhyakṣa or the Superintendent of ships. This officer had manifold duties to perform. For instance, he examined "the accounts relating to navigation, not only on oceans and mouths of rivers but also on lakes, natural or artificial, and rivers in the vicinity of sthānīya and other fortified cities". He was required to maintain the customs of commercial ports (*paṇyapattana-cāritra*) and the regulation of the port superintendent (*pattanādhyakṣa nibandha*); he was also enjoined to show "fatherly consideration" to vessels in distress, and to allow to pass on half toll (*śulka*), or exempt altogether, merchandise damaged by water. In addition to these functions, he had to provide state ferries for the fording of all rivers in the kingdom, for which a graduated system of tolls was laid down and realised. It has been contended that the Nāvadhyakṣa of Kauṭalya, whose duties thus appear to be mainly civil and commercial in character, cannot correspond to the "Naval Superintendent" of Megasthenes. In the first place, it is to be clearly understood that the functions assigned by Kauṭalya to other *adhyakṣas* of this category, such as *aśvādhyakṣa*, *hastyādhyakṣa*, *rathādhyakṣa* etc., partake of the same nature; and in fact throughout the whole section on Adhyakṣa-pracāra Kauṭalya deals with the duties of officers as they were, or as they should be, in times of internal tranquillity and external peace. In the second place, it may be pointed out that Megasthenes' admiral, like the Nāvadhyakṣa of Kauṭalya, had certain civil functions to perform—functions relating to the letting out of ships on hire for the transport both of passengers and merchandise (Strabo, XV, 1, 46). Lastly, it should be noted that Kauṭalya does not altogether shut out of sight the military aspect of Nāvadhyakṣa's functions. In one place he says: "*Hiṃsrikā nirghātayet, amitra-viṣayātigāḥ paṇyapattanacāritropaghātikāś ca.* Hiṃsrikāḥ mean pirate ships, and the Nāvadhyakṣa had to see that they were pursued and destroyed whenever they were found. The same regulation applied to ships and boats of an enemy's country when they crossed its territorial limits[1], and also to vessels which violated the

1. Dr. Shamasastry takes '*amitra-visayātigāḥ*' to mean "vessels which were bound for the country of an enemy". (Kauṭ. trans.,

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customs and rules enforced in port towns. Now the pursuit and destruction of pirate vessels as also of ships belonging to the enemy's country could only have been adequately effected by war galleys belonging to the state, and as this duty devolved on the Nāvadhyakṣa, it cannot be reasonably held that he was a purely civil official. In fact, like the Aśvādhyakṣa, Hastyadhyakṣa and Rathādhyakṣa who were concerned with horses, elephants and chariots used both for war and peace, the Nāvadhyakṣa was as much concerned with armed vessels as with state boats which were used for peaceful traffic.

The Maurya navy created by Candragupta probably continued to the end of Aśoka's reign. We learn from the XIIIth Rock Edict of Aśoka that the emperor maintained diplomatic relations not only with Ceylon (Tāmraparṇi) but with the Hellenistic monarchies of Syria, Egypt, Cyrene, Macedonia and Epirus. We agree with Dr. V. A. Smith when he states that diplomatic relations with such distant powers presupposes the existence of a "sea-going fleet as well as an army". [1]

With the dissolution of the Maurya empire probably fell the great navy which the genius of Candraguta and his successors had reared up. But the naval traditions which the Mauryas had built up were kept alive in at least some of the kingdoms which sprang up on the ruins of their empire. This is evident from certain pieces of Andhra or Śātavāhana coins, belonging to the reign of Pulumāyi and bearing the figure of a two-masted sailing ship.[2] These 'ship'

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p. 153). Pandit Ganapati Sastri (vol. I, p. 308) suggests the same interpretation : *amitra-visayātigāḥ śatrudeśayāyināḥ*". This is probably not quite correct, for *atiga* means 'going beyond limits'. The meaning suggested by these learned scholars would have been all right if we had *abhigāḥ* instead of *atigāḥ*.

1 Edicts of Aśoka, Introd., p. viii.

2 In his article in Z. D. M. G. (1903, p. 613) as well as in his Early History (4th Ed., p. 223) V. A. Smith refers these coins with the 'ship' type to the reign of Yajña Śrī. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri in his 'Political History of Ancient India' does the same. But Prof. Rapson, who has made a special study of Andhra coinage, remarks that on the solitary specimen on which the traces of the coin-legend admit of any probable restoration "the inscr. appears to be intended for *Siri-pu* (*lumā*) *visa* (No. 95, p. 22 ; Pl. V.). This restoration is

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coins probably suggest that Pulumāyi was accompanied in some of his compaigns by a fleet of war-boats, and they were issued to commemorate a naval victory over the people who inhabited Toṇḍa-maṇḍala region, in which the coins were found. This inference will be considerably strengthened if we remember the fact that the coast-region in question was inhabited in ancient times by a people who were known to Tāmil literature as the Tiraiyar (lit. sea-people).

In the succeeding centuries, the Coromandel coast appears to have been converted into a naval base by the Pallavas of southern India. That the Pallavas maintained a naval force may be inferred, firstly, from the 'ship' type coins, which have been attributed, though doubtfully, to them, and secondly, from the Kaśākūḍi Plates, which tell us that king Narasiṃhavaman of this dynasty conquered Laṅkā or Ceylon. The conquest of an island situated far into the sea could only have been effected with the help of a fleet of ships.

Naval warfare was not altogether unknown in Gupta India. In the Allahabad Praśasti, Hariṣeṇa states that Samudragupta's suzerainty was accepted, along with others, "by the people of Siṃhala and all other dwellers in islands".[1] It is not unlikely that this statement of the royal penegyrist merely makes a covert allusion to the embassy sent by Meghavanna (Meghavarṇa), the Buddhist king of Ceylon ; but if it may be taken more literally, we may well credit Samudragupta with the possession of a naval force. The Aphasaḍ inscr. probably refers to a naval victory won by Mahāsena Gupta over the contemporary Kāmarūpa monarch, Susthitavarman. "The mighty force of Mahāsena Gupta", says the epigraph, "marked with the honour of victory in war over the illustrious Susthitavarman, (and) white as a full-blown jasmine-flower or water-lily, or as a pure necklace of pearls pounded into little bits (?), is still constantly sung on the banks of the river Lohitya, the surfaces of which are (so) cool, by the Siddhas in pairs, when they wake up after sleeping in the shade of the betel plants that are in full bloom".[2] The Deo-Baraṇārk inscription refers to the "victorious camp" of Jīvita Gupta II as "invincible

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not altogether satisfactory ; but there is no doubt about the first syllable of the name *Pu-*, and, as the next syllable may well be *-lu-*, it is almost certain that the coin was struck by Pulumāyi" (Catalogue of the Indian Coins, Introd. ixxxi-ixxxii).

1 C. I. I., vol. III, p. 14.

1 C. I. I., vol. III, p. 206.

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through (its) equipment of great ships and elephants and horses and foot-soliders".[1]

In the seventh century A. D. king Harṣa of Kanauj must have possessed a certain number of war-boats which accompanied him in his distant expeditions. His inscriptions always refer to his victorious camp as "furnished with ships, elephants and horses": '*mahānau-hastya-śva-jaya-skandhāvārāt*'. At about the same time, the Cālukya princes of the South appear to have maintained a considerable naval force. In the Nilguṇḍa Plates of Vikramāditya VI, it is stated that king Maṅgaliśa of the western Cālukya dynasty fitted out a grand fleet, which captured the island of Revatī. The epigraph runs as follows :

sarva-dvīpākramaṇa-mahaso yasya nau-setu-bandhair ullaṃghy
ābdhiṃ vyadhita pṛtanā Revatī-dvīpa-lopam.[2]

From the Aihole inscription we learn that with a fleet of hundred fighting vessels Pulakeśin II attacked Puri, which was the mistress-of the sea, and reduced it to submission.[3] The Keṇḍur Plates of Kīrtivarman II tells us that Pulakeśin's grandson, Vinayāditya, sailed out to Ceylon, humbled its king and compelled him to pay tribute.[4]

IV

Navy and naval operations in Bengal

History is oftener than not the creation of geographical environments. And the geography of India has very greatly influenced and modified her naval enterprise. Naval endeavours could be possible only in regions where the sea provides opportunities for harbourage, or in lands which are washed by large and navigable rivers. And accordingly we find that in three widely separated regions of India, viz., Bengal, the Indus valley, and the extreme south of the Deccan peninsula called Tāmiḷakaṃ or Tāmiḷagaṃ, naval power was developed to a greater extent than elsewhere. It is these regions that shine conspi-

1 C. I. I., vol. III, p. 217 2 Ep. Ind., XII, p. 151.

3 Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in his Early History of the Deccan suggests that this Puri was probably the capital of the Maurya king of Koṅkan and afterwards of the Śilāhāras (3rd ed.), p. 88. f. n.

4 Ep. Ind., vol. IX, p. 205.

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cuously in the naval history of ancient India. We propose to deal with each of these in succession.

Skirted by the sea and washed by the Ganges and the Brahmaputra with their many tributaries and distributaries, Bengal appears to have early attained to fame for naval and maritime activities. The Mahāvaṃsa and other Buddhistic works tell us how, as early as 550 B. C., Prince Vijaya of Bengal with his 700 followers achieved the conquest and colonisation of Ceylon, and gave to the island the name of Siṃhala after that of his dynasty. In the time of Kālidāsa, the people of Bengal appear to have been widely famous for their nautical resources, for in his Raghuvaṃśa the poet refers to them as follows :

> Vaṅgān utkhāya tarasā netā nausādhanodyatān /
> nicakhāna jayastambhān gaṅgāsroto'ntareṣu saḥ //.[1]

Epigraphic evidence indicates that harbours and dockyards had come into existence as early as the 6th century A. D. A copper-plate grant of Dharmāditya (dated 531 A. D.) refers to a *nāvātā-kṣeṇī* or ship-building harbour,[2] though we do not know where it was located. Another grant of the same monarch (dated c. 567 A.D.) speaks of *nau-daṇḍaka* or ' ship's mast'. Later on the Pālas of Bengal appear to have utilised this nautical aptitude of the people and built up a regular fleet for fighting purposes. In the Khālimpur Copper-plate of Dharmapāladeva, the royal camp at Pāṭalīputra is described as follows :

'Sa khalu Bhāgīrathī-patha-pravarttamāna-nānāvidha-nauvāṭaka-sampādita-setubandha-nihita-śaila-śikhara-śreṇī-vibhramāt'.[3]

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1 Raghuvaṃśa. IV, 36.

2 As Dr. Hoernle suggests, *nāvātā-kṣeṇī* is a compound of *nau ātā kṣeṇī*. Kṣeṇī is evidently a modification of *Kṣayaṇa*, 'harbour', with a feminine termination. *Ātā* means the frame of a door, and here in conjunction with *nau* must mean a ship's frame. "Nau here should be translated by the word 'ship' and not 'boat'. Boat-making in this region requires very little frame-work and no harbour (dockyard) for boats are made on the banks of rivers anywhere. Frames and dockyards are only necessary for large vessels and ships". Ind. Ant., vol., XIX, p. 198.

3 Ep. Ind., vol. I, p. 249 ; II, 25-26; Cf. also Ep. Ind., vol., XIV, pp. 326-7, ll. 24-6.

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"Now this royal camp of victory, pitched at Pāṭalīputra, where the manifold fleets of boats proceeding on the path of the Bhāgīrathī make it seem as if a series of mountain tops had been sunk to build another causeway (for Rāma's passage)". The terms *nau-vāṭa* and *nau-vāṭaka*, which occur in this as well as in many other inscriptions of this period, undoubtedly refer to the war-ships of the Pāla kings. The admiral in command of the royal navy was called *Naukādhyakṣa* and his functions were probably akin to those performed by the Nāvadhyakṣa of Kauṭalya. There is enough evidence to show that the royal navy under the Pālas was an efficient instrument of offensive and defensive warfare. When the Pāla empire was being shattered by rebellions and insurrections on every side, it was "with a strong navy" that Vaidyadeva, the minister of Kumārapāla (a. c. 1097 A. D.), "restored peace to the whole empire."[1] The Kamauli Grant credits this Vaidyadeva with a naval victory in southern Vaṅga, near the mouths of the Ganges. Mr. R. D. Banerji suggests that this naval encounter probably took place with Anantavarman, king of Utkala and Kaliṅga.[2] The Kamauli Grant describes the battle as follows:

> Yasy-ānuttara-vaṅga-saṅgara-jaye n a u v ā ṭ a-hīhīrava-
> trastair ddikkaribhiś-ca yan-na calitaṃ cen-nāsti tad-gamya-bhuḥ /
> Kiñ-c-otpātu kake-nipāta-patana-protsarpitaiḥ śīkarair-
> ākāśe sthiratā kṛtā yadi bhavet syān-niṣkalaṅkaḥ śaśī //[3].

The naval power of Bengal long outlived the collapse of the Pāla dynasty; and the Candras, the Varmans and the Senas inherited not merely the dominions but also the naval traditions of their predecessors. The *Naukādhyakṣa* was substituted by the *Nau-vyāpṛtaka* or *Nau-bala-vyāpṛtaka*,[4] but that was all. In all important respects the navy appears to have continued on its old efficient basis, and the Deopārā inscription states that king Vijayasena sent it forward on a conquering expedition "up the whole course of the Ganges," *pāścātya-cakra-jaya-keliṣu yasya yāvad-Gaṅgā-pravāham anudhāvati nau-vitāne*'[5].

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1 Rāmacarita by Sandhyākara Nandī, Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. III, no. 1, p. 15.

2 The Pālas of Bengal, M. A. S. B., vol. V, no. 3, p. 101.

3 Ep. Ind., vol. II, p. 351, v. II.

4 Ibid., vol. XII, p. 40 ll. 33-4; p. 139, 1, 20; p. 9. etc.

5 Ep. Ind., vol. I, pp. 305 ff; Inscriptions of Bengal, vol. III. by Nanigopal Mazumdar, p. 48; v. 22.

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Bengal's reputation as a naval power continued even during the Muhammadan period. Hussain Shah (1498-1520), the most prominent of the independent Pathan rulers of Bengal, maintained a powerful fleet, with which he once invaded Assam [1]. Pratāpāditya is also credited with a fleet of seven hundred fighting vessels, equipped with all the instruments of war [2]. Sayesta Khan, the Nawab of Bengal, is stated to have gathered a numerous fleet of armed galleys to check the depradations of the Arakan pirates, both Maugh and Feringi.

While dealing with Bengal, it will not be improper, we hope, to cast a cursory glance at the part played by the neighbouring kingdom of Kāmarūpa in the naval history of the ancient Hindus. Like Bengal, the territory occupied by this kingdom is intersected by numerous rivers. Nor was there any dearth of material for the creation of a naval force. The forests had abundant hard wood, with which war-boats could be made without difficulty, while the common people, born and bred up in a riparian plain, were naturally adepts in the art of plying boats. We have already seen how the evidence of the Aphasaḍ inscription probably indicates that king Susthitavarman of Kāmarūpa fought a naval battle with the later Gupta monarch Mahāsena Gupta on the waters of the Lohitya (Brahmaputra) river. The Nidhānpur copper-plates state that Bhāskaravarman, king of Kāmarūpa, was in "possession of splendid ships" in addition to elephants horses and foot-soldiers [3]. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang gives the number of Bhāskaravarman's ships as 30,000, and further adds that with this numerous fleet he followed emperor Harṣa in his triumphal progress from Kie-shu-ho-ki-lo (Kajughira, modern Kankjol, i. e. Rajmahal, according to Cunningham) to the imperial city of Kanauj [4]. In the naval victory that Vaidyadeva won in Southern Bengal, the Kāmarūpa fleet probably co-operated with that of the Pālas, for, according to the Kamauli Grant, Vaidyadeva had, previous to that conflict, defeated Tiṅgyadeva of Assam and had obtained the

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1 Blockman's Koch Bihar and Assam, J. A. S. B., 1872, pt. I. No. I.

2 Sir Jadunath Sarkar's article in the Prabāsī, Āśvin, 1326 B.S., p. 552.

3 Ep. Ind., vol. XII, p. 76.

4 Beal's Life of Hiuen Tsiang, p. 172.

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kingdom for himself [1]. Even in the later middle ages, the Hindu chiefs of Kāmarūpa continued to rely on their navy as an indispensable weapon of defence and offence. The Padishah-namah, a work of the 17th century, highly speaks of the skill and bravery of the Assamese naval troops.

V

In the Punjab and Sindh

The Punjab and Sindh, enjoying the same physiographical advantages as Bengal, were destined to play a remarkable part in the naval history of ancient India. Sindh is not only watered by the Indus and her many affluents but is also skirted by the sea. The Punjab is so called because she is washed by five rivers. Moreover, in ancient times extensive timber forests grew in those regions[2]—forests which enabled Alexander to construct the famous flotilla which sailed down the Indus under the command of Nearchos.

Possessed of these natural advantages, the people of the Punjab and Sindh appear to have early acquired a 'knack' for naval and maritime activities. Arrian informs us that the Xathroi (Kṣātri), an autonomous tribe living on the Indus, supplied Alexander, during his return voyage, with thirty-oared galleys and transport vessels, which were all built by them.[3] The Bactrian and Indian coins of Antimachus with their types of 'Poseidon' and 'Victory' probably refer to a naval triumph. "It is difficult to explain the allusion" says Prof. Rapson, "except on the supposition that this king had won a victory on one of the great Indian rivers—the Indus or the Jhelum"[4]. This will show that even before the birth of Christ the navy had come to be looked upon as an instrument of warfare in this region.

Even before Alexander's invasion of India, the nautical habits of the people of the Indus basin had led them to the practice of piracy on the high seas. Issuing in their "keels" from their country about the mouth of the Indus, they were sea-wolves, who captured what they could afloat, and carried fire and sword into the countries

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1 Ep. Ind., vol. II, p. 351, vv. 13-4.

2 Arrian says: "In the neighbouring mountains was abundance of timber fit for building ships". India and its invasion by Alexander, p. 216,

3 Ibid., p. 156.

4 Cambridge History of India, vol. I, p. 547.

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they visited. They were the 'Vikings' of ancient India, and the great Persian monarchy was the worst sufferer from their depradations. Strabo and Arrian inform us that, in order to protect their cities against piratical attacks, the Persians made the Tigris entirely inaccessible to navigation. The course of the stream was obstructed by masses of stone, which Alexander, on his return journey from India, caused to be removed for the furtherance of commercial intercourse. That the Persians built no city of any note upon the sea-coast was due to this dread of Indian pirates, and not to any religious motive as Robertson supposed.[1]

For many centuries after Alexander's invasion, these hardy seamen of the Indus basin appear to have clung to piracy as a means of livelihood. In the days of Alberuni they were notorious for "their robberies on sea in ships called bīra"[2]; and the Muhammadan historians tell us that the first Islamic invasion of India in the 8th century A. D. was brought about by a piratical inroad committed by the Meds and certain other inhabitants of Debal and the Indus mouths. For example, Al-Balādhūri states that when al-Hajjāj was the governor of Iraq, "the king of the island of Rubies (Ceylon) sent to al-Hajjāj some women who were born in his country as Moslems, their fathers, who had been merchants, having died. He wanted to court favour with al-Hajjāj by sending them back. But the ship on which they were sailing was attacked by some of the Meds of ad-Daibul in barks (bawārij), and was captured with all that was in it". When tidings of this mishap reached al-Hajjāj, he sent envoys to Dāhir asking him to set the women free. Dāhir replied : "Pirates, over whom I have no control, captured". The reply was not considered satisfactory by the governor of Iraq, and he sent the first Muslim army across the frontiers to punish the Sindhians. The expedition failed, and two Arab generals were successively defeated and killed. But al-Hajjāj was a man of iron resolve, and his first failure merely strengthened his determination to conquer and punish the miscreants. He organised a fresh expedition on a very much larger scale than before and placed it under the command of his nephew, Muhammad bin Qasim. Thus came about the first Islamic invasion of India.[3]

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1 Strabo, Geography XVI, 1 ; Arrian VII. 7 ; Elliot, History of India, vol. I, pp. 512 f. ; Robertson's Disquisition, p. 160.

2 Vol. I, p. 208.

3 Futuh-al-Buldān, trans. by Clark Murgotten, pp. 215, 216.

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The people of the Indus region not only practised piracy, which testifies to their nautical pluck and skill, they also fought—and this is more important from our standpoint—several naval battles with their Muhammadan foes on the Indus or her tributaries. We have it on the authority of Al-Balādhūri that Dāhir's son Hullīshāh waged a naval war with Al-Junaid at Batīhāt-ash-sharki. "Hullishah was taken prisoner, his ship having missed the way".[1] Several centuries later the Indus was the scene of another naval encounter between the Jats and Sultan Mahmud. According to Tabakat-i-Ākbari of Nizamuddin Ahmed, the last expedition of Sultan Mahmud was directed against the Jats of the Salt Ranges, "who had molested his army on its return march from Somnāth (1025 A.D.). To wreak vengeance on the Jats, Mahmud led a large force towards Multan, "and when he arrived there he ordered fourteen hundred boats to be built, each of which was armed with three firm iron pikes, projecting one from the prow and two from the sides, so that everything which came in contact with them would infallibly be destroyed. In each boat were twenty archers, with bows and arrows, grenades and naphtha ; and in this way he proceeded to attack the Jats, who having intelligence of the armament sent their families into the islands and prepared themselves for the conflict. They launched, according to some, four, and according to others, eight thousand boats, manned and armed, ready to engage the Muhammadans. Both fleets met and a desperate conflict ensued. Every boat of the Jats that approached the Muslim fleet was broken and overturned. Thus most of the Jats were drowned, and those who were not destroyed were put to the sword".[2] An inglorious conclusion—a sad epitaph, indeed. In naval tactics, as in many other branches of military science, the Hindus proved themselves unequal to their Muhammadan antagonists. The Jāt fleet, though numerically superior, was vastly inferior to that of their rivals in its organisation, in the type of its men-of-war, and probably also in the art and science of maritime warfare.

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1 Futuh-al-Buldān, trans. by Clark Murgotten, p. 226.

2 Elliot, History of India, vol. II, p. 478; Cf. also Brigg's, *Ferishta*, vol. I, pp. 81-2.

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VI

In the Tamil land

If Bengal and the Indus valley played an important rôle in naval affairs, it was in the extreme south of the Deccan Peninsula that naval power reached its climax. The impress that the people of the Tamil states have left on the naval history of the ancient Hindus is the deepest and most indelible.

Nature has endowed the southern promontory with greater facilities for maritime activities than either the Gangetic or the Indus delta. Girt by the sea, having dense forests in the interior, with hospitable coast-lines extending for a thousand miles, it was pre-eminently adapted for the development of seamanship and navigation.

And seamanship and navigation developed in these regions probably earlier than anywhere else in India. For centuries before the birth of Christ pearl-diving and sea-fishery constituted an important source of livelihood with the Tāmilians. It was most probably from Tāmilakaṃ or Tāmiḷagaṃ that during the reign of Solomon (about 1000 B.C.) "once in every three years, the ships of Tarshish came, bringing gold and silver, ivory, apes and peacocks". The names of the last two objects, *Kapim* and *Tukim*, as found in the Hebrew Bible, are the same as those used in Tamil, i.e. *Kavi* and *Thoki*.[1] In the first century B.C. 'king Pandion' or the Pāṇḍya monarch is recorded to have sent two embassies to Augustus Cæsar, desiring to become his friend and ally. One of these reached Augustus when he was at Terracona in the 18th year after the death of Julius Cæsar, and another reached him six years later. The early Tamil authors refer to a class of merchants called *mā-śattuvāṇigam*, corresponding probably to the sanskrit *mahā-sārtha-vaṇik* and indicating the existence of a class of merchants whose profession it was to trade overseas. The Periplus records that contemporary Tamil navigators plied two kinds of vessels for sea-borne trade. The first variety, known as the *Sangara*, including vessels both large and small, were intended for coasting voyages as far as the Damirica. The second kind, called *Colandia*, were very large in size and were meant for voyages to the Ganges and the Chryse.[2]

While the eastern and the southern coasts, generally speaking,

1 Tamils 1800 years ago, p. 31.

2 The Periplus, tr. by Schoff, p. 46.

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were the home of these sea-divers and carriers of maritime commerce, the western or the Mālabār coast bred a class of sturdy sea-rovers who made piracy a hereditary profession with them. The numerous creeks and rocky islands along the coast, which in the time of Sivaji and Angria were converted into Maratha naval strongholds, afforded in early times secure harbourage to the cruisers of the Konkan pirates. Pliny, who wrote his Natural History in 77 A.D., has placed it on record that companies of archers had to be carried on board merchant ships, sailing out to the Tamil land, "because the Indian seas are infested by pirates." While speaking about Muziris, an important emporium in the Cera territory, he states that "it is not a desirable place of call, pirates being in the neighbourhood who occupy a place called Nitrias....."[1] The author of the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, who made a coastal voyage round India, noticed the prevalence of piracy along the Mālābar sea-board."[2] Ptolemy, in his Geography (150 A.D.), goes so far as to describe the Konkan coast extending from the neighbourhood of Simylla to an emporium called Nitra, as *Ariāke Andron Peiraton*, i.e. Ariāke of the Pirates.[3] Many centuries later the Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, observed Mālabār pirates cruising round the coasts and roving the seas. He writes :

"And you must know that from the kingdom of Melibur, and from another near it called Gozurat, there go forth every year more than a hundred corsair vessels on cruize. These pirates take with them their wives and children, and stay out the whole summer. Their method is to join in fleet of 20 or 30 of these pirate vessels together, and then they form what they call a sea cordon, that is, they drop off till there is an interval of five or six miles between ship and ship, so that they cover something like a hundred miles of sea, and no merchant ship can escape them. When one corsair sights a vessel, a signal is made by fire or smoke, and then the whole of them make for this, and seize (sic) the merchants and plunder them. After they have plundered them they let them go, saying 'Go along with you and get more gain, and that mayhap will fall to us also. But now the merchants are aware of this, and go so well manned and armed and with such great ship, that they don't fear the corsairs. Still mishaps do befall them at times."[4]

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1 McCrindle, Ancient India, p. 111.
2 The Periplus, p. 44. 3 McCrindle's Ptolemy, p. 45.
4 Yule's Marco Polo (2nd. ed.), vol. II, p. 378. It may be noted,

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The facts cited above will amply testify to the sea-faring and adventurous character of the early people of Tāmilakaṃ. It was because of the nautical resources of their people, that the Tāmil kings had to face no difficulty in creating a navy for offensive and defensive warfare. The sculptor found excellent granite lying about him, and he shaped it into a solid pillar of strength.

We are not sure whether the Pāṇḍya kings (whose territory was approximately equivalent to modern Madura and Tinnevelley districts, with part of Trichinopoly and sometimes also Travancore) ever maintained any fighting squadron. Extreme paucity of materials hinders any inference on this point. But that the Ceras and the Colas came to recognise the importance of naval forces, even before the beginning of the Christian era, there is enough evidence to prove. The Tamil poet, Madalan, refers to an unnamed predecessor of the famous Cenkuttuvan as "he who conquered the Kadambu in the middle of the sea."[1] According to early Tamil authors, Cenkuttuvan, who was contemporary more or less to Nedum-celiyan, the Pāṇḍya, and Nedmudi Killi Coḷa, the grandson of Karikāla, as well as to Gajabāhu I of Ceylon, led an expedition to the Gangetic valley, and in that expedition "the journey from the Cera kingdom to Orissa was performed by sea." At the end of one poem, Cenkuttuvan is praised as the king "who with his army crossed the sea and reached the banks of the Ganges."[2] Another achievement of the Cera navy under Cenkuttuvan was the victory it won over the Yavanas at sea. The Padiṟṟuppattu relates that the victory was so complete and overwhelming that Cenkuttuvan was able to capture his enemies, and punish them by tying their hands behind their back, pouring oil or ghee on their heads.[3] There are other allusions to the naval strength of Cenkuttuvan, and, as Dr. Krishnaswami Iyanger points out, the one compliment the poets never miss an opportunity

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as Yule remarks, that it was in this neighbourhood that Ibn Batuta fell into the hands of pirates and was "stripped to the very drawers." The Mālābār coast retained its piratical character up to the days of Clive and Watson.

1 Tamils 1800 years ago, p. 95. According to Prof. Krishnaswami Iyanger this conqueror of Kadambu was no other than the father of Cenkuttuvan.—Beginnings of South Indian History, p. 151.

2 Tamils 1800 years ago, p. 95.

3 Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture.

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of bestowing upon the Red-cera is that the "Chera fleet sailed on the waters of that littoral with sense of dominion and security."[1] Dr. Aiyangar has also sought to prove that the Cera navy under Cenkuttuvan and his father made a strenuous attempt to check piracy on the western or Konkan coast.[2]

After Cenkuttuvan, the power of the Cera kingdom appears to have been eclipsed by that of the Pāṇḍyas, and an almost impenetrable veil is cast over Cera naval operations till we come down to the palmy days of the Coḷa empire. From epigraphic evidence we learn that in the twelfth year of the reign of Rājarāja I, the Cera fleet fought with the Coḷa navy in the 'Roads of Kāṇḍalūr', but was routed. The Cera navy was no doubt weakened by this defeat. But it survived the shock, and in the time of Rājādhirāja (1042-52 A.D.) it again fought its Coḷa rival at Kāṇḍalūr-śālai, "on the never-decreasing ocean." This second venture was attended with no better fate than the first. The Cera fleet was again defeated and probably destroyed.[3]

It was under the Coḷas that the naval power of the Tamil land attained its culminating point. Very early in their history, the Coḷa kings appear to have organised a fleet of ships, which enabled their troops to cross over the ocean and invade the neighbouring island of

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1 Beginnings of South Indian History, p. 151.

2 Beginnings of South Indian History, pp. 229-33. Here we do not quite agree with Dr. Aiyangar in the interpretation he has put upon Ptolemy's statement. Ptolemy, as we have already seen, characterises the Konkan coast as piratical—Ariāke Andron Peiraton. Dr. Aiyangar argues that though Ptolemy describes the coast as piratical, he does not actually mention pirates in the neighbourhood; and from this he concludes that there were no pirates on the Mālābār coast in the time of Ptolemy, i. e. about 150 A.D. We must confess we cannot see eye to eye with Prof. Aiyangar on this point. It is true Ptolemy has no mention of pirates on the Konkan coast, but this is only to be expected, since his work is almost exclusively geographical, and "whatever information on points of history we obtain from it is more from inference than direct statement." Moreover, if there were no pirates on the western coast, Ptolemy's characterisation becomes wholly meaningless.

3 South Indian Inscriptions, vol. II, p. 241, n. i; vol. III, pt. I, pp. 4-6.

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Ceylon. According to the Mahāvaṃśa, there were in the first century immediately preceding Christ as many as six Tamil usurpers from the country of 'Soli' (Coḷa).[1] The first historical or semi-historical Coḷa monarch Karikāla is represented by the early Tamil poets as having invaded Ceylon and carried off three thousand captives to work on the embankments of the Kāverī river, which he constructed.[2] In the fourth decade of the tenth century, Parantaka I repeated the naval expedition to Ceylon and probably won some advantage over its king. It has already been stated that Rājarāja I defeated the Cera navy at Kāṇḍalūr. Ukkal (Viṣṇu temple) Tamil inscription, belonging to the 29th year of Rājarājadeva, credits this monarch with having subjugated not merely Ceylon, but "twelve thousand ancient islands of the sea".[3] According to Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, the islands referred to "are apparently the islands along the coast in the Arabian sea".[4]

Emboldened by these naval triumphs, the Coḷa fleet under Rājendra Gaṅgaikoṇḍacoḷa pushed out on longer and bolder enterprises. From inscription No. 84 of Cannapaṭṇa in the Bangalore District, it appears that by the thirteenth year of his reign, Rājendra equipped and floated a grand armada, which sailing "across the middle of the sea lashing with waves", conquered extensive districts in the Far East. These over-sea conquests of Rājendra have been recorded in many of his inscriptions. For instance, an epigraph inscribed on the Rājarājeśvara Temple at Tanjavur and belonging to the nineteenth year of his reign, states that he "despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea" against Saṃgrāmavijayottuṅgavarman, the king of Kaḍāram, captured him with all his fighting elephants, and took away from him his huge treasures. He then took possession of Śrī Vijaya in the midst of which was set the 'vidyādhara-toraṇa', the triumphal arch with its great doors set with jewels and trap-doors;

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1 Uppam, Mahāvaṃsa, vol. I, p. 218.

2 E. H. I. (4th ed.), p. 481. 3 Kielhorn's List, no. 719.

4 Journal of Indian History, vol. II, p. 319. The large Leyden Grant of the year 1006 A.D. mentions Māravijayottuṅgavarman, son of Cūḍāmaṇivarman, king of Kaṭāha or Kiḍāram, as a vassal of Rājarāja (South Indian Inscr., vol. II, pt. i, p. 106). Whether this *adhipati* of Śrī Vijaya, ruling over Kaṭāha, actually paid homage to the Coḷa monarch or merely maintained a sort of alliance with him, is not apparent. The latter alternative seems probable.

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Pannai, 'watered by the river'; Malai-yūr of ancient fame having for its ramparts many hills; Māyiruḍiṅgam, surrounded by the deep sea as a moat; Ilaṅgā-śogam, undaunted in fierce battles; Māppappālam, surrounded by deep waters let in for defence; Mevilimbaṅgam with well defended fortress walls; Vaḷaippandūru, possessing both cultivated land and jungle; Talaittakkolam, praised by great men versed in the sciences; Madammāliṅgam, firm in great and fierce battles; Ilāmurideśam, defended by a strong fleet of ships; Mānakkavāram, whose flower-gardens resembled the girdle of the nymph of the southern ocean; and Kaḍāram, defended in great strength by the sea which touches it.

The identification of place-names mentioned in the above list is beset with great difficulties, and, moreover, may not be quite relevent in the present paper. We would only refer to a valuable contribution on the subject which appeared in the pages of the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* as far back as 1918. The writer of the article is M. Coedes. His conclusions, based on a close and intimate acquaintance with the history of the Far East, stand generally on a surer foundation than those arrived at by Indian scholars. It appears from his article that the countries referred to as having been subjugated by Rājendracoḷa covered the Nikobar Islands, the isthmus of Kra, Malay Peninsula and Sumatra. This was the climax of Coḷa naval achievement. It gave Rājendra one of the great strategic keys of the world. The Bay of Bengal was, so to say, converted into a Coḷa lake, and a strong impetus was given to that movement of colonisation which had been ushered in many centuries earlier.

The naval supremacy of the Coḷas continued under the immediate successors of Rājendra. Rājādhirāja, as stated above, not only defeated and destroyed the Cera fleet at Kāṇḍalūr but sent out his squadrons on an expedition against Ceylon. The evidence of the Kaliṅgattuparaṇi indicates that Kulottuṅgacoḷadeva (1070-1118 A.D.) repeated the naval venture of Rājendra and reconquered Kaḍāram.[1]

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1 The evidence of the Kaliṅgattuparaṇi is corroborated by the small Leyden Grant, in which an unnamed king of Kaḍāram is referred to as a vassal of Kulottuṅga; South Ind. Inscr., vol. II, pt. 106, fn.; Dr. Burgess's Archæological Survey of Southern India, vol. IV, p. 224, text lines 5f., and p. 225, text line 10.

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It was probably the eastern or Coromandel coast that formed the chief vantage-ground of Coḷa naval power. The western or Konkan coast, though it did not witness an equal development of naval power in ancient times, can yet boast of a somewhat chequered naval history of its own. We cannot agree with Dr. S. N. Sen when he states that 'no evidence can be found to support the view that any attempt had been made in the past to establish a naval power" on the Konkan coast.[1] As we have already seen, this region formed the naval base of the Ceras. Epigraphic evidence goes to show that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas maintained some sort of a fleet in Konkan waters. The Kaḍaba plates of Śaka 735 refer to Mahārājādhirāja Dhārāvarṣa as having sent "lines of his prancing horsemen" "in boats" to an unspecified island and vanquished the hostile kings.[2] A few centuries later the Kādambas appear to have established a naval power near about Goa. An inscription from Narendra (a village in the Dhārwār tāluka of the Dhārwār district, Bombay) describes Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Caṭṭayadeva (Ṣaṣṭhadeva I) and his successors Jayakeśin and Permaḍideva as 'lords of the ocean'; and further adds that Caṭṭayadeva "built a bridge with lines of ships reaching as far as Laṅkā and claimed tribute among grim barbarians", and, again "duly proceeded on his ships over the sea in sport, along with (the whole population of) Gove, with great pomp as far as the land of Surāṣṭra."[3]

PRITHWIS CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI

1 Military System of the Marathas, p. 173.
2 Ind. Ant., XII, p. 18. 3 Ep. Ind., XIII. pp. 309f.

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Origin of Buddhism*

IV

Gautama has repulsed the assaults of Māra, and has become the master of the Tree of Knowledge; but these are merely the preliminaries of his task. It still remains for him to enter by one final decisive effort of meditation into possession of the absolute truth, into that illumination which will make him the Buddha. This second phase of the scene is not less instructive than the first. The saint reaches that stage progressively as a result of ecstatic concentration. He has to pass through the four stages of meditation, by which from deep and calm reflection he at last rises to that absolute indifference, superior to all sentiments of pleasure and pain, and in fact, beyond all consciousness. This is the self-same road which leads to the salvation of all. Now, properly speaking, this theory no more appertains to Buddhism than the legendary adventure which it embellishes. Not only all this mystic construction is familiar to the Yoga, but by the conception of the soul which the theory takes for granted, it is as logical in that system as it is illogical in Buddhism which denies the soul. The traditional Buddhist formula preserve some expressions which have their true significance only in the language of the Yoga; and in fact, it is from the Yoga that Buddhism has received its four kinds of contemplation or dhyānas.

You know and you may have even seen here many representations of those strange ascetics, who, calm and absorbed, their body almost naked and covered with ashes, and living on coarse food got from private charity, draw the curiosity of the traveller and the veneration of the mob on the Indian road side. They are sometimes designated by the name of Yogin. It is rather an incorrect mode of speaking. Really, however, the Yogins are the followers of the Yoga system. But what is the Yoga ?.

The Hindus categorise and classify in excess. Thus, from the period of the organisation of their literature, they have stereotyped the forms of six systems of philosophy, to which, in their anxiety to subordinate everything to the Brāhmaṇic organisation they have, in spite of contradictions often irreconcilable, uniformly assigned a "patent"

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* Continued from *I.H.Q.*, p. 544.

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of vedic orthodoxy. By the side of the idealistic pantheism of Pūrvamimāṃsā elaborated by priestly tradition, by the side of its living antithesis Sāṃkhya with its realism and the dulism of its two co-eternal principles, the Yoga has a prominent place in that list, the other system of which I can omit for the present.

It is admittedly towards the 2nd century B. C. that the Yoga received its classic form in the sūtras or Rules of Patañjali. Essentially it is a method of concentration and of ecstasy, though it does not disdain physical means. It prescribes, for example, studied modes of sitting of which we can sometimes distinguish eighty-four: and we are assured by a well-informed commentator that this number is merely a charitable reduction made by the god Śiva of the original 8,400,000 bodily postures. Then, there is the progressive suppression of the respiration, and industrious fixing of the vision with an insistence which leads to hypnotic sleep. The successive teachers outbid each other in multiplying and elaborating these processes. But less complicated at the origin they were sought to serve the purpose of a very pure moral discipline and of a high and refined ideal of contemplation. The Yoga presumes to procure for its followers various miraculous powers, and then, in a higher stage, the gift of perfect indifference with respect to pleasure or pain and that absolute deliverance from re-birth which is the common object of every doctrine in India. The Yoga conceives this deliverance, so to speak, as retraction of the soul in its eternal isolation by which it escapes all contamination of matter and activity. It is exactly the ideal of the Sāṃkhya also; the difference lies only in the respective ways and means—gnosis, for the Sāṃkhya, and for the Yoga, aversion to all earthly things and mystic ecstasy. From old date the two systems appear as one in their theoretical basis; but they are not the less distinct in their first inspiration and in their sources. Really one great distinction separates the two. The Yoga recognises and invokes the intervention of God for whom there is no place at all in the Sāṃkhya. There is accordingly much scope of independence between the two; they could and they *did* yield to different tendencies and had recourse to different combinations. Besides, I think it is agreed on all hands that the definite texts of the two systems bear, for all times, the mark of a prolonged evolution.

By looking for the Yoga within its classic texts it can be quickly perceived that the theory of the four meditations is far from being the only point of contact between it and Buddhism. Truly speaking,

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moral perfection is the only important thing in Buddhism, because it alone can lead to salvation. Why then does it so emphatically claim for the most learned and virtuous of its followers, those prerogatives, marvellous even to the absurd, which resemble so closely the magical powers which the Yoga extols? It is not by accident that by following the example of the Yoga, Buddhism classifies saints in four orders, according as they are more or less advanced in their ways; that on both sides the same metaphor of "bhūmi" or "earth" made prominent by the identity of certain fantastic names is used to mark the stages of religious progress. I shall not, however, enter into detail. What is significant, above all, is the common inspiration which is the very sap of the two doctrines. Both have the same conditions for salvation: absolute detachment, destruction of all desires. So it is not surprising that the eight aṅgas (modes) of the Yoga are reflected in the eight aṅgas of the Buddhistic "ways", the two enumerations, at the same time diverse and similar, culminate in the same final term "Samādhi", concentration or ecstasy. Somewhat abstruse and uncertain in their chronological inferences, though these coincidences are not decisive in any way, at any rate we get here an important hint which it may be useful to try to make it more precise.

V

On account of its ancient process of divisions and sub-divisions the origin of Yoga is lost in the remotest antiquity. It springs from superstitions and mixed practices of magic and asceticism which are invariably developed in all rudimentary religions. From its beginnings up to its scholastic organisation the Yoga has passed through diverse destinies in accordance with the changes of history. Side by side with the Sāṃkhya speculation and the popular cults, it is also associated with that stratum of religious life which, as I have indicated to you just now, issues directly from deep sources but obscured for a long time by the partial tradition of the sacerdotal class and its ritualistic literature it made its appearance later on through the epic chants in the literary documents.

The Yoga occurs in a predominating perspective in the Mahābhārata. You remember the celebrated episode which under the name of the Bhagavadgītā (or Song of the Blessed) has gained an immortal popularity in India and has aroused such an enthusiastic

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admiration in the West. And you also recall the strange setting: the two rival armies stand face to face in the field of battle where they will be engaged in mortal combats. Just at the moment of rushing into the conflict where he is to play the decisive rôle, Arjuna, the hero of the Pāṇḍavas, foreseeing the slaughter of his brethren, cannot overcome his pity, and his arm begins to quiver. Then Kṛṣṇa, the God-hero who has consented to assure him the victory by acting as his charioteer, consoles him and brings him back to the fight. He explains to him that all the apparent slaughters are quite negligible in the eyes of the wise who know that life is indestructible, and in essence one and universal and that it is becoming to the wise to have a transcedental indifference over these miserable contingencies. The doctrine which is taught there with system appears in a more or less developed form in twenty other places of the Mahābhārata; and, in fact, it is the system which inspires and dominates the entire epic at least in its definitive form. It is the Yoga: not the pure and technical Yoga but a Yoga more living, which supports the religion of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa as combined with the cult of Kṛṣṇa; a system which rests on the speculative theories of the Sāṃkhya philosophy but pretends at the same time to absorb the orthodox pantheism by attributing Godhead in the supreme Brahman. Ladies and gentlemen, this is the Viṣṇuvite Yoga of the sect of the Bhāgavatas—a name which through the Bhāgavata-purāṇa has penetrated even our contemporary comedies and has found its way in "le monde oú l' on s'ennuie."

Evidently, this system is struggling amidst diverse and even contradictory inspirations which it tries to gather into a coherent unity. It exalts alternately the power of sacrifice and the virtue of gnosis, the supreme necessity of morality and abstinence, the incomparable results of devotion, the complete resignation, the bhakti towards Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa; it glorifies the practice of sacrifice and repose, it admits the absolute authority of the Sāṃkhya and does not fear to add to the twenty-five categories which form its framework, a twenty-sixth where it inserts, as if the matter fitted perfectly well, the contradictory notion of God transfigured in universal Brahman. Here is a singularly expressive instance of the mentality of the Hindus very little capable of solid concatenation but powerfully intuitive and mystic.

Whatever it may be, the system, very remarkable since it dominated the spirit of the epic, has its two poles in the Viṣṇuism and

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in the Yoga. Side by side, the Buddhist tradition with its succession of sages descending at intervals from heaven to instruct the people of the earth—another form of the idea of Viṣṇuvite Avatāras with its Mahāpuruṣa Cakravartin very akin to Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, and with the scattered traits of the marvellous legend of Gautama, is certainly moving in an atmosphere which we may call Kṛṣṇaite. This cannot be left out of view, though opinions may vary as regards their respective importance, dates and interpretation of facts. More or less altered and deformed a certain Viṣṇuvite heritage floats on the current of Buddhism. Now, the question may be "how" ? and "why" ? . If Buddhism is connected with certain ties with the Yoga, it is the Viṣṇuvite Yoga connected intimately with the general movement of sects and beliefs that gives us the explanation in this respect ; and it is there, evidently, that we must look to.

VI

Buddhism in its simplest form preaches salvation to be acquired by abnegation, by the destruction of concupiscence—that chain which ties man to the miseries of existence. There it is on identical grounds with the Yoga. The Bhagavadgītā again and again extols that impassiveness which is free from all actions and the bitter fruits which actions inevitably carry in rebirths. The two systems readily attribute to knowledge (vidyā) and gnosis (jñāna) an efficacy which is not, truly speaking, in the strict reasoning of either, but which is manifest in the positive power recognised on both sides in Samādhi or total intuition. The two doctrines express the knowledge of the highest truth by the same verb "budh" "to know" which assumed two forms exactly equivalent, "bodhi" and "buddhi." From beginning to end they agree in the same notions and in the same forms of expressions. A blissful but a very vague state of being definitely frees people from transmigration in effect in this life, in fact after death. From both sides it receives the same names "Śānti," and "Nirvāṇa." But Nirvāṇa has been variously interpreted. In my opinion its importance and originality in Buddhism have been made too much of. Etymologically the word has merely the idea of peace and blissfulness. Outside Buddhism, the word occurs only in the Yoga circle. The negative presumption of Buddhism and its theories which deny the soul incline us to believe that it is the Yoga, and not Buddhism, which has invited that fascinating word and introduced it in the

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language of religion. Undoubtedly Buddhism would not have created a term which, in order to harmonise it with its nihilism, it often applies in etymological juggleries to distort its logical interpretation.

The Mahābhārata speaks somewhere of one Ṛṣi Mudgala thus: "Gaining power by means of contemplation and obtaining the supreme Buddhi he reaches an immutable perfection which is called Nirvāṇa". It only remained to substitute "bodhi" for "buddhi", so that the whole thing breathing of the Yoga inspiration might be applied to the Buddha and Buddhism with faultless precision.

It is clear that the god Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa and Master Gautama the teacher are little alike. And it is therefore, all the more remarkable that both are honoured by the same title "bhagavat" "blessed"; and it is certainly not without significance that the name occurs in the religion of the Viṣṇuvite Yoga, the sect of the Bhāgavatas, that is to say, the worshippers of Bhagavat. Speaking theoretically the Buddha is a man; Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa is not only a god but he is the very exposition of Brahman, the universal soul. Still the gulf between the two is not so insuperable as it at first appears; and there are more bridges than one joining the two shores.

It must not be forgotten that the Viṣṇuvite Yoga, leaving out the secondary influences which were brought to bear upon it, results essentially from a fusion of the Yoga founded on the atheism of the Sāṃkhya and the popular devotion to Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa. And this original contradiction re-acted from both sides in opposite directions. As a distinct self-sufficient system the Yoga recognises a god who is however given the name of Īśvara, doubtless abbreviated from the modest title of "Yogeśvara," "the master or the lord of the Yoga." But no active rôle is assigned to him who is defined merely as a superior type of those puruṣas or "spirits" which the Sāṃkhya recognises in infinity. His only function is to help his followers in their religious lives: the devotion and abandonment to Īśvara is the sure and ready means of attaining perfection. Thus says Patañjali: 'He has in him the power of omniscience; not being limited in time he is the master of all principle". Evidently this adventitious god is influenced from opposite directions by two currents occasioned and maintained by original diversities. The theoritical system, of itself, tends to diminish his importance and reduces him to a category less incompatible with its premises. On account of his association with popular religion he has only preserved a timorous

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existence, feeble and attenuated ; from the negative tendencies of the Yoga with which they are fusioned, the Bhāgavatas preserve in their ways of expression, some inequalities and inconsistencies which astonish us at the first sight. The very Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa who receives homages as hyperbolic, sometimes has the simple title of "Yogeśvara" or "Yogīśvara" which is also attributed to persons human or reputed as such, and in any case, of an inferior rank. Even the epithet "bhagavat" is not originally a divine name ; it is the respectful denomination, used in antique expressions, for the religious preceptor. Though ultimately raised to the supreme godship, Kṛṣṇa is at first presented with the traits of a human hero ; and though he receives that title, and, in spite of his apotheosis, it is as a semi-divine master that he appears in the Bhagavadgītā.

Inversely, in Buddhism the stories clash with doctrinal affirmations. Though the Buddha is only a man in theory, the legend repeatedly transforms him into a Being with supernatural powers. He is the Mahāpuruṣa—a title which under the converging action of the Sāṃkhya terminology and the Vedic tradition, is frequently atributed to Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa. It might be as well said of Gautama as of Kṛṣṇa. "If a leaf, a flower, a fruit or a little of water is offered to me in devotion, I welcome the gift of the virtuous man". How many examples there are in Buddhist legends of a poor and insignificant offering which, because it is made to a Buddha, is recompensed by immediate deliverance—a prompt promotion to the supreme dignity of the Buddha : It is just the thing without the word "bhakti", the supreme devotion perhaps closely allied to the word "bhagavat" which in all cases enlivens and penetrates so curiously the cult of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa ; it is the *Praṇidhāna*, that prayer to Īśvara which Patañjali extols and which in a sense scarcely altered is consecrated by the terminology of Buddhism.

The God of the Bhagavatas receives in his turn the characteristic epithet of the Sage of Buddhism. It is under the title of the Buddha as having the perfect knowledge of all things that the superme spirit which, as I pointed out to you, the Yoga of the Epic adds to the twenty-five categories of the Sāṃkhya, is presented on several occasions in opposition to the individual spirit which is still on the road towards light. It is undoubtedly a question of doctrinal expositions which may be relatively late. I shall however presently show that the verb *budh* and its derivatives play such an ancient and significant rôle in Yoga, that this coincidence does not appear to be a negligible thing.

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VII

It is here, in spite of the conclusions to which it leads, that the conditions under which the literary tradition presents itself to us appear unfavourable and confusing: we are not only unable to date precisely the composition of the books which are the sources of our information but we see clearly that they reflect the ideas of different ages. But we must not exaggerate the difficulties to justify the deductions, a little hazy perhaps but not the less certain, which we arrive at.

The affinities are undeniable. Though Buddhism had some slow circumstantial re-actions on the Viṣṇuism and the Yoga, no one will certainly pretend to assert that the latter two sprang from the former. Buddhism is undoubtedly the borrower. But the question may very well be put whether the borrowings are haphazard, accidental or deliberate.

The answer resides in the facts themselves, and particularly in the decisive fact that between the two religious systems separated by so much of divergences and having no idea of mutual connexion, the agreement runs on two parallel lines in doctrines and legends.

As regards legendary embellishments, the more that deification of a master who is human in all respects is inconsistent with the moral tendencies of Buddhism the more it is natural to think that its constituents have been received from outside: (in fact) it is the past reappearing under a new varnish which one has sought to cover up.

Buddhism is not a miraculous religion which spontaneously crystallises traditional myths around its creed. It has not moreover whimsically appropriated extraneous spoils; it does not exactly reproduce or copy, even for the purpose of distinguishing, any of the recountings which constitute its proper foundations. The legends present variants similar in nature and in general significance but quite different in details. The family appearance is apparent, but immediate filiation cannot be admitted; and consequently the theory of accidental borrowings is excluded. And yet such are the doctrines, tendencies and the common denominations as cannot be merely accidental.

Between Buddhism and Viṣṇuism the Yoga supplies the connecting link; this is what gives us the *via media*. As in its scholastic formula it has preserved a perplexing and illogical theistic idea; from

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its association with the popular Viṣṇuism it has also carried into Buddhism its effects—titles, creeds and myths—which are no less strange and logically no less repugnant to the new sect. From the time to which these movements of ideas carry us backward, Viṣṇuism was complete in adapting Kṛṣṇa. However enthusiastic his cult might have been from that time, the souvenir of his supposed human origin prepared the tradition to be re-fastened on to a sage, even more authentic, and more near (in time). The Yoga under the influence of the Sāṃkhya tended to bring on the earth the divine privileges; everything was favourable to make the passage smooth.

VIII

In short, if there had not existed a religion made up of the doctrines of the Yoga, the legends of Viṣṇu and the devotion to Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa worshipped under the name of Bhagavat, Buddhism would not have come into existence, or in any case it would have appeared to us in a different aspect. The sect of the Bhāgavatas satisfies all these postulates. Does it then amount to say that it had necessarily existed before Buddhism, and exactly as it is represented in the Mahābhārata? This is what I never intend to affirm.

We have noticed the connexions but the differences also are not without their significance.

In the great Epic the Bhāgavatas preach a Yoga system which avowedly accepts the dogmas of the Sāṃkhya as a philosophical basis. On the other hand, they rely on brāhmaṇic pantheism, identifying their God Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa with the "ātman", the universal soul of the Upaniṣads. These are the two points in which Buddhism radi cally differs from it.

The most essential dogma of the Sāṃkhya system is the dualism in which the eternal spirit or rather spirits, *puruṣas*, are placed in opposition to the equally eternal *prakṛti*, of the active and sensible reality. The latter is based on a combination in different degrees of the three "guṇas" or qualities—the three elements which are its constituents. Now, *puruṣa*, *prakṛti* and *guṇas*, are all unknown to Buddhism. It admits neither the dualism nor the substantial existence; it even expressly rejects "the doctrine of the reality of effects," that is to say, the Sāṃkhya. If some eminent critics have thought that they have discovered some affinities between the Sāṃkhya and Buddhism, it is because of their not having distinguished, as it is

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necessary, the Sāṃkhya from the Yoga, or because of having concluded rather hastily from some secondary notions and tendencies which govern the entire mentality of the Indian people. Buddhism may use certain expressions and formulas of the Sāṃkhya, and yet, for all that, far from being a direct emanation it shows in its turn an avowed opposition or at any rate an utter independence.

On the other hand, Buddhism teaches an extreme phenomenalism, and accordingly nothing is permanent in its estimation ; it views events as a chain of successions which are not unified by any personality or substance. Its fundamental "dogma" is the "an-ātma." As it ignores the ontologic construction of the Sāṃkhya, does not its emphatic negation of the soul likewise tell against any association with the Vedic brāhmaṇism? It must be remembered that unlike the Bhāgavatas engulfed in orthodoxy, Buddhism denies the authority of the Vedas and is based on a system irrevocably heretic and dissident.

The moral tendencies of the Yoga when transported in a metaphysical domain could easily give rise to the nihilism of Buddhism. By rejecting all egoistic considerations and denying any importance to sensible objects and by the force of repeating always that one should consider them with their cortège of pleasure and pains, as if they are not existent, the human and especially the Hindu mind can easily come to deny all objective existence. Speaking logically, this negation of personality does not well accord with the notions of responsibility and recompense and prolonged punishment through transmigration. Like other popular doctrines it is yet on these notions that Buddhism is founded. One can scarcely imagine that this destructive metaphysic united by Buddhism in such a paradoxical alliance may spring up from any other source than those moral representations transformed in speculative dogmas.

In any case it must be observed that the Yoga system from which Buddhism comes out was not inseparably blended with the Sāṃkhya or the Vedic pantheism. Before the Viṣṇuvite Yoga received its definite formulas transmitted to us by the Epic, Buddhism appears already as an independent lineage ; it corresponds to an epoch or environment where the Yoga and Viṣṇuism already associated were yet in a more fluid state, and if I may say so, more plastic. Its theoretical and legendary variations prove this fact.

I have already told that the Yoga, the Sāṃkhya and the popular cults belong to the same stratum of religious life which is quite different in its origin from the Vedic tradition. These systems

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have only gradually been reunited to it, by the continuous action of the sacerdotal class who after their absorption transformed it into a sovereign instrument for rule. When Buddhism was founded the work, which has blended together in different proportions the diverse floating elements, in the cadre of multitudinous sects, was undoubtedly yet unachieved. In opposition to these syntheses preserved in books, it followed in its own manner the evolution of the Yoga; or better still, it experienced a re-action of independence against the synthesis which was on its way to be effected,and against the brāhmaṇic influence whose work this synthesis was. It is easy to understand how Buddhism could attain an independent growth.

IX

Asceticism has always been held in high estimation in India. It received at an early date a particular organization and was adopted by numerous orthodox and non-orthodox confraternities. In their observances, preferences of rites and ceremonies, or speculative theories, there are often only minute differences. In that country of castes with individual instincts, these endless divisions and subdivisions have facilitated the combination of the most whimsical doctrines; the sacerdotal learning has transmitted to us the standard rules of that religious life. Even in detail these rules coincide with those imposed on the Buddhist mendicant.

The monks were grouped in local communities even before Buddhism; and its originality appears to have consisted in curtailing the macerations and, as one would say, in drawing a line of *via media* between wordly relaxations and the terrible mortifications of the penitent. And here even it came under the inspiration of the Yoga. Among other things, Buddhism is essentially a monastic order evolved out of this moving mêlée.

Thus it is that it unites so much of traditional matter with the great personal influences of its founder, and that its theoretical doctrines are so much involved in legends which by their nature are so foreign to it; nay, it even unites some tendencies which are themselves contradictory. To look there for a system perfectly well-balanced, co-ordinated and logically deducted, coming out of the spontaneous reflexion of one great thinker, would be as absurd as to regard the laws of castes as a juristic system drawn up in the solitude of a cabinet.

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The memory of such a beginning has not faded away without leaving some traces behind. Gautama begins his religious career by going to two masters Ārāḍa Kālāma and Udraka Rāmaputra and asking for instructions. The little that we know of their instructions suffices to understand that they were two Yogins professing the doctrines of the Yoga. We learn from a testimony which after all may have some value that the former preached a Yoga which excluded the theories of the *guṇas* and was therefore already similar to Buddhism by their common opposition to the Sāṃkhya.

Is not it from a persistent recollection of this origin that some two hundred years after the death of the Buddha, the inscriptions of Aśoka, the most ancient Buddhist documents dated with certainty, has called the faithful Buddhists by the names of "Yuta" and "Dharmayuta" (Yukta and Dharmayukta)? In the language of religion "Yoga" is used in the sense of "exertion". Is it merely by chance that the king calls the faithful by a name derived from Yoga as "those who exert themselves", "who devote themselves with exertion to religion"? Under the influence of these very ideas made prominent in the Yoga by the importance which it attributes to "viriya" or "energy", the word *Parakrama* "courage" or "heroism" is with insistence applied by Aśoka to the religious practice. And in the single inscription where the Buddha is expressly alluded to the title of Bhagvat invariably accompanies the mention of the Saint.

The sect of the Jains was at first considered as an offshoot of the nascent Buddhism; but now it passes as anterior to it. It has grown up almost at the same time and very nearly from the same source whence Buddhism has come out; and like Buddhism it converges on the Yoga and has borrowed some inspirations and legendary categories from Kṛṣṇaism. It also resembles Buddhism in several doctrinal formulas and in the characteristic title of its saints. But in spite of all these the divergences are numerous and important. The declaration of the Buddhist faith is expressed in a triple formula; and similar is the case with Jainism; but while the Buddhists take refuge in the Buddha, the Law and the Church, the Jains use the names of truth, wisdom and virtue. Jainism organizes a monastic life, but it greatly exaggerates the importance of austerities, and far from denying the existence of soul, it attributes it to all creatures however humble; its principal theories are also those of the Sāṃkhya.

Thus one can judge as is verified by so many examples how religious divisions easily occur in India and how the logic of dogmas

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occupies very little importance at the outset. In religious and social organisation sects and systems suffer parallel destinies. In both the accidental variations, the local divergences and the flimsy disagreements were often sufficient to multiply divisions : general ideas and original views were rare. Even as regards Buddhism its expansion need not create much illusion as regards its origin.

To conclude, Gautama was a Yogin brought up in the practices of a Yoga system which received its final religious form in the cult of the Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa ; the Bhāgavatas of the Mahābhārata give us a similar type though somewhat more advanced and more definite. The Buddha no doubt preached some particular doctrines ; above all, he wielded a personal influence which was apparently very great. He was inspired by an intense feeling of charity. Founder of an order, he was also a teacher of mankind. Around the monastic fraternity the laity grouped in abundance and they showed a religious ardour which is nowhere more vehement than in India. The futility of mere speculation did not satisfy them; and the two courses—instruction and legend—were adopted in the tradition ; but these two had been already existing side by side when the sect was really constituted; their common sources are lost in the vanishing perspective of antiquity. Hence these two tendencies have received according to circumstances unequal impulses in the lives of different followers and have been nourished by particular predelections. They could unite only because they were contemporary in origin and were already reconciled in a society which produced the Master. Thus it is, thanks to the contribution of the monks with their discipline and of the faithful with their devotion and stories, that they have passed into the new-born religion as a result of necessary adaptations but of the same impulse.

What Buddhism appears to have innovated, amidst its negations tempered by agnosticism, accounts for its success much less than the nobleness of its moral doctrine which it has received from the Hindu tradition. Thus also its success in India though brilliant has been ephemeral. It is perhaps a curious thing which can be cursorily noted that the same cause which compromised Buddhism in the country of its birth also helped it abroad. It repudiated the Vedic orthodoxy ; in India it declined and then was eclipsed by the beliefs which coming out of the same origin and imbued with the same principles could have the support of the brāhmaṇic class of which they accepted the directions and exploited the patronage; on the other hand, it could

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spread more easily abroad because it was more free from the scruples which put the brāhmaṇas on guard against broadcast communication of their doctrines and the contamination of the barbarians; it was less indissolutely tied to the ground.

Whatever it may be, our curiosity naturally turns to the beginnings, often humble and almost always obscure, of memorable creations. Please excuse me for detaining you so long in the windings and obstacles of those ways which are, alas! like those leading to the source of large rivers.*

MANORANJAN ROY

The Riddle of the Pradyota Dynasty

In 1921 Mr. H. D. Bhide contributed an article to the J.B.O.R.S. on the 'Pradyota Dynasty of the Purāṇas,' in which he challenged the generally accepted identification of this dynasty with the Ujjain dynasty of Caṇḍapradyota Mahāsena, extensively referred to in Buddhist literature, Sanskrit dramas and other works and fables. To this, however, there appeared in the same journal a reply from Prof. S. N. Majumdar Sastri. But this reply was rather half-hearted, and it appears that both Mr. Bhide and Mr. Sastri did not go deep into the matter and approach the problem with an open mind. Hitherto, the accepted method of historical criticism has been to check the dynastic lists of the Purāṇas by means of data available from other sources, and not the other way about, and thus in respect of the Pradyota dynasty it has been customary to reject the Purāṇic evidence. The object of the present paper is not to give any kind of evidence precedence over the rest and thus force conclusions, but to discover the realities of Pradyota history after a proper valuation of all sources, and analyse the problem as broadly as possible. I, therefore, intend to discuss the different kinds of evidence separately, so that the reader may hold the balance evenly

* Translation of Senart's *Origines Bouddhiques*, published by Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1907 (Extract from Bibliothèque de vulgarisation du Musée Guimet, t. XXV).

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and form his own estimate of one of the most knotty and elusive problems of ancient Indian history.

Purāṇic evidence

Viṣṇu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas explicitly state that the last Bārhadratha (Ripuñjaya acc. to Viṣṇu, Purañjaya acc. to Brahmāṇḍa) was slain by Sunika (Vṣ) or Śunaka (Bḍ), his amātya, and thus make the Pradyota dynasty an undoubted Magadha dynasty.[1] The dynasties treated of in the Purāṇas from the Bārhadrathas downwards are those which reigned in or dominated Magadha. All other dynasties in Northern India are spoken of only in the aggregate or cursorily.[2] Had it been an Ujjain dynasty, it would have been mentioned as such, and any chance of confusion would have been removed by a clear statement, as in the case of Śiśunāga (vārāṇasyāṃ sutaṃ sthāpya śrayiṣyati girivrajam).

Mr. Jayaswal's contention[3] that the account of the Pradyota dynasty is to be regarded as a foot-note to the Śaiśunāga account is abitrary, because it obiviously starts with the assumption that the Purāṇic Pradyota is no other than Pradyota of Ujjain—a contemporary of Buddha, Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, and with a tacit recognition that the Ujjain dynasty has been included in the Magadha list, because it overshadowed and dominated the Magadha dynasty.[4] This is due to the popular conception of Pradyota as 'Caṇḍa' or terrible, and as 'Mahāsena' or possessed of a large army, and to a passage in the 'Majjhima Nikāya, wherein Ajātaśatru is said to have fortified his capital against the attack of Pradyota.[5]

There is much truth in Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri's statement[6] that in the Purāṇas contemporary kings are sometimes represented as succe-

1 Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 18, n. 7.

2 Ibid., p. X.

3 *JBORS*, Sept., 1915, p. 76, n. 44.

4 *Camb. Hist. of Ind.*, e.g., takes this ground, p. 311.

5 Jacobi's statement (*ZDMG*, vol. 34, p. 188) that Bimbisāra was merely a feudal chief under the supreme rule of king Pajjota naturally gave currency to this conception. But it has been pointed out (*Mahāvagga*, VIII, 1, 23ff.; *SBE*, p. 186, n. 1) that Pradyota addressed Bimbisāra as 'Your Majesty' (*deva*).

6 *Political Hist. of Anc. India*, pp. 51-2.

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ssors and collaterals as lineal descendants. But we have to notice that whereas the earlier dynasties (the Pauravas and Aikṣākas) are treated of less elaborately, the Magadha-dynasties proper, from the Bārhadrathas downwards, are carefully drawn up, and where necessary, contemporary dynasties have been separately and summarily mentioned. Dr. Ray Chaudhuri himself has shown, for example, that the Purāṇic evidence regarding the supersession of the Kaṇvas by the Andhras is reliable, and that Simuka the first Andhra usurped the throne of the last Kaṇva, Suśarman.[1]

Mr. H. K. Deb[2] takes his stand on the testimony of the Matsya Purāṇa and ingeniously suggests that the real meaning in the Mt. account supports the theory that Pradyota became king of Avantī, not of Magadha, after the extinction of the Bārhadrathas. His reading of the relevant passage is that "when the Bārhadrathas will have ceased to exist, as also the Vītihotras, in Avanti Pulika will kill his master and make his own son king." This is challenged by some Purāṇic data. The reading 'Avantiṣu', for example, is found only in Matsya Mss. and that only in the Ānandāśrama edition. Other Mt. editions and Bḍ and Vāyu Mss. generally omit the word 'Avantiṣu', inserting in its place 'Vartiṣu' or 'Avartiṣu' or 'Avarṇiṣu' or 'Abandhuṣu' or 'Abhaviṣyati.'[3] A choice between 'Vartiṣu' and 'Avartiṣu' supplied by a large majority of Bḍ, and Vā Mss. is the most logical. The reading 'Avantiṣu,' if it supports Mr. Deb's theory or otherwise, would have placed the 'Avantis' among the contemporary dynasties mentioned after the Śaiśunāgas. 'Avartiṣu,' connected with the Vītihotras, is also illogical, because the Vītihotras are regarded as contemporary with the dynasties who ruled in Magadha up to the end of the Śaiśunāgas. The reading 'Vartiṣu', therefore, is acceptable.[4] We have to notice, in this connection that the Matsya reading 'Avantiṣu' meaning 'in Avanti' is also out of time with general Purāṇic expressions bearing the same meaning. Thus we have in the dynastic lists 'Madhyadeśe,' 'Girivraje,' 'Rājye,' 'Vaidiśe,' 'Purikāyāṃ,' 'Mekalāyāṃ,' 'Kośalāyāṃ,' 'Padmāvatyāṃ,' 'Kāntipuryāṃ' and 'Mathurāyāṃ.'[5] Moreover it is a significant fact that neither

1 *Pol. Hist. of Anc. Ind.*, pp. 216-9.

2 *Udayana Vatsarāja*, p. 4. 3 Pargiter's *Dynasties*, p. 18, n. 4.

4 Accepted as an alternative to the *A*Mt. account, Vītihotreṣvavantiṣu' by K. P. Jayaswal (*JBORS*, 1915, p. 66, n. 44).

5 Pargiter's *Dynasties*, pp. 10, 14, 45, 49, 51, 52 and 53.

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at the beginning nor at the end of the list does the Matsya preserve the accurate name of the king after whom the dynasty is named, whereas the Viṣṇu not only gives 'circumstantial' details about the overthrow of the last Bārhadratha, but along with Vā, Bḍ, and Bh also uniformly gives the correct name of the dynasty. Thus in the Mt. Mss. we have 'Bālaka' or 'Mālika',[1] whereas Vā, Vṣ, Bḍ, and Bh Mss. uniformly write 'Pradyota,' with slight variations.[2] The Mt. account of the Pradyota dynasty, therefore, is of less account than the fuller accounts in Vā, Vṣ, Bḍ, and Bh.

In *E*Vā the Vītihotras are declared in a summary fashion, according to the total of their years and by name (varṣāgrataḥ pravakṣyāmi nāmataś caiva tān nṛpān).[3] Therefore, while speaking of the early contemporary dynasties after the Śaiśunāgas, the Purāṇas speak of 20 Vītihotras as contemporaneous with the Bārhadrathas, Pradyotas and Śaiśunāgas, the dynasty along with the other ones coming to an end before the rise of the Nanda dynasty, i. e., before Mahāpadma Nanda who was sole monarch, bringing all under his sway (ekacchattrām pṛthivīm anullaṅghita-śāsanaḥ).[4] The Pradyotas, therefore, did not extinguish the Vītihotras of Avanti and usurp their place.

The Pauravas from Adhisīma Kṛṣṇa downwards are 25 kings, of whom Udayana is the 21st. The Aikṣākas from Divākara downwards are 25 kings of whom Prasenajit is the 22nd. The Bārhadrathas from Senajit downwards are 16 kings. Then comes Pradyota the 17th king of Magadha. Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru are the 26th and 27th respectively. If, on the one hand, we have the Buddhist synchronism of Udayana, Prasenajit, Bimbisāra and Pradyota, on the other hand Pradyota, according to the Purāṇas, will be several generations prior to the other three, and Bimbisāra and Ajātśatru will be several generations posterior to Udayana and Prasenajit. The Purāṇas give a much more detailed account of the Magadha dynasties than of the other two dynasties. Hence the Purāṇic account of the Pauravas and Aikṣākas might have been abridged, and therefore the total numbers of the two dynasties might have actually been greater, and accordingly Udayana and Prasenajit might have been, as a matter of fact, later monarchs of their respective dynasties, instead of being the 21st and

1 Pargiter's *Dynasties*, p. 18, n. 14.
2 Ibid., p. 18, ns. 7 and 16, also p. 19, n. 45.
3 Ibid., p. 3.
4 Ibid., p. 25.

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22nd. In that case, they will automatically be placed alongside of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru.

The Garuḍa Purāṇa stops with the Bārhadrathas of Magadha, and it concludes the dynastic account by declaring that after the Bārhadrathas there will be irreligious Śudra kings (adharmiṣṭhāś ca śūdrāś ca bhaviṣyanti nṛpās tataḥ). The implication is that immediately after the Bārhadrathas there will be a dynasty of Śudra kings, and the Pradyotas might have been such a dynasty.[1] Not all the dynasties were of Śudra origin, and the Śaiśunāgas who came immediately afterwards are called in all the Purāṇas,[2] 'rājānaḥ kṣatra-bandhavaḥ'. The silence of the Garuḍa Purāṇa is significant, and it would not have made the sweeping remarks it has done, had the Śaiśunāgas who were the friends of the Kṣattriyas, occupied the throne of Magadha immediately after the Bārhadrathas leaving the Pradyotas to reign in Avanti simultaneously. The inference is therefore possible that after the Bārhadrathas either (i) the Magadha power was eclipsed and overborne by the Pradyotas of Avanti, and naturally there was a period of confusion between the Bārhadrathas and the Śaiśunāgas,[3] or (ii) the Bārhadrathas were immediately succeeded by the Pradyotas on the throne of Magadha.

There are other Purāṇic data, however, which, without specifically referring to the Pradyotas as rulers of Avanti, generally bear out that assumption.

Hp. Mt. and *Bt.* Bh. omit the dynasty altogether.[4] The first two are fairly modern and stop with the Pauravas.[5] The last two are also modern, and Bh gives only the last portion, the Evils of the Kali Age, etc. Hence it is very difficult to appraise the historical value of the 4 Mss., as they do not give any account of the Magadha dynasties.

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1 Pargiter, p. 18, ns. 21 and 22 where Pradyota is called 'nayavarjitaḥ).

2 Ibid., p. 23, n. 49, with the exception of *C*Vā and *J* Mt.

3 That there was an interval between the Bārhadrathas and the Śaiśunāgas is admitted by D. R. Bhandarkar, although on other grounds; and he fills up the gap not by the Pradyotas but by the Vajjis (*Carmichael Lectures*, i, p. 73).

4 Pargiter, p. 18.

5 Ibid., p. xxxii.

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Abc. Mt. omit the first two lines of the Pradyota dynasty, and insert the third line of the dynasty immediately after the Bārhadratha.[1] There is thus, no mention of the murder of the last Bārhadratha, no mention of the Vītihotras and Avantis, and it is simply stated that Sunika will anoint Pradyota by force in the sight of the Kṣattriyas. The construction, however, is faulty, and the omission of the first two lines is probably a clerical error. But the fact that no mention is made of the Vītihotras and Avantis is significant, since Mt. generally is clear on this point.[2]

There is a Bḍ ms. in the Dacca University Library[3] which gives a different reading altogether and omits the name of Pradyota :

Bṛhadrathe tv atīteṣu Vītahotram avantiṣu/
Hitvānte Munikas taṃ vai svāmikaṃ baladarpitaḥ//
Putram anabhiṣicyātha svayaṃ rājyaṃ kariṣyati, etc.

The passage is obscure, but the meaning presumably is that it is not the last Bārhadratha, but a Vītahotra in Avanti who is specifically declared to have been killed by Munika. He is not made the 'amātya' of the last Bārhadratha, and it is simply stated that after the Bārhadrathas Munika killed a Vītahotra king in Avanti and seized power.

Buddhist evidence

References to the Prodyota dynasty in Southern Buddhist literature are few and of a fragmentary nature, although much information may be obtained from references to contemporary events and persons, and as the Pāli canonical literature is of considerable antiquity, even the scrappy information it affords is of great value.

Southern Buddhist literature is uniformly silent about the ancestors of Pradyota, while Purāṇic and later secular literature give different lists altogether. The earliest mention of Pradyota is in the Māhāvagga of the Vinaya,[4] where Pradyota of Avanti is declared to be a contemporary of Seniya Bimbisāra of Magadha in connection with the story of Jīvaka Kumāravaccha. Pradyota displays his choleric temper, and Jīvaka, in fear, takes his flight

1 Pargiter, p. 17, n. 7. 2 Ibid., p. 18, ns. 3 & 4.

3 Ms. No. 215A, dated Ś 1761, fols. 171-4. Other Mss. of the same recension are pouring in.

4 *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 1. 23ff. (*S.B.E.*, XVII, pp. 186 ff.).

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with Pradyota's she-elephant Bhaddavatikā. The story, therefore, regards Pradyota as king of Avanti, as a contemporary of Bimbisāra and hence of Buddha. Nothing is said about Pradyota's conversion to Buddhism or his relations with other contemporary rulers, chiefly Udayana of Kauśāmbī. The story of Jīvaka Kumāravaccha is reminiscent of the traditional elopement of Udayana with Vāsavadattā, Bhaddavatikā being in both cases the '*deux ex machina*'. Here we have one illustration among many of mutual borrowing between Buddhist and secular legends. In the Vinaya texts where references are made to Praśenajit of Kośala, Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru of Magadha, and Udayana of Kauśāmbī, they are always independently regarded as contemporaries of Buddha and converts to his cult, without there being any indication that they were related to one another.[1]

In Majjhima Nikāya[2] we have the historic reference to the relation between Pajjota of Avanti and Ajātaśatru of Magadha, wherein it is stated that while Ānanda was residing at Veluvana in Rājagṛha, the son of the Videha princess was fortifying his capital Rājagṛha for fear of an attack of Pradyota. In another place[3] we get a slightly different account. Kaccāna, a native of Avanti, becomes the chaplain of king Caṇḍapajjota. He invited the Buddha on behalf of the king, and the king was established in the faith. This account not only makes Pradyota a contemporary of Buddha, but also makes him a convert to Buddhism. These and other scattered references have naturally led to the almost unassailable conclusion that as the rulers were contemporaries of Buddha, they themselves were contemporaries of each other. Hence Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar writes that "this point is worth grasping, as this synchronism is the only sheet-anchor in the troubled sea of Indian chronology."[4]

It is in Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Dhammapada[5] that, for the first time in Pāli canonical literature, Caṇḍapajjota of Avanti is brought into direct relation with Udayana of Kauśāmbī. It gives

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1 E.g. Prasenajit: *Mahāvagga* III, 14; Udayana: *Cullavagga* XI, 1, 12-14; Bimbisāra: *Mahāvagga* I, 22; 39; 40; 11, 1; *Cull.* V, 5; VI, 3, 11; VII, 3, 5; Ajāta: *Cull.* VII, 2, 1; VII, 2, 5; XI, 1, 8.

2 P. T. S. (Chalmers), vol. III, part, 1, p. 7.

3 Psalms of the Brethren (P. T. S.), pp. 238-9.

4 *Car. Lec.*, 1918, p. 57.

5 Ed. Normon, P.T.S., vol. I, Part 2, pp. 192ff.

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the historic legend of the wooing and forced marriage of Vāsavadattā, daughter of Caṇḍamahāsena of Avanti, by Udayana Vatsarāja. It is, however, to be noted that in the Dhammapada commentary, although a Buddhist canonical work, no attempt is made to bring these two monarchs into touch with Buddha or his doctrines. Unlike as in the Vinaya texts, they are entirely dissociated from the history of the Buddhist cult, and they are merely declared as contemporaries, in matrimonial and hostile relation with each other, on the basis of old legends. The references to Pradyota and Udayana in the earlier Buddhist texts, with the exception of the reference in the Majj. Nik. to the hostile relations between Ajātaśatru and Pradyota, do not conclusively establish the fact that Udayana and Pradyota were contemporaries of Buddha and received the ordination from him, or that they were strictly contemporary to each other. Udayana, according to the Cullavagga,[1] met Ānanda *after the death of Buddha* and made donations to the community. In the Saṃyutta Nikāya[2] a more explicit statement is made when Pindola teaches him the subject of self-restraint. Pradyota's contemporaneity with Buddha is also open to doubt when it is remembered that nowhere in the earlier Buddhist texts is he brought into direct relation with Buddha, nor is he made, if we except the evidence of the Theragāthā commentary, a convert to the Buddhist cult. Moreover, his period becomes highly doubtful if we take into account Purāṇic, Jaina and literary evidences.

One thing, however, stands out clearly. In early canonical literature there are numerous hints of amorous traits in Udayana's character,[3] and of the choleric and ferocious temper of Pradyota.[4] It is therefore not surprising that "popular fancy should have woven a story that brings two monarchs together in dramatic contrast, narrating the capture of Udayana through Pradyota's stratagem and his subsequent escape with the heart and hand of his captor's daughter as a prize."[5] This explanation will become more forceful when we shall study the relevant references in Northern Buddhist texts and later secular literature.

The testimony of the Jātakas is fragmentary and uncertain, but

1 *Cull.*, XI, 1. 12-14. 2 *Saṃ. Nik.*, 4, 110.
3 *Cull.*, XI, 1, 12-15 ; *Saṃ. Nik.*, 35, 127 ; *Udāna*, 7-10.
4 *Mahā*, V. VIII, 1. 23ff.
5 *Priyadarśikā*, ed. Nariman etc., p. lxv.

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the very scanty evidence offered throws considerable doubt upon the traditional history of Pradyota, specially if we admit that the Jātakas contain very ancient legends, and that "as regards the allusions to political and social conditions they refer for the most part to the state of things that existed in North India in and before Buddha's time."[1]

In the Sarabhaṅga Jātaka,[2] for instance, the following story occurs. The Bodhisattva was born in Benares as Jotipāla in king Brahmadatta's time. He left the world and repaired to the banks of the Godāvarī. The number of asceties growing large, he asked one of his disciples, Salissara, to leave with a number of ascetics and take up his abode "near the town of Lambaculaka in the provinces of king Caṇḍapajjota." He sent another disciple Kāladevala in a like manner to the "Ghanasela Mountain in the south country in the kingdom of Avanti," and asked him to settle near it. This story occurs in the main part (*Atītavatthu*) of the Jātaka, and is therefore a part of the ancient lore. The name, Caṇḍapajjota occurs in this single story in the whole Jātaka collection, and that in the *Atītavatttu*, and he is not brought into relation with Udayana of Kauśāmbī, Prasenajit of Kośala and Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru of Magadha. In contra-distinction it may be pointed out that the other rulers of India, who, according to other canonical texts, were contemporaries of Buddha and hence contemporaries of each other, are mentioned times without number in the Jātaka, not in the *Atītavatthu* (story of the past) but in the *paccuppannavatthu* (story of the present), and they are also in these numerous instances brought into direct relation with each other.

Another stray reference to Pradyota is given in Indriya Jātaka,[3] where with a very slight difference the same story occurs, but here we come across the name Pajaka who is no other than Pajjota.

These stories, therefore, have some significance in reference to the period of Pradyota and his relations with contemporary monarchs. The doubt that enters our mind when we study the foregoing testimonies is confirmed when we go through these Jātaka stories,—the doubt, that is, that Pradyota had direct relations with Buddha or as a supporter of his cult had relations with the traditional contemporaries

1 Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 207; Bühler, *Indische Studien*, no. 5.

2 Cowel's ed, vol. v, pp. 70-71.

3 Cowell, III, p. 277.

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of Buddha. The figure of Pradyota, therefore, stands isolated, and he seems to move further away from the "sheet-anchor" of ancient Indian chronology.[1]

Testimony of Northern Buddhism

Tibetan Buddhist legends[2] establish the closest possible synchronism of Buddha with the four traditional rulers. Pradyota, son of king Anantanemi of Ujjayini, was born at the same time as Buddha, and was so called because the world was illuminated as if by a lamp at the time of his birth. He became sovereign of Ujjain at the time when Buddha became enlightened. Almost the same thing is said of Udayana of Kauśāmbī, Prasenajit of Kośala and Bimbisāra of Magadha, and these are made to be born at the same time as Buddha. This absolute synchronism defeats itself, and we may only conclude that there were old traditions to that effect, and these were utilised to the best advantage from the standpoint of Buddha's life. But this tendency takes away from the historical value of these works, and it will be all the more in evidence when we shall examine the legends which transformed altogether these ancient kings in later romantic literature.

We arrive at different conclusions, however, when we examine the Chinese and Nepalese legends. 'The Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha,[3] gives a list of kingdoms which flourished some time before Buddha's birth.

(1) Magadha	(4) Vatsa	(7) Mathurā
(2) Kāśi	(5) Vajora	(8) Hastināpura
(3) Kośala	(6) Mavanti	(9) The Island of Piṇḍu

No mention is made of Prasenajit. About Kauśāmbī, the capital of Vatsa, the reigning king is called "thousand excellences", and

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1 It may, of course, be contended that as the Sarabhaṅga Jātaka is contained in the fifth volume of the edition, it gives a picture of later conditions. But two facts may be urged against this. Firstly, the Indriya Jātaka is found in the third volume, and is therefore for the same reason earlier. Secondly, several of the stories in the latest volume (vi) have been shown by the bas-reliefs to have been already in existence in the third century B.C. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 205.

2 Rockhill : *Life of Buddha*, pp. 17, 32 n. 1 ; 70 n. 1.

3 Trans. by S. Beal, pp. 27 ff.

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his son "hundred excellences". The king of Mathurā is called Sumitra and in reference to Hastināpura the Pāṇḍavas are said to be of evil origin. A similarly old list of dynasties occurs in Lalitavistara,[1]

(1) Magadha	(4) Vaiśālī	(7) Hastināpura
(2) Kośala	(5) Pradyotana dynasty	(8) Mithilā
(3) Vaṃśarāja-dynasty	(6) Mathurā	

Mathurā is called the capital of king Subāhu of the race of the valiant Kaṃsa, In connection with Hastināpura mention is made of the Pāṇḍavas, and Mithilā is called the capital of king Sumitra, who was not living at the time of Buddha's birth but flourished at a very remote period of antiquity. These lists are fairly old, as there is mention of Mathurā, Hastināpura, Mithilā and reference is made to the Pāṇḍavas, Sumitra, and Subāhu, and we can also interpret the names "thousand excellences" and "hundred excellences" in Beal's list as "Sahasrānīka" & "Śatānīka" of the Purāṇas, who were respectively two generations and one higher than Udayana of Kauśāmbī and a contemporary of Buddha. While, therefore, no contemporary of Buddha is mentioned and there are distinct traces of the lists being considerably older, we are surprised to find mention of the Mavanti country and the Pradyotana dynasty. Again, the contemporaneity of Caṇḍapajjota with Buddha becomes questionable. Buddhist legends, therefore, both earlier and later, Northern and Southern, have different traditions to offer and while there is considerable unanimity in regard to Bimbisāra and Prasenajit, the greatest diversity prevails regarding Udayana and Pradyota.

Jain testimony

Jain literature is uniformly silent about Pradyota and his dynasty, and although it says a good deal about Śreṇika, Kuṇika and Udāyin, about Rajagṛha, Pāṭaliputra, Śrāvastī and even Kauśāmbī, it has nothing to record about Udayana or Pradyota or Ujjain. On the one hand, there is paucity of Jain materials, on the other the progress of the Jain cult in Northern India has not been properly investigated. But it is nevertheless a fact that early in its career it had a powerful hold on the region round about Rajagṛha, and that later on it

1 Trans. Rajendralal Mitra (*Bib. Ind.*), pp. 38 ff.

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shifted towards the west and the south-west and obtained a firm footing in Mathurā and the region round about Ujjain. And as the Buddhist literature, both canonical and non-canonical, utilised the local Pradyota legend and mixed it up with the history of community when it extended westward, so there are stray references even in Jain works to Pradyota and Pālaka, where most incongruously they are brought into line with Mahāvīra.

Thus in the memorial verses of Merutuṅga's Theravali[1] and Vicāraśrenī,[2] the death of Mahāvīra is made to synchronise with the death of Caṇḍapradyota of Avanti and the accession of Pālaka, just as in Buddhist works the birth of Buddha is made to synchronise with the birth of Pradyota,[3] and the Nirvāṇa of Buddha with the landing of Vijaya in Ceylon.[4] These memorial verses are very old, and they are found in almost identical words in many other chronological works and commentaries.[5] Although the provenance of the verses was certainly Magadha, they were written down when Magadha ceased to be a Jain centre and Ujjain took its place,[6] and an attempt was necessarily made, to fill up the gap, in a chronological scheme, between the death of Mahāvīra and the Vikrama and Śaka eras. Naturally, the local legend was utilised and Pradyota and Palaka, who had nothing to do with the Magadha dynasties or the spread of Jainism westward much later on in the time of Aśoka's grandson Samprati, were given a place in the chronological scheme and made contemporaries of Mahāvīra.[7]

Hemacandra does not take any notice of Pradyota and Pālaka, and as Jacobi[8] is inclined to regard the traditions followed by

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1 *Literary Remains* of Dr. Bhau Daji, pp. 129 ff.

2 Jacobi's *Intro. to the Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu*, p. 7.

3 Rockhill.

4 *Mahāvaṃsa.*

5 E. g., in a paṭṭāvali of the Tapāgachcha published by Johannes Klatt, *Ind. Ant.*, XI, (1882), pp. 251 ff.

6 Jarl Carpentier, *Ind. Ant.*, 1914, pp. 119 ff.

7 Much the same conclusion is reached, although by a different process, by Jacobi in his *Intro. to Kalpas*, pp. 8, 9. The explanation offered by Jarl Carpentier (*Ind. Ant.*, 1914, pp. 119ff.) that Pālaka of the gāthās is really Hastipāla or °pālago of Pāvā in whose time Mahāvīra died, is far-fetched though ingenious.

8 *Loc. cit.*, p. 8.

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Hemacandra as more reliable than the chronological gāthās, his account deserves some attention. In his Pariśiṣṭaparvan he gives a long account of Udāyin, the successor of Aajātaśatru on the throne of Magadha, and refers to his rivalry with the then king of Avanti by means of an anecdote.[1] It is to be noticed that the Avanti king is not named, whereas from the *gāthās* we have to gather that Udāyin was a contemporary of Pālaka. But that Pālaka was not meant by Hemacandra is clear from the anecdote itself in which we find that the Avanti king outlived Udāyin, although the verses in Merutuṅga and other paṭṭāvalis explicitly establish the synchronism of the deaths of Udāyin and Pālaka. Jain traditions, therefore, are contradictory so far as Pālaka of Avanti is concerned, and he becomes a highly doubtful figure and a chronological fiction.[2]

Literary evidence

Literary evidence of a strictly historical character, chiefly with reference to the Pradyota dynasty, its place in Indian chronology and its relations to contemporary dynasties, is wanting. We get numerous references no doubt, but they are sadly intermixed with fables and folk-lore and "thaumaturges," often contradictory in themselves and drawing materials from all sources as well as from poetic fancies. They are of course severed from all religious associations, but the materials they offer are also to be found in Jain and Buddhist canonical and non-canonical works, as well as to a certain extent in the Purāṇas. It is therefore very difficult to evaluate them historically and find out what fresh historical materials, as distinguished from poetic fabrications, they actually offer in respect of the ancient Indian dynasties.

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1 Sthavirāvalicarita, ed. Jacobi (*Bib. Ind.*), pp. 45-6.

2 A similar conclusion is made by R. P. Chanda; The Puṣyamitra and the Śuṅga Empire, *Ind. Hist. Q.*, Sept. 1929, pp. 399-400.

A [illegible]nt reference is made by Lakṣmīvallabha in his Kalpadrumakalikā, a commentary on the Jain Kalpasūtras, to a king Udayana who conquered Caṇḍa Pradyota and became the lord of Ujjain. It was certainly a different tradition altogether, and we are not at all justified in bringing it into line with the traditions under review. See in this connection the admirable comment made by Hall in his *Intro. to Subandhu's Vāsavadattā*, p. 5 note.

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From the standpoint of the Pradyota dynasty one thing at least is clear. It is decidedly an Ujjain dynasty, and in this respect the evidence of literature is in perfect accord with Buddhist testimony. There are exceptions no doubt, but they simply confirm the general assumption that Pradyota Mahāsena was no other than Caṇḍapajjota of Ujjain of the Buddhist canonical literature. But the very fact that some attempt was made to distinguish the two sovereigns and make Pradyota king of Magadha and not of Avanti, shows to what extent the Purāṇic order of Magadha kings obtained its hold on popular imagination when it was divested of all strictly religious associations. Thus in the Kāśmirian version of the Bṛhatkathā, both in Somadeva and Kṣemendra's works, we find Pradyota of Magadha, father of Padmāvatī, clearly distinguished from Mahāsena or Caṇḍamahāsena of Ujjain, father of Vāsavadattā. In KSS[1] Pradyota, father of Padmāvatī and father-in-law of Udayana, is clearly called "king of Magadha." In another place[2] Pradyota, king of Magadha, is clearly distinguished from Caṇḍamahāsena of Ujjain. Kṣemendra's work is in perfect agreement with the KSS. Pradyota is called in one place[3] king of Magadha, and in another distinguished from Mahāsena of Ujjain.[4] This distinction is maintained throughout, and whenever Pālaka and other princes of Avanti are mentioned, they are always the descendants of Mahāsena, and not of Pradyota who stands alone as the king of Magadha and father of Padmāvatī.[5] Historically speaking, the dynasty might have belonged to Ujjain, but there is evidence that there was some confusion about the identity and sphere of influence of Pradyota, a confusion which is also in evidence in Jain records already examined.

Just as in early Buddhist canonical literature Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru of Magadha are brought into close relations, friendly and otherwise, with Prasenajit of Kośala, so in Guṇāḍhya's work, in Bhāsa's

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1 Trans. by Tawney, vol. 2, pp. 1-3.

2 *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 87.

3 *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, (Kāvyamalā series), p. 73, verse 93.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 83, verse 176.

5 We should at the same time admit that an earlier version of Guṇāḍhya's Bṛhatkathā and hence more in accordance with ancient legends, the Bṛhatkathā-ślokasaṃgraha of Budhasvāmin, utilises the Padmāvatī legends as well as makes Pradyota Mahāsena king of Ujjain. Cf. Lacôte's *Essay on Guṇāḍhya and Bṛhatkathā*, p. 158.

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drama and the Mṛcchakaṭika the dynasties that ruled over Avanti and Kauśāmbī are brought together, alike in a friendly and hostile way, and traditions in respect of these relations were so firmly rooted in popular imagination that in most works of the classical Sanskrit epoch we find clear allusions to them, as in the Kauṭilīya, in the Meghadūta, in the dramas of Harṣa, as well as in Patāñjali's Mahābhāṣya. An echo of these relations between Avanti and Kauśambī is also found in a later Pāli canonical work cited above, the Dhammapada commentary of Buddhaghoṣa, in which the story of Udayana of Kauśāmbī and Vāsavadattā, daughter of Caṇḍapajjota of Avanti, is related. In the Pāli work we have only the gist of the traditions which gradually gathered round the persons of Mahāsena and Udayana and their descendants, traditions without any source as to time and circumstance perhaps, but enlarging and transforming Indian and extra-Indian religious and non-religious works. These traditions and the legends which they have produced are therefore to be examined, and they are to be compared with Buddhist and Jain legends, if we want to have some idea of the way in which the four royal dynasties of ancient India are brought together. It is the only method which will enable us to set Pradyota and the dynasty which he represented in a proper historical frame-work.

The nexus of Udayana-Pradyota traditions is the story of Vāsavadattā, briefly narrated in the Dhammapada commentary but given a fuller space in the works of Somadeva and Kṣemendra, a story moreover from which stage and romance have borrowed to such a large extent and which is the object of so many allusions in literature.[1] It is a part of the original Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya, but like many tales generally known as peculiar to the Bṛhatkathā, it is a kind of property without a master having its existence in folk-lore, in versions different from each other. Thus we have a Vāsavadattā mentioned by Kātyāyana;[2] another is mentioned by Bāṇa and Subandhu; a Vāsavadattā married to Sañjaya is mentioned by Bhababhūti in the Mālatī-Mādhava;[3] while in the Divyā-

1 It is to be noticed that Kālidāsa's Meghadūta refers in a vague way to some connection between Udayana and Ujjain and does not at all allude to the Vāsavadattā legend.

2 Referred to by Hall in his ed. of *Subandhu's Vāsavadattā*, p. 1.

3 Wilson's *Indian Theatre*, II, p. 35.

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vadāna[1] we find Vāsavadattā as a criminal courtezan of Mathurā, converted to Buddhism. Again, whereas in the Bṛhatkathā the Vāsavadattā story is a part of the Udayana legend, in Buddhaghoṣa's commentary it is a part of the Pradyota legend, and both in the Dhammapada commentary and the Mūla-sarvāstivāda Vinaya the story is a mere digression incorporated into the history of Samavatī.[2] The legend, omitted in early Pāli canonical literature, therefore, is of slight historical value, as it does not definitely and exclusively define the relations between Pradyota and Udayana. These two, without any relations in early Buddhist texts, are now brought together, and Vāsavadattā, a character drawn from independent and varied sources, is brought to play a part in it.

The same argument applies, and possibly with more force, to the Padmāvatī legend. It has not obtained as wide a celebrity as the story of Vāsavadattā, and therefore the allusions to it are rare. In KSS and BKM, as already pointed out, Padmāvatī is the daughter of Pradyota of Magadha who is also the father-in-law of Udayana Vatsarāja. In the Bṛhatkathā-ślokasaṃgraha, Padmāvatī is repeatedly called the "Magadha woman," but her father's name is not mentioned.[3] Bhāsa, in his Svapna-vāsavadatta, gives a much fuller treatment of the Padmāvatī legend, but he makes her not the daughter of Pradyota but the sister of Darśaka, king of Magadha. The Buddhist legend deals with Udayana's relations with Vāsavadattā, Anupamā, Samavatī and other women, but it is absolutely silent about Padmāvatī. This is entirely the creation of Guṇāḍhya who transforms and improves upon the character of Anupamā, and makes Padmāvatī a fit object of romance.[4] Guṇāḍhya's method is closely followed by Harṣa in his Ratnāvalī, where no mention is made of Padmāvatī, but where the Padmāvatī legend makes way for the story of the fortunes of Ratnāvalī, which is brought into relation with the burning of Vāsavadattā at Lāvaṇaka.[5] Besides, in some places in Jain literature the Padmāvatī legend occurs, but in different forms. Padmāvatī was a courtezan of Avanti on whom Bimbisāra of Magadha begot Abhayakumāra. Ajātaśatru also had a wife named Padmāvatī, through

1 Ed. by Cowell and Neill, pp. 352ff.
2 Lacôte's *Essay on Guṇāḍhya and Bṛhatkathā*, pp. 182, 187.
3 Lacôte's *Essay on Guṇāḍhya and Bṛhatkathā*, p. 173.
4 Ibid., p. 199.
5 *Priyadarśikā*, ed. by Nariman, p. lxxv.

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whose instigation he waged war with his maternal grandfather, Cetaka of Vaiśālī.[1] Padmāvatī was also the queen of Aśoka who gave birth to Kuṇāla.[2] Thus the Padmāvatī legend mixes up inextricably Udayana, Pradyota, Bimbisāra, Ajātaśatru and Avanti.

If then there are conflicting accounts of Pradyota and Udayana in Indian folk-lore, the romances and dramas, the same uncertainty hangs over the testimony of Buddhist treatises cited above, in sharp contrast with their vivid delineation of the relations between Magadha and Kośala. In this connection, we are of course to distinguish the evidence of the early Buddhist texts from that of later Buddhist works which in many cases drew copiously upon the extant folk-lore, in common with secular literature, e.g., the Bṛhatkathā and the traditions followed by Bhāsa.

As pointed out above, Pradyota of Ujjain is twice mentioned in early canonical texts, once in the Mahāvagga and again in Majj. Nik. In Mahāvagga Pradyota is brought into relation with Bimbisāra of Magadha through the story of Jīvaka Kumārabhacca. The significance of the episode has already been pointed out, but what makes it all the more important to us is the fact that the really important character is Jīvaka whose importance is enhanced by association with Pradyota and Bimbisāra. The two legends taken together make Pradyota a contemporary of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, but not of Buddha and Udayana,—a fact borne out by the references to Pradyota in the Jātaka. It is only in the Theragāthā commentary[3] that Pradyota is brought into actual relations with Buddha through the agency of Mahākaccāyana, and it is Guṇāḍhya and Buddhaghoṣa who for the first time bring him into relations with Udayana through the instrumentality of Vāsavadattā, when it becomes the central theme of Bhāsa's Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa and a most important legend in Tibetan and Chinese traditions. The progress of

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1 *Uvāsagadasāo* (ed. Hoernle), App. I. p. 71 ; *Nirayāvalisuttaṃ* (ed. Warren), Sec. 3.

2 *Divyāvadāna*, Cowell and Neill, pp. 405-6.

3 P.T.S. pp. 238-9 ; also in Tibetan Kandjur.

In the Karma-śataka, e.g., Pradyota is made a contemporary of Buddha and converted by Kātyāyana. It is to be noted, however, that in this connection Pradyota is said to be a contemporary of Udayana of Suvīra, not of Kauśāmbī. L. Feer, *Karma-śataka*. *Journal Asiatique*, 9 serie, Tome XVII, p. 439.

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the Pradyota legend is interesting; in that it shows a deliberate attempt made from age to age to mould it in the light of fresh circumstances and exigencies till we reach the absurdity that Pradyota was a contemporary of Darśaka of Magadha.[1] Pradyota who, according to the unanimous testimony of the Purāṇas ruled for 23 years,[2] is made the contemporary of Bimbisāra, Ajātaśatru and Darśaka successively, that is for a period far in excess of the Purāṇic datum.

What is said about Pradyota is also true to a large extent of Udayana of Kauśāmbī. The earliest mention of him in the Buddhist texts is in the Cullavagga,[3] where he meets Ānanda *after the death of Buddha*, speaks to him as a familiar friend and makes donations to the community. In another place[4] he is converted to the creed of Buddha by Piṇḍola Bharadvāja. But it is in later Buddhist legends and treatises that he is directly made a contemporary of Buddha and converted by him.[5] Simultaneously, he is made a contemporary of Pradyota in the Dhammapada Comm., the Bṛhatkathā and the Sanskrit plays, till he is made to woo like a young lover the Magadha princess, Padmāvatī, when he was far advanced in life.[6]

The fact seems to be that traditions and folk-lore locally developed round the personages who afterwards became famous not only in Indian secular literature but also in the history of Buddhism, that is, Pradyota of Avanti, Udayana of Kauśāmbī, Prasenajit of Kośala, and Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru of Magadha. The legends were originally independent of one another and had nothing Buddhistic about them, and it was only bit by bit that these legends found their way into

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1 Bhāsa's *Svapnavāsavadatta*. 2 Pārgiter, p. 19.

3 XI, 1, 12-14. 4 *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, 4, 127.

5 Burlingame: *Buddhist Legends*, I, pp. 277 ff.: *Yuang Chwang*, vol. I, p. 369: *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 529 ff. A similar idea would be conveyed by a Jātaka story (Cowell's Ed., vol. III, pp. 233f.) where Udayana is made a contemporary of Buddha and apparently one of his lay disciples, with reference to the story of the she-elephant Bhaddavaṭikā. But the allusion to Bhaddavaṭikā makes the story of little value for our purpose, because it raises the suspicion that the story might have actually sprung up after the Vāsavadattā legend had become a well-established tradition.

6 *Carmichael Lectures*, 1917, p. 70.

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Buddhist books. As soon as the Buddhist community became dominant in a part of the country, its ambition was to invent a legend to show that the local heroes of each city had been in relation with the master. It amalgamated the several legends and Buddha was given a part to play in stories which had at first nothing Buddhistic in them.[1] Thus in Chinese traditions the local Udayana legend is utilised to show that Buddha not only met the ruler of Kauśāmbī but also addressed a Nītiśāstra to him.[2] In Tibetan sources,[3] the absurd synchronism is proposed that Pradyota of Ujjain, Udayana of Kauśāmbī, Prasenajit of Kośala and Bimbisāra of Magadha were born on the very same day as Buddha. Moreover, we have in the Ceylonese Mahāvaṃsa the synchronism of the landing of Vijaya with Buddha's Parinirvāṇa. An intermixture of independent legends like these was conveniently employed in secular works also. Somadeva,[4] for instance, made Naravāhanadatta listen to a story of Vikramāditya, which shows that the two local story cycles, independent of each other and undoubtedly separated by a distance of time, were brought together harmoniously. And we have an admixture of Buddhistic and secular legends in the 'Tāpasa-vatsarāja'[5] in which the author generally follows Bhāsa's Svapna-vāsavadatta, but makes Udayana a Buddhist monk and Padmāvatī a nun.

This rather long digression was necessary to show that the examination of all the different sources make it very difficult to establish a synchronism of the early Indian sovereigns who are prominent not only in Buddhist but also in secular works. While the consensus of evidence is in favour of the synchronism of Buddha with Prasenajit and Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, Udayana and Pradyota generally stand apart, and of these the last remains throughout an enigmatic figure floating in time and space.[6]

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1 Lacôte's *Essay*, p. 171. He even points out that the countries which beyond doubt Buddha had never visited found every means to satisfy their local vanity by pretending that they had had Buddha in their midst at least as a Bodhisattva.

2 Bunyu Nanjio: *A Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, 1006, referred to in Lacôte's *Essay*, p. 181.

3 Rockhill's *Life of Buddha*, p. 17. 4 *KSS*, Tars. cxx-cxxiv.

5 *Proceedings of the Fourth Oriental Conference*, 1928, Allahabad, pp. 165ff.

6 Oldenberg's *Buddha*. Excursus I, based on the enu-

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II

The Purāṇas uniformly give 23 years as the reigning period of Pradyota. Even the unique Bḍ ms. in the Dacca University[1] which does not refer to the accession of Pradyota, gives the reigning period of Munika as 23 years. A very different conclusion would be forced upon us were we to rely on Buddhist legends and secular works, where Pradyota is made a contemporary of Bimbisāra, Ajātaśatru and Darśaka. Jain testimony (e. g. Merutuṅga) also errs that way, because in making Pālaka a contemporary of Udāyin it forces at least a partial synchronism of Pradyota with Darśaka. If, therefore, these evidences are collated, Pradyota would be reigning much longer than the Purāṇic datum.

Pradyota's successor Pālaka is altogether ignored in Buddhist texts, and it is only from the Purāṇas, the Jain gāthās and literary allusions in the Bṛhatkathā and Mṛcchakaṭika that we come to know a good deal of him. At this stage one thing strikes us very much. While Pradyota of Avanti had some relation with Magadha and was feared by Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, from the time of Pālaka onwards we lose sight of Magadha altogether, and there is nothing in the accounts to show that Avanti, under the successors of Pradyota, in any way overshadowed the Magadha dynasty. Hence the argument that the Purāṇas came to incorporate the Pradyota dynasty into the Magadha list because (at the time of the Śaiśunāgas) it was the most powerful in Northern India overshadowing the three other contemporary dynasties, loses much of its force, and although

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meration of some cities for Buddha's 'parinirvāṇa' in Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra. Of course, a good deal has to be said in favour of Oldenberg's view regarding the spread of Buddhism in Northern India. We have to admit, for instance, that at the time of Buddha's demise his religion was confined to the Prācyadeśa, and that it was only later on and along the track marked out by the caravans on their way from Pāṭaliputra to Bharukaccha, that Buddhism slowly expanded westward. It would appear therefore that Ujjain received the doctrines of the Master rather late, and we cannot bring Pradyota into line with Buddha. But can we reconcile this fact with the story of Mahākaccāyana or with the testimony of Guṇāḍhya, Bhāsa and Northern Buddhism ?

1 Ms. No. 285 A, dated Ś. 1761.

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Pradyota, according to the legends, was a terrible and powerful ruler, his successors were '*rois fainéants*'. The Purāṇas therefore might have been justified in including Pradyota alone among the Magadha kings, not the dynasty as a whole.

While the Mṛcchakaṭika makes only passing allusions to Pālaka, his tyranny and his ultimate displacement by Āryaka, we get a fuller account in the Bṛhatkathā. Even here, it has to be noticed, we get contradictory accounts and what the Kashmirian version says does not always tally with the Nepalese one, the BKSS, which gives more of the original Bṛhatkathā and relates more of Ujjain and its traditions than the works of Somadeva and Kṣemendra. According to the Nepalese legend,[1] Pradyota is succeeded not by his younger son Pālaka, but by his elder son Gopāla.[2] He abdicates, however, in favour of Pālaka who, in his turn, also abdicates leaving his young son Avantīvardhana on the throne of Avanti. The Kashmirian Bṛhatkathā gives a different account. The elder son of Pradyota, Gopāla, succeeds Udayana on the throne of Avanti. But Gopāla also gives up the throne of Kauśāmbī and allows Pālaka to become king instead. Hence, according to the Kashmerian Bṛhatkathā, Pālaka not only immediately succeeds Pradyota on the throne of Avanti but also, on the death of Udayana and the abdication of Gopāla, becomes master of Kauśāmbī. What took place in the land of Udayana does not concern us here, but so far as Avanti is concerned we cannot altogether reject the Nepalese testimony, as it not merely finds an echo in one Vṣ Ms., but also contains a more correct version of the Pradyota legend, and is in close agreement with the Mūla-sarvāstivāda Vinaya.[3] The period of Pālaka's reign given in the Purāṇas as 24, 28 or 20 years,[4] whereas, as we have seen, the gāthās in Merutuṅga's Theravali and other Jain Paṭṭāvalis, give Pālaka an unusually long period of 60 years. The propriety of placing Pālaka in the list set forth by the gāthās has been questioned and necessarily his rule of 60 years also becomes historically valueless. Moreover, both in the Nepalese Bṛhatkathā and the Mṛcchakaṭika his reign is cut short, by abdication in the one and by the revolt

1 Lacôte's *Essay*, p. 115.

2 The name 'Gopālaka' actually occurs in one Vṣ Ms., Pargiter, p. 19, n. 27.

3 Lacôte's *Essay*, p. 181.

4 Pargiter, p. 19, n. 26.

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of Āryaka in the other. We should therefore give the Purāṇic figures some credit.

Pālaka's successor is still more enigmatic, and we get mutually contradictory accounts in the Purāṇas, the Mṛcchakaṭika, the Kashmirian and Nepalese Bṛhatkathā. A ms. of Bhāgavata[1] ends the dynasty with Pālaka, but nearly all the Purāṇas make Viśākhayūpa the son and successor of Pālaka.[2] This Purāṇic name stands alone and does not occur in the legends of the Avanti dynasty, and what is stranger still, he is given a long reign of at least 50 years. The unanimity of the Purāṇic tradition in this respect cannot be ignored, and whether we put him in his proper place or towards the end of the list, he is a part of the list all the same. In Śudraka's play Pālaka is killed by the cow-boy Āryaka who succeeds him, an abnormal phenomenon.[3] The Mṛcchakaṭika, of course, is not a political drama, even less political than Bhāsa's Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa and Svapna-vāsavadatta, and as a 'drama of invention' (*Prakaraṇa*) it has naturally twisted the traditional Pradyota legend to meet dramatic exigencies. Śudraka, however, makes one thing clear. Pālaka was a tyrant and he was overthrown and succeeded by Āryaka. The Nepalese Bṛhatkathā, in common with the Kashmirian versions, has omitted Āryaka altogether, and while the Nepalese legend makes Pālaka abdicate in favour of Avantīvardhana, son of Gopāla, the Kashmirian versions make Avantīvardhana a son of Pālaka, but do not mention the abdication of Pālaka or the accession of Avantīvardhana. All things considered, it is extremely difficult to reconstruct the history of the dynasty after Pālaka, and any conclusion based on mere probability is sure to raise difficulties.

Viśākhayūpa's successor, according to the Purāṇas,[5] is Sūryaka or Ajaka (differently named). It is tempting to connect him with Āryaka of Śudraka, specially as in the Purāṇas no relation is estab-

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1 Pargiter's *n*Bh, p. 18.

2 Viśākhayūpa is, however, placed last in *m*Vā, Pargiter, p. 18.

3 Dr. S. Pradhan, in his *Chronology of Ancient India*, p. 236, suggests that '*Gopāla-dāraka*' means son of Gopāla, but it is difficult to imagine how the son of Gopāla could be taken out of his 'ghoṣa' or hamlet and then imprisoned. The same thing may also be said about Jayaswal's interpretation that '*Gopāla-dāraka*' is 'boy-Gopāla'. (*J. B. O. R. S.*, 1915, p. 107).

4 Lacôte, p. 115. 5 With one exception, *m*Vā, Parg., p. 18.

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lished between him and his predecessor. But nowhere in the Purāṇas is he given the correct Sanskrit name 'Āryaka',[1] and even where Viśākhayūpa is dropped, Pālaka is also dropped, and Ajaka is made the direct successor of Pradyota.[2] Moreover, the accession of Ajaka leaves no room for Avantīvardhana of BKSS.

The last king of the dynasty, according to the Purāṇas, is Nandivardhana. Attempts have been made to connect him with Avantīvardhana of the Bṛhatkathā and Nandivardhana of the Śaiśunāga dynasty.[3] It is a fact that many Mt. Mss. and also *e*Vā[4] omit Nandivardhana, and that he does not at all figure in the traditional legends of the Avanti dynasty. Mr. Jayaswal's remarkably ingenious theory of Nandivardhana Kālāśoka and his 'digvijaya' very logically reconciles Nandivardhana of the Śaiśunāga list and Avantīvardhana of the legendary Avanti list.[5] But his attempt to equate him with Nandivardhana of the Pradyota list in the Purāṇas is less convincing. In the first place, similarity of names is a very common feature of the Purāṇic lists,[6] and it is well for us to remember Prof. Wilson's remark that "in India, identity of name is by no means identity of person". Secondly, the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, in order to avoid a natural confusion between the two kings of the two dynasties bearing the same name, explicitly and uniformly calls Udayī of the Śaiśunāga list *Ajaya*,[7] and his son and successor Nandivardhana, *Ājeya*.[8]

JYOTIRMOY SEN

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1 Of course 'Ajaka' may be a survival of the original Prākṛt form (Parg., p. x), but if 'Sūryaka' can occur in Mt. generally, 'Āryaka' also in all propriety might have been in at least one ms.

2 *M*Vā. in Parg., p. 18.

3 Jayaswal, *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1915, p. 108.

4 Parg., pp. 17, 18.

5 Jayaswal, *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1915, pp. 77ff.

6 For example, the Paurava list mentions one *Bṛhadratha* and the Maurya list another ; there is one *Sahadeva* in the Aikṣāka list and another in the Bārhadratha ; there are two '*Sunetras*' in the Bārhadratha list and two *Śatānīkas* in the Paurava list. Two similar names in the same list might be more easily confused, and hence the two *Śatānīkas* of the Paurava list have been clearly distinguished (Parg., p. 4, n. 6 ; p. 7, n. 62).

7 Parg., p. 22, n. 30.

8 Ibid., p. 22, n. 38.

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Vidyāraṇya and Mādhavācārya

Vidyāraṇya is one of the most popular figures in the mediæval history of South India. He is said to have raised the brothers Hakka (Harihara) and Bukka of humble origin to kingship and thus founded the great Vijayanagar empire. He is also reputed to have been the author of the famous Vedic commentaries and a host of other works numbering more than 200 bearing on varied subjects like philosophy, sacrificial ritual, grammar, medicine, astrology, statecraft and the *smṛtis*. The famous city of Vijayanagar, now in ruins, is said to have been planned by him and named Vidyānagara after him and numerous legends are current which extol his occult power by which he is said to have created a shower of gold in that capital and thus provided the sinews of war for the early Vijayanagar kings. He is at the same time stated to have been the head of the famous mutt at Śṛṅgerī held in high reverence by the numerous followers of Śaṅkarācārya in the South and to have erected the fine temple of Vidyāśaṅkara. He is believed to have assisted the early Vijayanagar kings as general, minister and spiritual adviser. Lastly, we find him as the author of a *Kālajñāna* foretelling the glorious future of the famous city of Vijayanagar and its ultimate destruction.

A number of works has sprung up in recent years dealing with the life and achievements of Vidyāraṇya claiming to be based on popular legends and traditions and, to some extent, on colophons in literary works, inscriptions and narratives of foreign travellers. Much of this literature, however, shows clearly that the writers take for granted the identity of Vidyāraṇya with Mādhavācārya, brother of Sāyaṇa, who was the author of a commentary on Parāśarasmṛti and several other works. Once this identity is assumed, all the writings and achievements, not only of this Mādhavācārya, but of his brother, Sāyaṇa and of several other Mādhavācāryas, contemporary or otherwise, are easily foisted on Vidyāraṇya. It is therefore necessary to examine the above question of identity critically with the help of all the materials available, inscriptional, literary and traditional, in order to determine what position was held by Vidyāraṇya in the early history of Vijayanagar.

The first great writer who has attempted to unravel the tangle of some of these identities is Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhacar, who in

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his able and cautious article, 'Mādhavācārya and his younger Brothers', published in the Indian Antiquary for 1916, has proved that Mādhava-mantrin (governor of Banavase, and author of the Tātparyadīpikā, who is also sometimes confused with Vidyāraṇya), and Sāyaṇa-Mādhava, author of the Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha, are quite distinct from Mādhavācārya, brother of Sāyaṇācārya. The next and the most important question to be determined is, can Vidyāraṇya be identical with Mādhavācārya, brother of Sāyaṇācārya and author of several works including Parāśaramādhavīya? A careful examination of all the information available on the subject, however, proves that the balance of evidence is definitely against such identification.

(1) In the first place not one of the several inscriptions which refer to Vidyāraṇya and his several predecessors and successors in the Sṛṅgerī mutt where he was a pontiff ever identifies him with Mādhavācārya.[1] Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhacar who has examined the question carefully in his article referred to above says (p. 18), "I do not remember having come across any inscription which states explicitly that Mādhavācārya and Vidyāraṇya are one and the same individual." If Mādhavācārya was identical with Vidyāraṇya, the fact would have leaked out in one or other of these records.

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1 Epigraphia Carnatica VI, Sringeri 1 of 1346 A.D. of Bhāratitīrtha; Mysore Archæological Report 1916, p. 56, Vāgīśvarī temple inscription at Sringeri of Vidyātīrtha, 1356; E.C. IV, Yedatore 46 and Mysore Archæological Report 1915, p. 51; Hebbasur and Agrahāra Bāchahalli copper-plates of Ś. 1298 (1377) referring to Vidyātīrtha; Mysore Archæological Report 1916, pp. 56-59, Sringeri mutt kadita of 1380, copper-plate grants of 1384 and 1386 A.D. of Vidyāraṇya; Mysore Archæological Report 1908, p. 14, Inam Office copper-plate grant of Vidyāraṇya from Sringeri dated 1386 A.D.; E.C. VI, Koppa 19 of 1377 and 30 of 1378 of Vidyāraṇya, spurious copper-plate grants of Vidyāraṇya of Kolar and Nellore Districts—Indian Antiquary 38, pp. 89-91 and Nellore District inscriptions, vol. I, p. 109; inscriptions invoking Vidyātīrtha and Vidyāraṇya—E.C. VI, Sringeri 28 of 1402; 31 of 1407; 2 & 12 of 1603 etc; later inscriptions eulogising Vidyāraṇya—E.C. VI, Sringeri 11 & 13 of 1652; E. C. VIII, Nagar 67 of 1450 and 68 of 1463; E. C. VII, Channagiri 62 of 1565; E. C. XI, Chitaldrug 45 and Challakere 51 of 16th Century A. D. etc.

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(2) Similarly the few inscriptions that refer to Mādhavācārya and his brother Sāyaṇa never indicate any connection between him and Vidyāraṇya. (a) The undated Aruḷāḷa-Perumāḷ temple inscription of Conjeeveram (Ep. Indica III, p. 118), which gives the names of Sāyaṇa's parents, brothers, their gotra and patron (Prince Saṅgama, son of Kampa); (b) Hulikere copper plate of 4th December 1378 (Ś. 1300 Kālayukta Mārgaśira Paurṇami Saturday and lunar eclipse) of the reign of Harihara II recording the gift of the village Honnalapura by Muddapa, the minister, to various Brāhmaṇas, the first among the donees being Śrīmān Sāyaṇācārya, follower of Baudhāyana-sūtra and of Bhāradvāja-gotra (E. C. V, Channarayapatna Taluk 256); (c) Agrahāra-Bāchahaḷḷi plates of Kṛṣṇarajpet Taluk, Mysore District of A. D. 1377, Feb. 24 Tuesday (Ś. 1298 Nala, Phal. Bahula 1 Tuesday Uttarāyaṇa, Phalgunī Nakṣatra) recording the gift of the village Bācheyahaḷḷi by Harihara II, in memory of his father, among the donees being Sāyṇācārya and his son Siṅgaṇa (Mysore Archæological Report 1915, p. 57) and Mādhavācārya's son Māyaṇṇa etc., (Ibid., p. 42); (d) Harihar temple stone inscription (E. C. XI, Oavangere 34) of Ś. 1301 Siddhārthi Kārtika Śu 12 Sunday (October 23, 1379 A. D.) recording the gift of Chikka Haḍaka village by Muddapadaṇḍeśa to several Brāhmaṇas among whom Sāyaṇācārya comes second; (e) a stone inscription near Kṛṣṇasvāmī temple, Hampe, Hospet Taluk, Bellari District (S. I. I. IV, p. 60, no. 38 of 1889, Madras) of the reign of Devarāya, Vijayanagar king, dated Ś. 1332, Virodhi Phālguna Ba.1 (February 20, 1410) recording the setting up of Gaṇeśa in a temple by Lakṣmīdharadeva of Kannaḍiga-kula, son of Rāmarasa and Singale, sister of Mādarasa (Kannaḍa form of Mādhava) and Sāyaṇa, speaks of the brothers (Mādarasa and Sāyaṇa) as great ministers of the ancestors of Devarāya and that they had constructed various works of charity like wells, tanks, temples, agrahāras, etc.—not one of these records either refers to Mādhavacārya's becoming an ascetic with the name of Vidyāraṇya nor to his holding the office of the pontiff of Śṛṅgerī Mutt.

(3) The details about the life of Mādhavācārya that are found in his own works not merely fail to show any connection between him and Vidyāraṇya but prove him to be quite distinct from Vidyāraṇya. The first work of Mādhavācārya that is available is *Parāśarasmṛti-vyākhyā*, a commentary on the Parāśarasmṛti, giving rules about the daily conduct and rituals of the Hindus. In the introductory verses of this work Mādhavācārya tells us that he was favoured by the

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gurus Bhāratītīrtha and Vidyātīrtha and that he was a minister and kulaguru (family preceptor) of King Bukka as Āṅgirasa is to Indra, that he belonged to Bhāradvāja-gotra, Yajuś-Śākhā and Bodhāyana-sūtra and that his parents were Māyaṇa and Śrīmatī, and that he had Sāyaṇa aud Bhoganātha as his younger brothers. The colophons at the end of each chapter of the work tell us that he was also styled Mādhavāmātya and that he was the *sāmrājyadhurandhara* (bearer of the burden of government) of mahārājādhirāja Vīra Bukka. The next work of Mādhavācārya is *Vyavahāra-mādhava*, a supplementary volume to the first work and dealing with Hindu law and polity. Here also his gurus and patron king are praised in the same verses as the introductory verses of the first work but his parents and brothers are not named either in this or in the succeeding compositions, perhaps because details regarding these had been given in his first work (Parāśrasmṛtivyākhyā) to which they were companion volumes. *Kālamādhavīya* or *Kālanirṇaya* is the next work of the author in the introductory verses of which he says that after the composition of his commentary on the Parāśarasmṛti giving details about *dharma*, he wrote this work to determine the suitable or auspicious times when the dharma or acts of religion should be performed.[1] His gurus and patron king are praised in the work also in the same manner as in the previous book. *Jīvanmuktiviveka* is another work of Mādhavācārya which is a supplement to his first work. In an introductory verse of this short work we learn that details regarding the different kinds of ascetics are already given by him in his commentary on the Parāśarasmṛti but the rules regarding the class of Parahaṃsa (a class of ascetics) are dealt with in the present work.[2] No details about the patron etc., of the author are given here but at the end of the work as also at the beginning a verse is given containing the praise of his

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1 व्याख्याय माधवाचार्यो धर्मान् पाराशरानथ ।
तदनुष्ठानकालस्य निर्णयं वक्तुमुद्यतः ॥

2 एतेषां तु समाचाराः प्रोक्ताः पाराशरस्मृतौ ।
व्याख्यानेऽस्माभिरवायं परहंसो विविच्यते ॥—Ānandāśrama Edition, Poona. Unfortunately the Editor, following a faulty Ms. attributes it to Vidyāraṇya. Such mistakes have occurred also in the case of Mādhavāmātya's Tātparyadīpikā which certainly is not a work of Vidyāraṇya. The Mysore Oriental Library Ms. c. 745 has the colophon "इतिश्रीजीवन्मुक्तिविवेकस्समाप्तः" at the end with no mention of Vidyāraṇya.

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guru Vidyātīrtha. *Jaiminīyanyāyamālāvistara*, a work containing in verses the meaning of the sūtras of Jaimini explaining the significance of sacrifices and the Vedic terms connected with them is another composition of Mādhavācārya. After praising king Bukka and stating that he became all-knowing by the grace of the sage Vidyātīrtha, Mādhavācārya next states in his introductory verses that he first composed a treatise on Jaimini's sūtras, that king Bukka after praising it before his court ordered him to write a more elaborate work on the subject and that thereupon he (Mādhavācārya) composed the present volume by the favour of the ascetic Bhāratītīrtha. Mādhavācārya also further says that after dealing with the dharma as inculcated in the Smṛtis he has treated in this work of the dharma as prescribed in the Śruti (Vedas). The sage Vidyātīrtha is also invoked in the last of the introductory verses. The colophon at the end of the work calls Mādhavācārya an ornament to the science of Mīmāṃsā of three kāṇḍas and a performer of the Soma sacrifices in every spring (prati-vasanta-somayājin).[1]

These five are the only works which can be attributed with certainty to Mādhavācārya, son of Māyaṇa and brother of Sāyaṇācārya. There are certain features common to all these, the invocatory verses addressed to Bhāratītīrtha and Vidyātīrtha and references to the first work Parāśarasmṛtivyākhyā, which gives full details about the parentage, etc. of the author. Unfortunately under the influence of the Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya theory, modern editors attribute to him the authorship of compositions written by other people of the same name,—Vidyāmādhavīya, Mādhavanidāna, Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha etc. Another work attributed to him and not acknowledged to be the production of different colophons is Śaṅkaravijaya, a poem giving the biography of Śaṅkarācārya. It begins with the praise of Vidyātīrtha and has a colophon at the end stating that it is Mādhavīya. But it is too full of inconsistencies and absurdities to be a composition of the great Mādhava. Another work Vaiyāsikanyāyamālā giving a brief interpretation of the Vedānta-sūtras begins with the praise of Vidyātīrtha and is attributed by some to be the composition of Mādhavācārya,

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1 श्रुतिस्मृतिसदाचारपालको माधवो बुधः। स्मार्तं व्याख्याय सर्वार्थं द्विजार्थं श्रौत उद्यतः ।...स भव्याद्भारतीतीर्थयतीन्द्रचतुराननात् । कृपामत्याहृतां लब्ध्वा परार्ध्यं प्रतिमोऽभवत् ॥ Colophon at the end: इतिश्रीमन्त्रिकाण्डमीमांसामण्डनप्रतिवसन्तसोमयाजिभट्ट-श्रीमाधवविरचिते जैमिनीयन्यायमालाविस्तरे etc.—Jaiminīyanyāyamālāvistara, Anandasrama series.

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but the colophon at the end states that it is written by Bhāratītīrtha and there is no reason to doubt it.

From the writings of Mādhavācārya it is therefore evident that he was a Brahmin householder, a performer of the Vedic sacrifices (which involve animal slaughter) and as a minister, subordinate to king Bukka of Vijayanagar. How could he be identified with Vidyāraṇya, who was a sannyāsin and could not as such worship fire or harm animal life and who was the pontiff of the Śriṅgerī Mutt under whose orders grants are recorded to have been made by kings and princes in inscriptions ?[1]

(4) A close examination of the details about Mādhavācārya that are to be found abundantly in the works of his brother Sāyaṇācārya proves still more clearly that there is nothing common between Vidyāraṇya and Mādhavācārya. Sāyaṇa and Bhoganātha were two brothers of Mādhavācārya referred to in his great work, Parāśarasmṛtivyākhyā (see *ante*). Now Sāyaṇācārya lived at first in the eastern part of the Vijayanagar empire including Nellore District in the court of Prince Kampa, a younger brother of Harihara I. After the death of that prince, his son Saṅgama II became the governor of the kingdom but as he was still a minor child, Sāyaṇa had to look after the administration of the province during the minority and had even to take part in an expedition against king Campa. These details are given in Sāyaṇa's work, Alaṅkārasudhānidhi (see Ind. Ant., 1916, p. 23). Some time after Saṅgama II came of age, Sāyaṇa left the court and went to king Bukka I whom he served as minister along with his elder brother Mādhavācārya. He lived to see Bukka II's son Harihara II enthroned as king of Vijayanagar and died during his reign. The works of Sāyaṇa are (1) Subhāṣitasudhānidhi, a collection of moral sayings which was composed (as is clear from the colophon at the end of the work, Ind. Ant., 1916, p. 2) during the reign of Prince Kampa ; (2) Prāyaścittasudhānidhi called also Karmavipāka treating of penances ; (3) Alaṅkārasudhānidhi dealing with figures of speech, (4) Dhātuvṛtti, a treatise on Sanskrit verbs ; (5) Vedic commentaries ; (6) Puruṣārtha-

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1 E. C. VI, Koppa 19 and 30. Cf. also Śṛṅgerī Mutt copperplate inscription of 1384 (Mys. Arch. Rep., 1916, p. 58) where it is said that "by the grace of Vidyāraṇyamuni, he (Harihara II) acquired the empire of knowledge unattainable by kings."

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sudhānidhi consisting of Purāṇic teachings ; and (7) Yajñatantrasudhānidhi, a work on sacrificial ritual. Of these numbers 2, 3 and 4 were written in the reign of Saṅgama II (see Ind. Ant., 1916, p. 2.), while the works 5 and 6 were composed by the orders of king Bukka and at the instance of his elder brother, but the commentary on the Atharvaveda and some of the Brāhmaṇas including Śatapatha were composed or completed in the reign of Harihara II. The last work Yajñatantrasudhānidhi was written in the reign of Harihara II.[1]

Now in all the works, Sāyaṇa calls himself the younger brother of Mādhavācārya (called also Mādhavārya and Mādhava). Their parents Māyaṇa and Śrīmatī and younger brother Bhoganātha are also referred to in Sāyaṇācārya's works. What do we learn about Mādhavācārya from these works ? Nos. 1 and 2 merely name him.[2] No. 3, Alaṅkārasudhānidhi, gives us many details. In the manuscript of the Alaṅkārasudhānidhi, pp. 210f. (No. A. 615, Government Oriental Library, Mysore) we find "Māyaṇa's son Mādhava was justly so called because he was able to rule the earth for Bukka"[3] and Mādhava is praised (with a pun) "as enjoying various pleasures, and surrounded by Brahmins and as a minister of all the worlds (ibid., p. 375)."[4] The colophon at the end of this work calls Mādhavācārya as Bukkarāja-prathamārādhya (object of the highest reverence of Bukkarāja). The introductory verses of the Yajñatantrasudhānidhi describe Mādhava as a performer of great sacrifices (mahākratūnam āhartā Mādhavāryaḥ sahodaraḥ.—Ind. Ant., 1916, p. 2). The treatise on verbs, Dhātuvṛtti (No. 4), merely names Sāyaṇa's brother Mādhava. The first part of this work is called Mādhavīya and Sāyaṇa says that he wrote it under that name.[5] At the beginning of the second part of the work he also alludes to the first as his

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1 Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Library of Calcutta Sanskrit College, 1894, no. 2 : इतिश्रीमद्राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरहरिहरमहाराजसकलसाम्राज्यधुरंधरस्य वैदिकमार्गस्थापनाचार्यस्य सायणाचार्यस्य कृतौ यज्ञतन्त्रसुधानिधौ ॥

2 इति.....श्रीकम्पनहाराजमहाप्रधान.....माधवकल्पतरुसहोदरसायणाचार्यविरचिते सुभाषितसुधानिधौ ॥ इतिमाधवभोगनाथसहोदरस्य मायणनन्दनस्य सायणाचार्यस्य कृतौ प्रायश्चित्तसुधानिधौ ।

3 बुक्कराजस्य चतुस्समुद्रालङ्कृतवसुमतीसमानयनसामर्थ्यं मायणनन्दने माधव एवशब्दो नियम्यते ॥

4 अनन्तभोगसंसक्तो द्विजपुङ्गवसेवितः । सचिवस्सर्वलोकानां त्राता जयति माधवः ॥

5 तेन मायणपुत्रेण सायणेन मनीषिणा ।
आख्यया माधवीयेयं धातुवृत्तिर्विरच्यते ॥

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composition: "Vivṛttim Mādhavīyākhyām" (p. 32, Mysore Oriental Library edition of the Dhātuvṛtti).

The term "Mādhavīya" occurring in the colophons of Vedic commentaries and other later works of Sāyaṇa, as a title or name of the works and found also in the colophons of most of the Mādhavācārya's works cited before has been interpreted by some scholars to mean "composed by Mādhava". These scholars infer that the works of Sāyaṇa having this title were the joint productions of Sāyaṇa and Mādhava. But it is certain that if Sāyaṇācārya had intended to express such an idea he would have used some such term as "Sāyaṇena Mādhavena ca viracite" or "Sāyaṇa-Mādhavābhyām viracite" instead of saying "iti Śrī Sāyaṇācārya-viracite Mādhavīye Vedārthaprakāśe" etc. Surely Sāyaṇa was not lacking either in scholarship or courtesy, for he distinctly acknowledges in his works that Mādhavācārya taught him the interpretation of the purāṇa, itihāsa etc. Further, in the introductory verses of the Puruṣārthasudhānidhi and of the Yajurvedabhāṣya (quoted in the Mysore Government Oriental Library edition of the Dhātuvṛtti)[1] we are told that king Bukka first commanded

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1 सत्यैकव्रतपालको ... ... श्रीबुक्कपृथ्वीपतिः ॥

इन्द्रस्याङ्गिरसो ... ... यद्वत्तस्य विभोरभूत् कुलगुरुर्मन्त्री तथा माधवः ॥

तं सर्वविद्यानिलयं तत्त्वविद्बुक्कभूपतिः। सत्कथाकौतुकी हर्षादपृच्छद्राजशेखरम् ॥ श्रुतानि त्वन्मुखादेव शास्त्राणि विविधानिच। पुराणोपपुराणानि भारतञ्च महामते ॥ सर्वाण्येतानि विप्रेन्द्र गहनान्यल्पमेधसाम्। तस्मादाख्यानरूपाणि सुखोपायानि सुव्रत। पुरुषार्थोपभोगीनि व्यासवाक्यानि मे वद ॥ तस्य तद्वचनं श्रुत्वा युक्तार्थं बुक्कभूपतेः। प्रशस्य तं मुदा युक्तो माधवः प्रत्यभाषत ॥.....अयं हि कृतिनामाद्यस्सायणार्योममानुजः। पुराणोपपुराणेषु पुरुषार्थोपयोगिनीः। उपदिष्टा मया राजन्कथास्ते कथयिष्यति ॥ इति प्रसाद्य राजानं सायणार्यमुदैक्षत। सायणार्योऽयजेनोक्तः प्राह बुक्कमहीपतिम्। साधु साधु महाप्राज्ञ बुद्धिस्ते धर्मदर्शिनी। वदामि व्यासवाक्यानि लोकानां हितकाम्यया ॥—*Puruṣārthasudhānidhi.*

यस्य निःश्वसितं वेदा यो वेदेभ्योऽखिलं जगत्।
निर्ममे तमहं वन्दे विद्यातीर्थमहेश्वरम् ॥ १ ॥
तत्कटाक्षेण तद्रूपं दधद्बुक्कमहीपतिः।
आदिशन्माधवाचार्यं वेदार्थस्य प्रकाशने ॥ २ ॥
स प्राह नृपतिं राजन् सायणार्यो ममानुजः।
सर्वं वेत्त्येष वेदानां व्याख्यातृत्वे नियुज्यताम् ॥ ३ ॥
इत्युक्तो माधवार्येण वीरबुक्कमहीपतिः।
अन्वशात्सायणाचार्यं वेदार्थस्य प्रकाशने ॥ ४ ॥
ये पूर्वोत्तरमीमांसे ते व्याख्यायातिसङ्ग्रहात्।
कृपालुस्सायणाचार्यो वेदार्थं वक्तुमुद्यतः ॥ ५ ॥

Taittirīyasamhitābhāṣya.

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Mādhavācārya to compose the treatises but on his representing to the king that his younger brother Sāyaṇa was well-versed in those subjects Bukka ordered the latter to compose the works. This distinctly proves that the part played by Mādhavācārya was confined to his inducing the king to entrust their production to Sāyaṇa and that he did not himself write the works.[1] In the case of the Vedic commmentaries, the Taittirīyāraṇyakabhāṣya, Ānandāśrama series, 1891, Śuklayajurvedasaṃhitā, Benares edition, Vaṃśabrāhmaṇabhāṣya, Calcutta, 1892, Taittirīya-saṃhitābhāṣya, Ānandāśrama series, Sāmavedasaṃhitā, Calcutta, 1903, Atharvavedabhāṣya, Bombay, 1895, have colophons and introductory verses stating that they are the productions of Sāyaṇa and are called Mādhavīya. Even in the case of Max Müller's edition of the Ṛgvedabhāṣya, the colophons at the end of each anuvāka distinctly give the name of Sāyaṇa, but in the introductory verses at the beginning, the verses in which Mādhavācārya was first asked by Bukka to write the work are retained,[2] and the stanzas which state that Mādhavācārya requested the king to delegate the work to Sāyaṇācārya, are omitted by mistake, and the result is that Mādhava is represented to have carried out the king's orders for composing the Vedic commentaries. That this is a mistake on the part of some of the copyists and editors is patent from the colophons of the works which acknowledge Sāyaṇa as the author.[3] Further, the production of commentaries on all the

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Stanzas 3 and 4 are omitted in some editions of the Ṛgvedabhāṣya, but are given in a footnote in Tukaram Tatya's edition, Bombay, 1888 with the remark इत्यधिकमेकस्मिन् पुस्तके .

1 Some scholars hold that the term Mādhavīya indicates the name of a series of compendiums on all subjects planned by Mādhava. But there is no evidence to prove any such planning of a series and no writer acknowledges any such assistance or guidance from him. It is Mādhavāmātya of Banavase that brought Brāhmaṇas into Karṇāṭaka from Āndhradeśa and Kāśmīra and gave them lands for their learning (see E. C., VII, Introduction, p. 38 and E. C., VIII, Sorab 375).

2 तत्कटाक्षेण तद्रूपं दधद्भुक्तमहीपतिः। आदिशन्माधवाचार्यं वेदार्थस्य प्रकाशने॥ ये पूर्वोत्तरमीमांसे ते व्याख्यायातिसङ्ग्रहात्। कृपालुर्माधवाचार्यो वेदार्थं वक्तुमुद्यतः॥—*Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa, Calcutta, 1870.*

3 इति श्रीमद्राजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-वैदिकमार्गप्रवर्तक-श्रीवीरबुक्कभूपाल-साम्राज्यधुरंधरेण सायणाचार्येण

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Vedas by Sāyaṇa is made certain by the opening verses of the Vaṃśa-brāhmaṇabhāṣya in which Sāyaṇa states that after writing the commentary on the Ṛg, Yajus and Sāmavedasaṃhitās he took up the Brāhmaṇas for interpretation.[1] Similarly in the Atharvavedasaṃhitā-bhāṣya the introductory verses state that after composing a commentary on the other three Vedas he took up the work of interpreting the Atharvaveda.[2]

The inconsistencies and inaccuracies in Sāyaṇas' Vedabhāṣya, which have been alluded to by some,[3] may be due to the fact that Sāyaṇa depended on the traditional interpretation of the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas such as Yāska, to whom he refers in his works and also on what had been explained to him by various Vedic scholars of the day including his guru Vidyātīrtha. Further, there is no direct proof that different portions of the Vedabhāṣya were written by individuals under

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विरचिते माधवीये वेदार्थप्रकाशे ऋक्संहिताभाष्ये प्रथमाष्टके प्रथमोऽध्यायः ।—*Ṛgbhāṣya, Max Müller's Edition.*

There are also references to Sāyaṇa's parents and to his previous work Dhātuvṛtti in the Ṛgbhāṣya (see *Rv.*, VIII, 46, 68 ; I. 5, 8).

1 व्याख्यातावृग्यजुर्वेदौ सामवेदोऽपि संहिता । व्याख्याता ब्राह्मणस्याथ व्याख्यानं संप्रवर्तते ।..... प्रौढादिब्राह्मणान्यादौ सप्त व्याख्याय चान्तिमम् । वंशाख्यं ब्राह्मणं विद्वान् सायणो व्याचिकीर्षति ॥—*Vaṃśa-brāhmaṇa-bhāṣya, Calcutta, 1892.*

2 ये पूर्वोत्तरमीमांसे ते व्याख्यायातिसंङ्ग्रहात् । कृपालुस्सायणाचार्यो वेदार्थं वक्तुमुद्यतः । व्याख्याय वेदत्रितयमामुष्मिकफलप्रदम् । ऐहिकामुष्मिकफलं चतुर्थं व्याचिकीर्षति ॥—*Atharvavedasaṃhitā-bhāṣya, Paṇḍit's Edition.*

3 See Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, p. 711.—"There can be very little doubt, and a thorough examination of all parts enables us to prove, that Sāyaṇa's comments on the Ṛgveda and Taittirīyasaṃhitā were only partially done by himself and carried on by his school. The interpretation of the Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa, Taittirīyāraṇyaka, Aitareyāraṇyaka shows a want of discretion which can only be explained on the supposition that their authorship belongs to a different author."

See also Macdonell's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 275: "Sāyaṇa's comments on the two saṃhitās would appear to have been only partially composed by himself and to have been completed by his pupils. He died in 1387.....Sāyaṇa's elder brother, Mādhava, was minister of king Bukka I. Not only did he too produce works of his own, but Sāyaṇa's commentaries, as composed under his patronage were dedicated to him as Mādhavīya (or influenced by Mādhava)."

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the editorship of Sāyaṇa, beyond the Inam office copper-plate grant of Śṛṅgerī of 1386 (Mys. Arch. Rep., 1908, p. 14), and an oral tradition in Śṛṅgerī that special rights of precedence are claimed by a family there on the ground that their ancestors helped in the composition of the Vedabhāṣya (Mys. Arch. Rep., 1916, p. 12).

The genuineness of the Inam office copper-plate grant is questionable since it refers to Vidyāraṇya as living some months after the date of his death and the creation of an agrahāra in his memory by Harihara II according to second Śṛṅgerī Mutt copper-plate grant of 1386 (Mys. Arch. Rep., 1916, p. 58). Voluminous writings on various religious subjects were very common during the period (compare the works of Vedāntācārya, Madhvācārya and Jayatīrtha, etc.). The oral tradition regarding the particular claims of a family seems to be untrustworthy like several others of its class.

Any way the name "Mādhavīya" occurring in the colophons of the Vedabhāṣyas cannot be interpreted to mean the work of Mādhava, since it is distinctly the composition of Sāyaṇa. Moreover, if Sāyaṇa wanted to show that the work was the joint production of himself and Mādhava, he should have put the name of the latter first because he as his elder brother was entitled to precedence according to Hindu usage. Further if "Mādhavīya" means the composition of Mādhava, where is the need for inserting this title in the colophons of Mādhava's works after stating that they are his works? "Iti śrī.....Mādhavāmātyasya kṛtau Parāśarasmṛti-vyākhyāyām Mādhavīyāyām prathamōdhyāyaḥ" etc. Again, the Dhātuvṛtti which is the first production of Sāyaṇa bearing the title Mādhavīya was written by him when he was still far away in the east in the court of Saṅgama II, while Mādhava was a minister under king Bukka I in Vijayanagar. Mādhava never served Saṅgama II or he would have praised him in one of his works. How could the two brothers have been joint authors of such an elaborate treatise when the two were living far away? In fact, there is no reason or necessity for interpreting the word "Mādhavīya" in these works as meaning the production of Mādhava, and such an interpretation is directly opposed to what Sāyaṇa himself says regarding its meaning.

Turning back to the question of the supposed identity between Mādhavācārya and Vidyāraṇya, the works of Sāyaṇa, as also of Mādhavācārya show the latter to be a trusted minister of Bukka II who commanded him and later his brother Sāyaṇa to deliver religious discourses to him and to compose treatises on the interpretation of the Vedas, Smṛtis and Purāṇas, and that he was a married man (as no

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Hindu could perfom a Vedic sacrifice unless he had a wife alive), and that he was a careful observer of the religious ceremonies and sacrifices ordained for a householder in the Smṛtis. But the whole of the tradition relating to Vidyāraṇya including the narratives of Nuniz and Ferishta depicts him as having received *sannyāsa* long before Bukka I came to the throne and as having gained the throne for Harihara I by his spiritual power. Surely Mādhavācārya could not have been both a householder in the full enjoyment of worldly pleasures (anantabhogasaṃsakta) and a sannyāsin (named Vidyāraṇya) at the same time. Moreover, the Hindu Smṛtis of which both Mādhavācārya and Sāyaṇa were such good exponents enjoin civil death on a person after becoming a sannyāsin, and he cannot use his former name (a new name will be given to him by his guru) or speak of his parents or his family or gotra. Thus Madhvācārya and Jayatīrtha, two sannyāsins of the Dvaita school were called Vāsudeva and Dhoṇḍo Raghunātha before they received sannyāsa and they never used the latter names in their works. If Mādhavācārya were identical with Vidyāraṇya and was a sannyāsin in the reign of Bukka I, he could not have referred to his old name, parents or gotra in his works. Moreover, Sāyaṇa, who lived for some years even during the reign of Harihara II, would have referred to his brother as a sannyāsin under the name of Vidyāraṇya and not as a performer of sacrifices. It is thus clear from Sāyaṇa's works that Mādhavācārya was quite distinct from Vidyāraṇya.

(5) Another difficulty in the identification of Mādhavācārya with Vidyāraṇya is presented in the name of the patron and guru of the two. Throughout the works of Mādhavācārya it is king Bukka I who is referred to as the patron, and no mention is made either of Harihara I or of Harihara II. On the contrary, the inscriptions of Vidyāraṇya (E. C., VI. Koppa 19 and 30 of 1377-78; Śṛṅgerī Kaḍita of 1380, and copper-plate grants of 1384 and 1386, Mys. Arch. Rep., 1916, pp. 56 & 58, 1909, p. 14) are all of the reign of Harihara II. The whole of the Vidyāraṇya tradition as contained in Vidyāraṇyakālajñāna, Śivatatva-ratnākara, Guruvaṃśa etc., speaks of Vidyāraṇya as having set up Harihara I on the throne. If Vidyāraṇya and Mādhavācārya were one and the same person why is there no reference in Mādhavācārya's works either to Harihara I or to Harihara II ?[1].

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1 But some editions of the Jaiminīya-nyāya-mālā-vistara have a verse at the end praising Harihara. Whether by Harihara is meant

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As regards his gurus, Mādhavācārya praises both Vidyātīrtha and Bhāratītīrtha as his preceptors in his writings. The Śṛṅgerī Mutt copper-plate grant of 1386 recording the death of Vidyāraṇya and the Kaḍita of 1380 in the same Mutt contain invocatory stanzas addressed to the gurus of the Mutt in this order: Vidyātīrtha, Vidyāraṇya and Bhāratītīrtha. A verse occurring in the first of these records speaks of Bukka as a swan sporting happily near the lotus, Bhāratītīrtha, which having sprung from Vidyātīrtha expands by the rays of the sun Vidyāraṇya (Mys. Arch. Rep., 1916, pp. 58 f.), Bhāratītīrtha is stated in many of the traditional accounts relating to Vidyāraṇya to have been his younger brother who became a sannyāsin earlier (see Mys. Arch. Rep., 1916, p. 57 and Guruvaṃśa). In such a case the introductory stanzas in Mādhavācārya's work, Jaiminīyanyāyamālāvistara stating that by the unfailing grace of the great Bhāratītīrtha-munīndra he became matchless (in fame), would be inapplicable, if Vidyāraṇya was the same person as Mādhavācārya.

Further, the works of Vidyāraṇya do not contain any stanzas in praise of Bhāratītīrtha as are found in Mādhavācārya's writings. The Anubhūtiprakāśikā of Vidyāraṇya contains the interpretation of the Upaniṣads and at the end of each discourse occurs a stanza meaning that Vidyātīrtha may be pleased with the work (Nirnaya-sagar Press edition, Bombay). Aparokṣānubhūtidīpika, a commentary on Śaṅkara's work, does not mention any guru. Two other works of Vidyāraṇya, Vivaraṇaprameyasaṅgraha and Pañcadaśī, dealing with the Advaita philosophy, begin with a stanza in praise of Śaṅkarānanda-guru. The colophons in these works merely tell us that they are the compositions of Paramahaṃsa Parivrājakācārya Vidyāraṇyasvāmin. The Vivaraṇaprameyasaṅgraha also contains the praise of Vidyātīrtha. Rāmakṛṣṇa the commentator on the Pañcadaśī states in the colophon at the end of each chapter that he is parivrājakācārya Śrī Bhāratītīrtha-Vidyāraṇya-munivarya-kiṅkara but this does not mean that he was an immediate disciple of Bhāratītīrtha or Vidyāraṇya, Some scholars

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the god of that name or the king Harihara II, or, whether it is a pun on the name with both the meanings, it is not possible to determine. Many believe it to be an addition made by some followers of Mādhava. See Ānandāśrama edition of the work. The stanza referred to is :—

वेदानां स्थितिकृत्पुराहरिहरोऽभूत्सूक्तकर्त्तेमिनिस्तद्भाष्यं शबरोऽभ्यधादृगदितर्वांस्तद्विस्तरं माधवः ।
सोऽयं नित्यकलत्रपुत्रजनकप्रज्ञाधिपत्यस्थितिर्दीर्घायुष्मदवन्मुभिर्विजयतामाचन्द्रमातारकम् ॥

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believe that a part of the Pañcadaśī was written by Vidyāraṇya and the rest by Bhāratītīrtha, but this does not seem to be based on any definite data. Any way the works of Vidyāraṇya never refer to Bhāratītīrtha as his guru, while Mādhavācārya's writings invariably speak of Bhāratītīrtha as his guru.[1] This is a further proof that the theory of identity between Vidyāraṇya and Mādhavācārya is untenable.

(6) Not merely do the writings of Mādhavācārya and Sāyaṇa fail to show any connection between them and Vidyāraṇya, but no work can be cited either of contemporary authors or even of writers who flourished one or two centuries later which might clearly prove the identity. The famous philosophical treatise Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha by Mādhava, son of Sāyaṇa, and Tātparyadīpikā, a commentary on Sūtasaṃhitā, by Mādhavācārya, governor of Candragutti and Āraga (1347-1392,—see Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, vol. XIX, p. 252) do not refer to Vidyāraṇya. Jayatīrthavijaya, a shorter and a longer poem of the name by Śrīnivāsatīrtha, disciple of Jayatīrtha (circa 1365-1388) describes a disputation that took place between Vidyāraṇya and Akṣobhayatīrtha, an ascetic of the Mādhva school of thought in the king's court in which Vedāntācārya (circa 1270-1371), a scholar of the Rāmānuja sect acted as arbitrator (Jayatīrthavijaya, Part I, Jayalaya Press, Mysore), and also a meeting between Vidyāraṇya and Jayatīrtha in which Vidyāraṇya appreciated the latter's deep learning and mastery of logic and honoured him by taking him in a procession on an elephant. Now although these show us Vidyāraṇya as a powerful pontiff highly honoured by the king, they do not allude to the composition of any great works (either those of Mādhavācārya or of his brother) by him. Nirṇayasindhu, a work on Dharmaśāstra composed by Kamalākarabhaṭṭa in 1612 (as stated in the work itself; see also Catalogus Catalogorum, part 2, p. 64) makes constant references to Mādhavācārya (Mādhava) and his work Parāśarasmṛtivyākhyā with the title Mādhavīya but never speaks of him as Vidyāraṇya. Tithinirṇaya, another work on Dharmaśāstra, by

1 There are numerous works attributed to Vidyāraṇya (see Catalogus Catalogorum). Some of these are not available either in ms. or print, e.g., his commentary on the Upaniṣads. Some are evidently the compositions of others like those of Sāyaṇa, Mādhavācārya etc. Only those which are available in print and definitely attributed to Vidyāraṇya and not to others are referred to here.

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Rāghavendrayati (1624-71) similarly refers to Mādhavācārya but never calls him Vidyāraṇya. Puṇyaślokamañjarī, a narrative giving a brief account of the succession of the Svāmins of the Kāñcī Mutt by Sarvajña Sadāśivabodha who is said to have been the 54th pontiff of the Mutt between 1523 and 1539 A.D. (see the work Śaṅkarācārya the Great and his successors in Kāñcī by N. Venkataraman, Madras, 1923) speaks of the yati Vidyātīrtha being surrounded by great men—Mādhava, Bukka and Bhāratī-yati, and Vidyāraṇya is not alluded to. The encyclopædiac work of the Keḷadi king Basavarāja, called Śivatattvaratnākara composed in 1709 A.D. merely gives the traditional story of Vidyāraṇya and the part he played in helping Harihara I to the throne of Vijayanagar but is silent about the composition of Vedabhāṣya or any other works that are now attributed to Vidyāraṇya by people who confuse him with Mādhavācārya.

(7) But even more important than the negative evidence referred to previously there are also positive evidences in several works dealing with the story of Vidyāraṇya that he is a different personage from Mādhavācārya and his brothers. Thus Śivatattvaratnākara composed in 1709 A.D. by Basavarāja, king of Keḷadi (1697-1714 A.D.) giving the story of Vidyāraṇya propitiating the god Virūpākṣa of Hampe and building the city of Vijayanagar in the form of the mystic diagram Śrīcakra, where a shower of gold rained for 3¾ ghaṭikās (1½ hours), and installing Harihara as its first king, tells us that before taking up *sannyāsa*, he was a poor Brahmin Śivadharman with several children and grandchildren (chapter 12, book 4). This indicates that Vidyāraṇya had nothing to do with Mādhavācārya and was called Śivadharman before he became an ascetic. The series of works known as Vidyāraṇyakālajñāna consists of (1) Vidyāraṇyavṛtta, purporting to be an autobiography of Vidyāraṇya, (2) Vidyāraṇyaśaka supposed to have been narrated to Harihara I by Vidyāraṇya and written down by Bhāratīkṛṣṇa-yati and composed as a śāsana on stone in the Vidyāraṇya temple at Śṛṅgerī by one Venkateśa, (3) Vidyāraṇyakālajñāna, purporting to be the prophesy made by Vidyāraṇya by the grace of god Śiva regarding the future rulers and history of Vijayanagar down to Rāmarāya and his descendants, (4) Pitāmahasaṃhitā giving the story of Vidyāraṇya and Vijayanagar down to Śrīraṅgarāja and said to be related to sage Kāśyapa by god Pitāmaha (Brahman) after hearing the prophetic discourse of Vidyāraṇya. All these are referred to as having been composed as a single work by Bhāratīkṛṣṇatīrtha-yati under the orders of Vidyā-

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raṇya, the present manuscript being stated to be a copper-plate śāsana in Ānegondi containing the account (see the manuscript Vidyāraṇyakālajñāna, No. A. 47 in the Mysore Oriental Library). These traditional accounts are said to be the bases of the historical portion of the Śivatattvaratnākara referred to in the previous para (chap. 12, bk 4).[1] Now in the very first of these narratives viz. the Vidyāraṇyavṛtta which begins with an invocation to Vidyātīrtha, we learn that before the establishment of the Vijayanagar kingdom, Vidyāraṇya lived for some time in the caves of the Mataṅga hill near Hampe and that during this period two persons Sāyaṇa and Māyaṇa went to the sage (Vidyāraṇya) and prayed to him to bless them with offspring, but the sage told them that they could not get children and could only attain the regions (in the other world) reserved for those who have sons. He is then said to have made them his disciples and got them to compose works known as Sāyaṇīya and Mādhavīya.[2]

Another great work dealing with Vidyāraṇya and composed by Pandit Lakṣmaṇaśāstrī of the Śṛṅgerī Mutt during the pontificate of Saccidānandabhāratīsvāmin (1770-1814) (Sri Vani Vilas Sanskrit series, Srirangam) also gives the same story. Here Vidyāraṇya is said to have composed a bhāṣya on the Vedas and shown it to the sage Vyāsa at Benares, and while he was at Mataṅga hill he was visited by two ministers Mādhava and Sāyaṇa who prayed for offspring. But as they were not destined to get children Vidyāraṇya enabled them to attain worlds set apart for those who have sons by composing several works relating to the Vedas and śāstras, and named the works Mādhavīya and Sāyaṇīya after the ministers (Guruvaṃśa, chapter V. verse 44).[3] This account which represents the orthodox tradition of the Śṛṅgerī Mutt and

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1 विद्यारण्यकृतिं चैव पितामहसुसंहिताम्। विलोक्यायं विरचितः कल्लोलोऽमूच्चतुर्थकः॥— *Śivatattvaratnākara, Madras.*

2 इति श्रुत्वा स्थितोऽहं वै मतङ्गगिरिगह्वरे। तस्मिन् काले तु संप्राप्तौ नाम्ना सायणमायणौ। ममांतिकमुपागम्य संतानार्थमयाचतां। संतानभाग्यं नास्त्येव युवयोरित्यवादिषम्। तौ मद्वाक्यं समाकर्ण्य चिन्ताकुलितमानसौ। मामूचतुर्महाभक्त्या धर्मार्थं ह्याजितं बहु। एतत्सर्वं व्ययीकृत्य पुत्रिणां लोकमार्जय। इत्युक्तोऽहं ततस्ताभ्यां कृपयाऽकरवं कृतिम्। सायणीयमिति ख्यातं माधवीयमिति स्फुटम्। तयोरुपरि शास्त्राणि विविधानि कृतानि वै॥ कल्पयित्वा स्वशिष्यौ तौ ताभ्यां सर्वमकारयम्॥ (p. 19)

3 माधवीयमिति सायणीयमित्यादराद्यतिवरोऽर्थित आभ्याम्।
वेदशास्त्रगकृतीस्सकलास्ताः साध संव्यधित तद्द्वयनाम्ना॥

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is the basis of the legends of the Keḷadi kingdom to which Śrīṅgerī belonged tells us definitely that Mādhavācārya and Vidyāraṇya are different persons. It is therefore clear that even the orthodox tradition of the Śrīṅgerī Mutt to which Vidyāraṇya belonged is opposed to the theory of identity of Vidyāraṇya with Mādhavācārya.

R. RAMA RAO

The "Webbed Fingers" of Buddha

According to authoritative Buddhist tradition, Śākyamuni Gotama, when he was born, was endowed with 32 signs[1] of great men which prognosticated his future career. One of these signs is variously described in Pali and Sanskrit Buddhist Texts, as *Jāla-hatthapādo* (*Mahāpadāna-Suttanta*, Rhys Davids ; *Dīgha Nikāya*, vol. II, p. 17), *Jālāṅgulihastapādaḥ*[2] (*Lalitavistara*, p. 106, ed. by Lefmann) and *Jālāvanaddhahastapādaḥ* (*Mahāvyutpatti*, p. 6). This sign has been rendered into English by Prof. Grünwedel as 'his fingers and toes have a web between.'[3] Dr. Rhys Davids, however, translates the *Jāla-hatthapāda* of

1 One who has these signs on his body is destined by fate, according to early Buddhist tradition, to be either a ruler or a saviour of mankind. A detailed list of these signs 'which probably date back to mythological origin and were originally attributed to Devas' is given in the following works among others : *Dīgha* vol. XI, 17-19 ; *Ibid.*, III, 142 ; *Suttanipāta*, 1040 sq. ; *Dhammapada*, 352 ; *Milindapañha*, 10 ; *Lalitavistara*, pp. 105f. ; *Mahāvyutpatti*, pp. 5f. This list with slight variations here and there occurs also in Siamese, Ceylonese, and Chinese traditions about the person of Buddha noticed by the scholars named Alabaster (*The Wheel of the Law*), Spence Hardy (*Manual of Buddhism*), and S. Beal (*Romantic History of Buddha*).

2 In Dr. R. L. Mitra's edition (Bibliotheca Indica Series, p. 121), the reading is *Jāṅgulikahastapādaḥ*. He translates it thus : 'his fingers and toes joined with webs,' and adds this note 'the web is noticed only at the root of the toes and the fingers, the skin between them rising slightly in a thin web' (*Lalitavistara*, translation, Bibliotheca Indica edition, p. 143 and 170).

3 *Buddhist Art*, p. 161.

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the *Mahāpadāna-Suttanta* as 'with hands and feet like a net' and adds the following foot-note to it: "Like a lattice, says the commentary, and explains this to mean that there is no 'webbing' between fingers and toes, but that these are set in right lines, like the meshes of a net."[1]

Now, the artists of the Gupta period are supposed by practically every scholar interested in Indian art to have portrayed this feature of the webbed fingers in many of the numerous images of Buddha fashioned by them. Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy refers to the 'webbed fingers' as one of the characteristic features of the Buddhas of the Gupta period.[2] He further remarks, while describing the Mankuwār image, 'the fingers are webbed, as in several other early Gupta Examples.'[3]

But, are the fingers really webbed? The correct answer to this question can only be ascertained, if we put under close observation a few well preserved Buddha specimens of the Gupta period. We may refer first to the unique and interesting Mankuwār image mentioned above.[4] Its left hand rests upturned on the lap, while the right hand is raised in the *abhayamudrā* with the palm spread outwards, fingers not being set close to one another, but placed slightly apart. It appears, however, that there is the suggestion of a thin continuous web at the back of the palm, joining, as it were, each finger with the other. But though at the first sight, this is apparent, the case is really not one of 'webbing.' The Gupta artist, in order to safeguard the preservation of these free-standing slender fingers, not only left the intervening space near the back of each uncarved, but the part of the stone-block in between the outspread palm and the upper arm was not chiselled away. However, a con-

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1 *Dialogues of the Buddha*, pt. II, p. 14. Cf. the commentary: *jālahatthapādo ti na cammena paṭibaddha aṅgulantaro. Ediso hi phaṇahatthako purisadosena upahato pabbajjaṃ pi na labhati. Mahāpurisassa pana catasso hatthaṅguliyo pañca pi pādaṅguliyo ekappamāṇā honti, tāsaṃ pana ekappamaṇattā jālalakkhaṇam aññamaññaṃ paṭivijjhitvā tiṭṭhanti, ath'assa hatthapādā sukusalena vaḍḍhakinā yojitajālavātapānasadisā honti, tena vuttaṃ jālahatthapādo ti.*

2 *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 74 & f. n. 2.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 241.

4 *Ibid.*, pl. XLIII, fig. 162. The image is inscribed and dated in the year 448-49 A.D.

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summate master of his art as he was, he showed a fine edge along the top of the fingers in order to give a beautifying effect to his image. This finely carved line carried over one finger tip to the other[1] led the art-critics of the modern age to describe it as webbing. But that it was far from the original intention of the artist can be proved if we compare with the image just described, the two beautiful metal images, one, the famous copper Buddha of Sultangunj, now in the art gallery of the Birmingham Museum, and the other, a bronze Buddha in the collection of the Boston Museum, both of the fifth century A.D.[2] The right hand of the latter is unfortunately broken, but its left hand, holding the hem of the garment with fingers, one detached from the other, is well preserved. Both the hands of the former, however, are whole, the right one being in the usual *abhaya* pose, while the left one is holding the hem as above, but in a different manner. The fingers of the only remaining hand of the Boston image do not seem to show the slightest suggestion of 'webbing', while those of the Sultangunj Buddha, especially the right hand ones, just suggest the so-called webbed connection in their lower ends.[3] The fact appears to be that the casters of these metal images relied on the durability of the material in which they worked and had thus no necessity for completely joining the fingers of their image by means of the so-called 'web' for their safety. The greyish Chunar sandstone on which the stone artists of the Gupta period worked, was, however, from the point of view of durability, much inferior to metal and thus their choice of the material led them to adopt this peculiar device. This observation of ours will explain why even the portion between the chest and the top section of the upper arm beneath the armpits of the Mankuwār image which is fully in

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1 In very rare cases, the upper one or one and a half digits of the fingers are carved in the round while in the lower section they are joined one with the other by means of this so-called 'web.'

2 Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, pl. XLI, 160 and pl. XL, 159. Regarding the Boston Buddha, the learned author says that the typically Gupta bronze of figure 159 said to have been found in Burma is probably of Indian origin'; *op. cit.*, p. 171.

3 The original image could not be observed. But from the plate, it seems that the fingers of the two hands are treated in a different manner; the detachment in the case of those in the left seems to be more marked than in the case of the others in the right.

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the round (unique in the case of a seated Buddha type of the Gupta age) and which had a halo (now almost gone) behind its head and shoulders only, is left uncarved by the skilful artist. Need I be more explicit and say that this was done only for giving a greater protection to the detached arms of the image and not for indicating a possible web between these two sections of Buddha's body?[1] In the case of the other seated figures of Buddha and Bodhisattva at Sārnāth, which are in very high relief, their back always resting on the *Prabhābalī*, generally rectangular in shape, the artists were in no fear of any sudden damage to the arms. A remark may be made in this connection, with regard to the left palms of some of the Gupta Buddhas shown holding the hem of the garment in a partially closed fist. When the fingers are slightly apart, they appear, at first sight, connected with the 'web.' But on close observation, it can be seen that this supposed connection is not really the 'web' which it looks like. The Gupta artist merely left the portion of the stone inside the bent palm unscooped and the fingers were shown in very high relief their inner side resting on the unscooped block. But usually their first digits were carved in much higher relief than the remaining portion, and it is this feature which gives it the specious appearance of the web.

Our suggestion about this peculiar feature of a good many of the Gupta Buddhas is corroborated by an interesting peculiarity of the early Mathurā ones. Dr. Vogel, while describing the Kaṭrā Bodhisattva-Buddha, writes, "The hand (in the *abhaya* pose) is connected with the back-slab by means of a projection carved with decorative pattern"[2] (really a lotus ?). This is nothing but a different manner of ensuring the safety of the fore-arm, palm and the fingers of the image, on the part of the Mathurā sculptors.

To elucidate our point further a reference may be made to some typical mediæval Viṣṇu images. The four-armed *Sthānaka-*

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1. It can on no account be suggested that these uncarved portions near the back are edges of garments, for had the case been so, at least a trace of it, however slight, would have been left on the arms along the line.

2 *Mathura Museum Catalogue*, p. 47, pl. VII. The standing Buddha no. A 4 in the Mathurā Museum also possesses this peculiarity; *ibid.*, p. 49, and pl. XVa.

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mūrti of Viṣṇu in the Mathurā Museum[1] has his front hands hanging down, the right hand being in the *varada* pose with a lotus mark in the centre of the palm. The back of the palm rests on a full-blown lotus the stalk of which rises from the double petalled *padma* (*viśvapadma*) of the pedestal on which Viṣṇu stands. The left hand holding the *Śaṅkha* is also in a pose suggestive of *varada* and the back of its palm rests on a lotus as described above. It may not be quite apparent in the plate, but a close observation of similar *Sthānakamūrtis* of Viṣṇu in any of the museums will prove that the fore-arm, which is slightly tilted forward thus making an angle with the upper arm, is by this lotus device (which is itself attached to the *prabhāvalī* by the portion of the original stone here ornamentally carved in the shape of a tapering cylinder) joined to the back slab for its proper preservation. The fingers also resting on the lotus blossom were thus saved from possible damage. There are very few stone images there, which have their fingers free and outstanding and completely set apart, one from another.

If we refer to the Gandhāra Buddha images we find that our contention is supported by their evidence in a peculiar manner. The hands are usually in the *dhyāna* or *dharmacakra* pose in the case of the seated images; where these are in the *abhaya* pose, they are almost invariably never thrust much forward from the body of the image and the fingers are usually set very close. Similar observation can be made with regard to the standing Buddha images from Gandhāra.[2] But wherever the fore-arms were made out of slabs other than the main one out of which the torso and other parts of the image were carved, they were the very first to get damaged during the dilapidation of the monasteries and *stūpas*.[3] But in this connection, an

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1 *M. M. Cat.*, p. 101 and plate XVIII.

2 But compare Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, p. 169, fig. 117—where the fingers are set apart, but the fore-arm with the hand in the *abhayamudrā* is folded up and practically attached to the upper arm and the torso, thus minimising the possibility of damage to the palm and fingers.

3 *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1906-7, p. 115: "As in the case of large Buddha figures, the hands of the larger Bodhisattvas also were not carved out of the same block as the main body of the figure, but were from the beginning carved separately and added to the finished statue" (Spooner). In this manner, the artist was no doubt 'saved

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interesting reference may be made to a broken hand which was discovered by Dr. D. B. Spooner in the course of his excavations at Sahri Bahlol. He wrote about it : "Thus the hand shown in fig. 9 of plate XXXV is remarkable for the well defined webbing between the fingers, one of the physical characteristics of the Buddha figure[1]....." It is needless to point out that the learned author misinterpreted the evidence at his disposal. The only conclusion that can be made from this fragmentary piece is that in very rare instances the Gandharān artists partially adopted the device so frequently used by the Gupta artists in carving the hands of the images ; the hand, in this particular instance, however, could never have been the hand of a Buddha, because there are clearly marked bracelets on its calf, and thus might possibly have belonged to a Bodhisattva image.[2]

A few more references to the Buddha images of the Gupta period may be deemed necessary for further strengthening my hypothesis. If we study closely some typical Buddha specimens where other poses of the hand such as *dharma-cakra*, *dhyāna* and *bhūmisparśa* are shown, we find that this 'webbed connection' of the fingers is absent whether the palms are attached to the body or the fingers are set close together (as in *bhūmisparśa* and *dhyāna-mudrās*). The delicately beautiful Buddha in the Sārnāth Museum[3] has his hands in the *dharmacakra* pose ; it seems that this *mudrā* in the early stages of its representation in the Indian art of the Gupta period was a combination of two distinct poses of the hand, viz., *vyākhyāna* or *chin* and *jñāna*,[4] the right hand being in the *vyākhyāna* and

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a great labour of cutting away the vast amount of superfluous stone', but he decidedly impaired the durability of his images. The indigenous Mathurā and Gupta artists, on the other hand, surmounted this difficulty in a thoroughly artistic and at the same time practical manner.

1 *A. S. I. A. R.*, 1906-7, pl. XXXV, fig. 9. For 'webbing' in the fingers of a few Bodhisattva images in the Ind. Mus., see the foot-note above.

2 Cf. the seated Bodhisattva with the hands in the *dharmacakra-mudrā*, *ibid.*, pl. XXXIII (b).

3 D. R. Sahni : *Sarnath Museum Catalogue*, p. 70-1, pl. X ; also reproduced in Coomarswamy, *op. cit.*, pl. XLII, 161.

4 Referred to under these names in iconographic literature, compiled at a comparatively late period ; cf. T. A. G. Rao, *Elements*

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the left in the *jñāna* pose. Now, the right hand of our specimen shows traces of the so-called 'webbing', while the left hand does not. The peculiar position of the fingers in the former needed this sort of protection, whereas that of the latter did not. Again, if the Gupta artist really interpreted the *jāla-hattha-pāda* of the texts as webbing of the fingers and toes, then why did he not depict the so-called 'fine net-like membrane' on the back of the toes of his images? Further, the Gupta sculptors, curiously enough, did almost always omit one of the most important *lakṣaṇas* invariably met with in earlier and later images of the Buddha, viz. the *urṇā*. Is it not strange that they have particularly selected a characteristic which as interpreted by Buddhaghoṣa would be impossible to be shown in plastic or pictorial representations without marring their beauty or give it a plastic shape after completely misinterpreting it?

I may add here a few words with regard to the correct interpretation of the *Jāla-hattha pāda* and its variants in the early and late texts. The Buddhist commentators correctly interpreted this characteristic. Who was then responsible for this misinterpretation?[1] We may refer here to the English rendering of the

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of Hindu Iconography, vol. I, pt. I, pp. 16-17, pl. V, figs. 15&16. Might this combined representation of the *mudrās* in many early Buddhas specially of the Gupta period as well as in many Buddhas of the mediaeval eastern school of sculpture symbolise the attainment of the *bodhijñāna* first and then the expounding of the same to the various beings? In Gandhāra, we do not see this manner of representing the *dharmacakra* (cf. *A. S. I. A. R.*, 1906-07, pl. xxxll(b); this is the usual manner here).

1 From Buddhaghoṣa's manner of introducing his explanation of this interesting *lakṣaṇa*, we find that he was afraid that people might misinterpret it on account of the various meanings of the word *jāla* and so he begins *na cammena patibaddha aṅgulantaro*. The *jālāvanaddhahastapādaḥ* in the late compilation *Mahāvyutpatti* and *jālabaddhavajrāṅgulipāṇipādatalatā* in Hodgson's list collected from the Nepalese literature of late date, prove that the learned commentator was quite justified in his apprehension. It may be argued that the wrong rendering of the term was in vogue during the time of Buddhaghoṣa himself. But, then, Dharmapāla who was possibly two centuries later than Buddhaghoṣa, gives its correct interpretation (see p. 725, f.n. 2) and we can infer that even as late as the 7th cent.

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Siamese, Sinhalese and Chinese texts by eminent scholars. Alabaster quotes Burnouf's rendering of this sign as "His toes and fingers are marked with lines forming a net-work."[1] The Siamese way of describing this sign is, "The palms and soles are exquisitely marked and the fingers set so close that no drop of water can pass between them"[2]; the Sinhalese: "The palms and soles appeared like richly ornamented windows."[3] Beal, on the other hand, renders the Chinese translation of this sign from the Sanskrit original, thus: "The fingers and toes severally connected with a fine net-like membrane"[4]. The fact is that the word *jāla* had, among various meanings, both the senses of a net and a latticed window[5]. Buddhaghoṣa skillfully uses both these senses in explaining the significance of the term *Jālahatthapāda* and he is certainly right. The word *Jālāṅgulihastapādaḥ* of *Lalitavistara* can, without any great stretch of imagination, be very well explained as 'the fingers and toes marked with *Jālas* or uniform and parallel lines

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A. D. the misinterpretation did not take place. If it be still insisted that it actually happened during the earlier commentator's time it may be answered that Buddhaghoṣa was an Indian of the 5th century A.D. (cf. Kern, *M. of Buddhism*, p. 125) and thus could certainly have seen some of the Gupta Buddhas, if not any of the Gandhāra ones, bearing the peculiarity discussed in this paper. He saw the danger of its misconstruction by the pious but uncritical worshippers of the images, and hastened to give the correct significance of *mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇa*. It is very likely, if not certain, that this suspicious appearance of the palms of the Buddha images led to the change in the meaning of this sign in a much later period.

1 Albaster, *The Wheel of the Law*, Appendix, p. 313.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 113. He adds this curious note to it: "It is added that this peculiarity arose from 'his having steadily established himself in the four elements of benevolence, *Saṇgkhrihawatthu*'. These are the Sanskrit *Saṅgrahavastuni*, defined as almsgiving, agreeable speaking, kind acts, unity in that which is for the general good." *Ibid.*, p. 206.

3 Sp. Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 368.

4 S. Beal, *Romantic History of Buddha*, p. 55.

5 Cf. Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, (Vizianagram Sans. Series), ch. 57, v, I *Jālāntarage bhānau* etc. and Utpala's comment on it.

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as are to be found in the meshes of a net or the lattice of a window'[1]. This seems to be a very obvious interpretation; that it was so long misunderstood by well-known scholars was perhaps partly due to the Gupta sculptures and partly to the equivocal significance of the term *jāla*. But the blame for it can on no account be laid at the door of the artists; certainly it was not their fault that 'a simple craftsman's device' misled generations of art-critics of the modern age.

For the purpose of ascertaining the true significance of the 'webbed fingers' of Buddha, I examined several times very closely not only the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of different periods in the collection of the Indian Museum, but also the images of various

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1 We may refer here to another interesting explanation of this term given by Dr. Stede in his Pāli-English Dictionary, p. 116 (*jāla*), on the authority of the commentary of *Vimāna-vatthu*:

"having net-like hands and feet (one of the 32 marks of a *Mahāpurisa*, probably with reference to long nails, *Dīgha*, II, 17 (see *Dial.* II, 14, note 3); cf. *Jālitambanakhehi, Vimānavatthu* 81,16 (explained at *Vim. Vat. Aṭṭhakathā* 315: *Jālavantehi abhilohita-nakkehi. Tena Jāli* (*v. l. jāla-*) *hatthatan Mahāpurisa-lakkhaṇan tambanakhatan anuvyañjanañ ca dasseti*)." But why Dr. Stede uses the expression 'with reference to long nails' is not clear. The passage in the *Vimānavatthu* is *so maṃ mudūhi pāṇīhi ti muduhatthataṃ mahāpurisalakkhaṇaṃ vadati. Jālavantehi etc.* Here two of the 32 greater marks viz. *muduhatthata* and *jalihatthata* and one of the 80 lesser ones viz. *tambanakhata* are mentioned. There is not the slightest reference here to another lesser sign viz. *tuṅganakhata*. Then, why should it be referred to, to explain *jālihattha* when the sense of the latter is obvious? Dhammapāla like Buddhaghosa clearly lays down that *jāli* means 'covered with net-like lines', and by his use of the single word *jālavanta*, makes himself perfectly clear; it is never *jālabaddha* or *jālanaddha* with him, as in the texts of a much later period.

Reference may be made here to Varāhamihira's mention of *dāmanibhābhiś cāḍhyāḥ* (*Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, ch. 60, *Puruṣalakṣaṇa*, v. 47) in the course of his enumeration of the marks on human palms, and Utpala's comment on it. The latter writes, *dāmanibhābhī rajjvābhābhiś cāḍhyā īśvarā bhavanti*. There can be no doubt that the characteristic significance of the words *jāla, jāli* or *jālavanta* of the early Pāli texts and their commentaries are referred to here, though in a slightly different manner.

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other gods and goddesses there. This close inspection has convinced me that there is a danger of our misunderstanding many such 'simple craftsman's devices', one of which is the subject-matter of the present paper, if we study images only from their reproductions in the publications on Indian art and the museum catalogues. However excellent the reproductions might be, there is always just the chance of some detail, perhaps very simple from the image-maker's point of view, but extremely important from that of the study of the images themselves, being not prominently shown there, or, assuming a peculiar appearance which is far removed from its real character.[1]

I may mention here that an interesting Sanskrit text *Samyak-*

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1 To refer to a typical case : The excellent reproduction of the Sārnath Buddha with his hands in the *dharmacakra mudrā* in Dr. Coomaraswamy's famous book *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* leaves us in some doubt as to whether the palms are connected with the chest by a portion of the original stone block left there purposely by the artist. But my study of a Sārnath Buddha in the Indian Museum (S. 49, Cat. II, p. 26) with his hands in the said pose led me to find out that the right palm which is in the *Vyākhyāna* pose and about 1½ inch away from the right breast of the figure, the left one in *jñāna* pose practically resting on the left breast, is joined with the torso in a manner just referred to. I am sure that this is almost invariably the case with the other Gupta Buddhas with their hands in the same pose. Similar is the case with the mediæval Buddha figures in the collection of the Indian Museum, whatever the poses of their hand might be—*abhaya*, *varada*, or *dharmacakra* (the last really being a combination of *vyākhyāna* and *jñāna* ?).

One observation more about the presence of the so-called webbed fingers in Gandhāra art. Exhibits Nos. 9 (4945, r. h. *abhaya*, l. h. holding lotus), 10 (4946, r. h. *abhaya*, l. h. holding a vase) in the Gandhāra room, Indian Museum, show their r. h. fingers connected together by 'a thin membrane' (certainly it would appear so in reproduction) resting on a hexagonal wedgeshaped stone thus connecting the back of the palm with the torso, but leaving the lower portion of the palm and the calf thoroughly detached ; in one case the wedge is absent. The figures are those of the celestial Bodhisattvas. Gandhāra Buddhas nos. 4905 and 12 in the same room bear the same peculiarity in a slightly modified manner.

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Sambuddhabhāṣita-Pratimālakṣaṇa by name brought by my friend and colleague Dr. P. C. Bagchi of the Calcutta University from the Durbar Library, Nepal, which is being edited by me, though containing many interesting and important details about the Buddha Pratimā is silent about this so-called "webbed fingers".

JITENDRA NATH BANERJEA

The two Bhāskaras

It is well-known that there was one ancient Hindu astronomer and mathematician of the name of Bhāskara, who was the celebrated author of *Līlāvatī*, *Bījagaṇita* and *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi*. He is more commonly known as Bhāskarācārya or the Learned Professor Bhāskara. Of his own time, he has written

"In the year 1036 of the Śaka kings, I was born ; and at the age of 36, I have written the *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi*."[1]

The year 1036 of the Śaka kings is the same as the year 1114 of the Christian Era. The epoch of his treatise on practical astronomy, *Karaṇa-kutūhala*, is given to be 1105 Śaka Era (=1183 A.D.). Of his parentage and native place, he has said that he was born of a renowned Brāhmaṇa scholar and astronomer Maheśvara, at a city called Vijjalabiḍa near the mountain range Sahya.[2] He got his education from his father. All these are singularly confirmed by an inscription discovered by Bhau Daji.[3] I shall presently show that there was another Hindu astronomer of the same name, Bhāskara, who was anterior to the author of the *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi* by several centuries.

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1 *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi*, edited by Bapu Deva Śāstrī, *Gola*, xiii. 58.

2 *Ibid.*, *Gola*, xiii. 61-2 ; compare also the concluding lines of the *Bījagaṇita*. The city of Biḍa is situated in the Nizam's territory, on the meridian of Ujjayinī (75° 47'E) and at the latitude of 19° N. In the year 1150 A.D., when Bhāskara wrote his *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi*, the town was under the rule of Prince Bijjala, a vassal of the western Cālukya king Tailapa II and hence it has been called Bijjala-Biḍa.

3 Bhau Daji, "Brief Notes on the Age and Authenticity of the works of Āryabhaṭa etc." *Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, 1865, pp. 392ff.

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The first writer in modern times to draw attention to the earlier Bhāskara was Colebrooke. He had not seen any work of that writer. But from certain reference by Pṛthudakasvāmin (860), an incomplete and imperfect copy of whose commentary on the *Brāhma-sphuṭa-siddhānta* he possessed, Colebrooke guessed Bhāskara to be the earliest commentator of the *Āryabhaṭīya*(499) of Āryabhaṭa (born 476).[1] A copy of this latter work secured by Bhau Daji contained a commentary by Someśvara who had added that his commentary was founded upon that by Bhāskara.[2] No such commentary of the *Āryabhaṭīya* has been discovered as yet. Nor there is any other means to ascertain whether this commentator Bhāskara is the same Bhāskara, of whom we are just going to speak. The latter is, however, the earliest and undoubtedly the most competent exponent of the school of astronomy of Āryabhaṭa.

I have secured from the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, copies of two astronomical treatises, called *Mahā-Bhāskarīya* and *Laghu-Bhāskarīya*.[3] The last but one stanza of the former states :

> "This work has been written by Bhāskara after much deliberation so as to be easily comprehensible even to those lesser in intellect; it is a complete compendium of all the (astronomical) rules and results of Āryabhaṭa with practical hints in so many clear and distinct words".

The concluding lines of the other work are :

> "For acquiring a knowledge of the correct motions of the planets by those afraid of extensive treatises, this compendium of the (astronomical) rules and results is told in brief by Bhāskara".

Thus it is clear from the author's own admissions that both those works are by a writer of the name of Bhāskara. This is also clearly

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1 H. Colebrooke, *Algebra with Arithmatic and Mensuration from the Sanscrit of Brahmagupta and Bhāscara*, London, 1817, Introduction p. xl.

2 Bhau Daji, *loc. cit.*, p. 398.

3 S. Kuppuswami Śāstrī, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras*, vol. xxiv, Madras, 1918; Ms. Nos. 13467 (*Mahā-Bhāskarīya*) and 13474 (*Laghu-Bhāskarīya*); hereafter this book will be referred to as Śāstrī, *Descriptive Catalogue*.

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indicated by the word *Bhāskarīya* in the title of both the works. It means, "anything coming from Bhāskara" or "a work by Bhāskara". The Sanskrit word *mahā* means "larger" and *laghu* "smaller" or "younger". There is no doubt that both the works are by the same Bhāskara.

From the passage quoted above from the *Mahā-Bhāskarīya* it will also be found that it is founded on, rather a compendium of, the astronomical work of Āryabhaṭa. At another place, the author has declared himself to be a disciple of Āryabhaṭa :

> "The accurate doctrines of *ours*, which have been obtained by hard labour, will be entertained long on this earth for its true merits. May the *disciples of* (*Ārya*)*bhaṭa* live long remaining free from the sin of ignorance and having conquered the passions and opponents".[1]

On several other occasions in both the works, Bhāskara has spoken in warm language in praise of Āryabhaṭa, his astronomical doctrines and his followers.[2] That this is the same Ārayabhaṭa as the author of the *Āryabhaṭīya* can be easily ascertained by a comparative study of the doctrines and facts recorded in the *Āryabhaṭīya*, *Mahā-Bhāskarīya* and *Laghu-Bhāskarīya*. Bhāskara has, in fact, referred by names to the following works of his teacher, Āryabhaṭa, *viz.*, (*Daśa*)-*gītikā*,[3] *Kāla*-(*kriyā*) and *Gola*.[4] And, as is well-known they are sections of the *Āryabhaṭīya*, It has been observed also by a later Hindu astronomer that the works of Bhāskara are founded on the *Āryabhaṭīya*.[5]

Next we shall treat of the time of those works. The epoch of the *Laghu-Bhāskarīya* is found to be 444 Śaka Era (=522 A. D.).[6]

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1 *Mahā-Bhāskarīya*, i. 3.

2 For instance see *Mahā-Bhāskarīya*, i. 9 ; *Laghu-Bhāskarīya*, i. 2. 3.

3 *Mahā-Bhāskarīya*, i. 9. 4 *Ibid.*, ii. 7.

5 "नचापौरुषेयं भास्करतन्त्रमार्षमूलकं भविष्यति तत् प्रामाण्याच्चार्षमूलकत्वेमस्याप्यविरुद्धमिति वाच्यम्। भास्करीयस्यार्य्यभटीयाख्यापौरुषेयतन्त्रान्तरमूलकत्वस्य विस्पष्टत्वात्। आर्य्यभटस्यापि

'षष्ट्यब्दानां षष्टिर्यदा व्यतीताः वयश्च युगपादाः।
त्र्यधिका विंशतिरब्दास्तदेह मम जन्मनोऽतीताः॥

इति स्वीयश्लोकेनैव स्वजन्मकालकथनात्।"—Vākyaganitavicāraḥ (Śāstrī, *Descriptive Catalogue*, No. 13503, p. 9121).

6 *Laghu-Bhāskarīya*, i. 18.

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Hence it follows that the elder Bhāskara lived in the first half of the sixth century of the Christian era. This is quite compatible with and confirmed by the time of his teacher, Āryabhaṭa, who was born in 476 and whose astronomical treatise, *Āryabhaṭīya*, was composed in 499. This date is further corroborated by a statement of Pṛthudakasvāmin (860) which places the elder Bhāskara after Āryabhaṭa and before Brahmagupta (born 598).[1]

As regards textual verification, it may be said that I have so far found only three quotations by name—two from "Bhāskara" and one from "Bhaskarācārya"—in Makṣibhaṭṭa's (1377) commentary on the *Siddhānta-śekhara* of Śrīpati (1039).[2] And all of them are to be found, without any variation, in the copy of the *Mahā-Bhāskarīya* that I have.[3] There are several quotations in Sūryadeva Yajvan's commentary on the *Āryabhaṭīya* which have not referred to any particular source by name.[4] They are now found to be from the *Mahā-Bhāskarīya* (with only a very immaterial variation at one place)[5] and the *Laghu-Bhāskarīya*.[6] So the existing copies of the *Mahā-Bhāskarīya* and *Laghu-Bhāskarīya* may be confidently taken to be correct ones.

Amongst the early Hindu writers, the first one to refer to the elder Bhāskara, as far as is known, was Pṛthudakasvāmin. According to Colebrooke, the latter has "repeatedly cited" the former. But in the incomplete copy of Pṛthudakasvāmin's commentary on the *Brāhma-sphuṭa-siddhānta* in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,[7] I have found only three references. These references deserve

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1 *Vide infra.*

2 In the Calcutta University collection, there is an incomplete copy, containing only first four chapters of this commentary of Maksibhaṭṭa. My informaion is derived from it.

3 Compare Makṣibhaṭṭa's commentary on *Siddhānta śekhara*, ii. 3, 42; iii. 54; and *Mahā-Bhāskarīya*, i. 40, 25; iv. 23 respectively.

4 There are two copies of the commentary of Sūryadeva Yajvan on the *Āryabhaṭīya* in the Calcutta University Collection. Compare *Aryabhaṭīya*, ii, 32-33 ; iii, 6, 23, 25 ; iv, 33.

5 *Mahā-Bhāskarīya*, i, 4-6, 40.

6 *Laghu-Bhāskarīya*, i. 15-17 ; ii, 6-½ ; iii, 26.

7 The manuscripts marked 1 B 6 called *Brahmasiddhānta* in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Other two mss. in the collection are *Gaṇita-mañjarī* of Gaṇeśa Daivañja (*c.* 1510), son of

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particular notice for more reasons than one. Brahmagupta, as is well known, was a most relentless critic of Āryabhaṭa and attacked, fairly or otherwise, many of his rules and facts. His commentator, Pṛthudakasvāmin, who seems to have been an admirer of Āryabhaṭa, has defended the latter against many of these charges of Brahmagupta. In one instance, he remarks : "Therefore it is a correct charge against the rule of Āryabhaṭa, provided, however, Bhāskara had told according to the real intent of Āryabhaṭa".[1] On another occasion Pṛthudakasvāmin observes : "Therefore this is not an error of Āryabhaṭa. Bhāskara might have said so, but he did not understand the purport of it (the rule of Āryabhaṭa)".[2] These remarks will lead one easily to the conclusion that Pṛthudakasvāmin held the elder Bhāskara to have been (1) anterior to Brahmagupta and (2) the chief exponent of the school of Āryabhaṭa. That Pṛthudakasvāmin was perfectly correct in his impressions in this respect will have to be admitted by all after what have been stated above from the works of the elder Bhāskara about his time and his relation with Āryabhaṭa. Other minor references to the elder Bhāskara and his works are found in the commentaries of Makṣibhaṭṭa[3] and Sūryadeva Yajvan.[4] We also hear of later works based on those of the elder Bhāskara, e.g., *Vākyakaraṇa*.[5]

There is one statement of the younger Bhāskara which also deserves mention in this connexion. In course of introducing himself and his work, Bhāskara says at the end of his *Bījagaṇita* :

"आसीन्महेश्वर इति प्रथितः पृथिव्या-
माचार्य्यवर्य्यपदवीं विदुषां प्रपन्नः ।
लब्धाऽवबोधकलिकां तत एव चक्रे
तज्ज्ञेन बीजगणितं लघुभास्करेण ॥"

Dhuṇḍhirāja and *Gaṇita-kaumudi* of Nārāyaṇa (1435). It may be noted that this copy was originally made for the College of Fort William, Bengal, in which Colebrooke was a professor.

1 "तस्मात् सद्दूषणमेतदार्यभटसूत्रस्य यदि नाम भास्करेणोपाख्यानं कृतं स्यादार्यहृदयानुसारीति ।" —*Brāhma-sphuṭa-siddhānta*, xi. 22 (*com.*).

2 "तस्मादार्यभटस्य नायं दोषः । भास्करादीनामेव भवतु तैर्न बुद्धस्तदभिप्रायः । योऽयं गुरुलघुकर्मक्रतो दोषः स दोष एव भवति । यच्च लम्बनक्षयधनक्रतः स भास्करादीनामपि चेत्तदाव वस्तुदोषे इगतिदचेपज्ञयो किम् ।"—*Ibid.*, xi. 26 (*com.*).

3 Loc. cit., ii, 60 ; iv, 31½. 4 Cf. ii, 32-3 ; iii, 6.

5 Śāstrī, *Descriptive Catalogue*, nos. 13495, 13497.

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"There was a renowned scholar on this earth known by the name of Maheśvara, who attained the position of the most learned teacher amongst the savants; having obtained the bud of knowledge from him this treatise of Algebra has been composed by his son, the younger Bhāskara."

There is a wide divergence of opinion, it should be noted, about the proper interpretation of the concluding portion of stanza quoted above, more particularly, about the true relation of the adjective *laghu*, meaning "simple" or "young." In the above translation, it has been made to qualify the word immediately following it, that is, the author, Bhāskara. But in the opinion of some, it should qualify the word immediately preceding, the treatise of algebra. So according to them, the concluding portion of the verse means "this simplified treatise of algebra has been composed by his son, Bhāskara." The commentator Kṛṣṇa (*c* 1575) accepts this latter interpretation as correct in preference to the former given by others.[1] If the former interpretation be true, which seems no less likely, then it becomes clear that the author of the *Bījagaṇita* was aware that he was the younger Bhāskara, and that there had been another mathematician of the name of Bhāskara before him. Sudhākara Dvivedi discovered in a manuscript of the *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi* in the collection of the Sanskrit College, Benares, a statement of the younger Bhāskara giving out that Prabhākara and others were disciples of Āryabhaṭa.[2] The passage in question is not found in the printed edition of that work by Bapu Deva Śāstrī. If it be really authentic, it will then be another instance of the reference by the younger Bhāskara to the elder. For, by Prabhākara has been certainly meant Bhāskara. The Sanskrit words *prabhākara* and *bhāskara* are synonymous and it is a well established practice in the Sanskrit literature to mention the name of a writer or thing by a synonymous word.

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1 Kṛṣṇa writes: "तज्जेन तत्पुत्रेण भास्करेणाचार्य्येण लघु नातिविस्तृतं बीजस्य गणितं वा चक्रे कृतवान् इत्यर्थः.... .केचिदत्र लघुभास्करेणेत्येकपदं व्याचख्युः कर्मधारयसमासात्मकं तदसत् लघ्विति पदच्छेदः इति सत्यं सर्वं सुगमं।" Kṛṣṇa has thus no very valid grounds in favour of his interpretation in preference to that of others. It might have been through the fault of copyists that the two words *laghu* and *Bhāskara* have been written separately.—Sudhākara Dvivedi, *Gaṇaka-taraṅgiṇī*, Benares, 1892, p. 9.

2 The matter in question is stated to be from the *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi, Grahagaṇita*, ii. 43 (*Vāsanā*).

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It will be proper in this connexion to examine if there was any likelihood of the author of the *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi* knowing the author of the *Mahā-Bhāskarīya*. There is no direct evidence on the point in question in any of the works of the former. But there are a good deal of reliable evidences of the indirect kind to prove it conclusively. The author of the *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi* was well acquainted with Pṛthudakasvāmin's commentary on the *Brāhma-sphuṭa-siddhānta* of Brahmagupta, as is shown by the ample reference to this commentary in the *Vāsanābhāsya* of the *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi*. In some instances Bhāskara (the younger) is found to have defended Brahmagupta, whose follower he declared himself to be, against the adverse criticism of Pṛthudakasvāmin. Now, it has been shown before, that in that commentary Pṛthudakasvāmin has referred to the elder Bhāskara several times. Hence it follows conclusively that the author of the *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi* was fully aware of the existence of an anterior mathematician and astronomer bearing the same name as his own. So it appears only natural that he distinguishes himself as *laghu* or "younger" Bhāskara.

Commentaries on the works of the elder Bhāskara are known to have been written by several ancient writers. But all of them are not available now. I have procured copies of two commentaries on the *Mahā-Bhāskarīya* which have been collected in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. One of them, called *Karma-dīpikā*, is by Parameśvara (1430). The name of the author of the other, called *Prayogaracanā*, does not appear anywhere. But it is probably by Sūryadeva Yajvan. I understand that an incomplete copy having only six chapters out of eight of the *Laghu-Bhāskarīya*, containing a commentary, has been collected by Pandit V. Venkatarama Sharma of Madras University.[1]

Sūryadeva Yajvan wrote a commentary on the *Mahā-Bhāskarīya* under the name of Govindasvāmin. Hence his commentary is called *Govindasvāmya*.[2] Now Govindasvāmin is probably the name

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1 This information is taken from a letter, dated Madras, 1st April, 1929, from Pandit V. Venkatarama Sharma to the Registrar, University of Calcutta.

2 Vide Suryadeva Yajvan's commentary on the *Laghu-mānasa* of Muñgāla (S. Kuppusvami Sastri, *A Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts collected during the triennium 1916-17 to 1918-19 for the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, vol. III, part 1—Sanskrit C.*,

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taken up by Sūryadeva in his later age on renouncing the world and taking up the life of an ascetic. I suppose the *Prayoga-racanā*, noted before, to be a work of Sūryadeva or Govindasvāmin. My reasons for that supposition are briefly these: (1) In the *Prayogaracanā* are found certain specific numeral expressions in alphabetic notations which are also found to have been employed in Sūryadeva's commentary on the Āryabhaṭīya. (2) In his *Karma-dīpikā*, Parameśvara has twice referred to the commentary of Govindasvāmin, once for the detailed treatment of certain varieties of indeterminate analysis of the first degree (*Kuṭṭākāra*) and on another occasion for three different possible interpretations of a rule of the *Mahā-Bhāskarīya* relating to the treatment of the gnomon. And all the matters referred to by Parameśvara are found to be contained in the *Prayogaracanā*.

Parameśvara (1430) wrote two commentaries on the *Mahā-Bhāskarīya*. The earlier one, called *Siddhānta-dīpikā*, is a comprehensive elucidation of the commentary of Govindasvāmin. It has been twice referred to in his commentary (known as *Bhaṭadīpikā*) on the *Āryabhaṭīya*.[1] Subsequently he wrote an original commentary, called *Karmadīpikā*, explaining in brief all the rules and results from a more practical point of view. All these have been clearly indicated in the beginning of the *Karma-dīpikā*.[2] Other known commentators of the elder Bhāskara were Makṣibhaṭṭa (1377) and Śrīkaṇṭha, disciple of Rudra. The former wrote a commentary on his bigger

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Madras, 1922; R. No. 2741, p. 3916). In the beginning of this commentary, Sūryadeva writes, पूर्वं मया कृता ग्रन्था अनुक्रम्यन्ते, भास्कराचार्यमहातन्त्रविवरणं गोविन्दस्वाम्यं प्रथमं व्याख्यातम्।" In this connexion he has also given an enumeration of different classes of astronomical works which contain a mention of the two works of Bhāskara, viz. *Mahā-Bhāskarīya* and *Laghu-Bhāskarīya*.

1 सा युक्तिर्महाभास्करीयव्याख्यायां सिद्धान्तदीपिकायां विस्तरेण प्रदर्शिता।—*Āryabhaṭīya*, ii, 10 (*Bhaṭa-dīpikā*); निरग्रस्य वारकुट्टाकारवेलाकुट्टाकारादिभेदाद्बहुधा भवति। तत्सर्वं महाभास्करीयभाष्यस्य व्याख्यायां सिद्धान्तदीपिकायां विस्तरेण प्रदर्शितम्।—Ibid., ii, 32-3.

2 व्याख्याने भास्करीयस्य भाष्यस्य प्राक् प्रदर्शिता।
गुरुकर्म्मोपपत्तिस्तु सगोलविस्तरात्मया॥
क्रियामात्रप्रसिद्ध्यर्थमधुना मन्दचेतसाम्।
व्याख्याप्या तस्य मूलस्य क्रियते कर्म्मदीपिका॥

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work alone, which he called *Bṛhad Bhāskarīya*,[1] and the latter on the both.[2]

Having thus proved conclusively the age and authenticity of the works of the elder Bhāskara, we shall now proceed to describe their inner contents. Here we shall have to be of course very brief as the books treat mostly of matters on astronomy and hence of little interest and use to a historian of Hindu mathematics. It should, however, be noted that they form a sort of supplement to the *Āryabhaṭīya*, omitting those matters which have been fully treated in it and devoting again more space to those which have been either omitted or noticed too briefly in it. For instance, there is no table of sines, nor any method of its construction in the *Māha-Bhāskarīya* and *Laghu-Bhāskarīya*, though the inclusion of them forms a common feature of the early Hindu astronomical treatises, except those which are mere practical manuals or *Karaṇa*. On the contrary, they contain fuller treatment of the problem of the solar or lunar eclipse, particularly the *valanas* or the angles which determine at what points of the sun or the moon an eclipse will begin and end, *Śṛṅgonnati* or the horns of the moon, which determine its illuminated portion and also the method for drawing a diagram of it. No notice of this latter subject is found in the *Āryabhaṭīya*. In certain cases the elder Bhāskara has also taken note of other prevalent doctrines.

The *Mahā-Bhāskarīya* and *Laghu-Bhāskarīya* are of eight chapters each. But the former contains 1048 lines of verses in different metres whereas the latter only 434 lines. Hence they are very truly distinguished as the "larger" and "smaller" works of Bhāskara.

The most noteworthy and interesting subject, treated only in the *Mahā-Bhāskarīya*,[3] is indeterminate analysis of the first degree, called *Kuṭṭākāra*, and its application to the solution of problems of astronomy. The general evolution of the simple indeterminate equation of the first degree is, as is well-known, found earlier in the *Āryabhaṭīya*.[4] But the rules given there are somewhat cryptic. Moreover they are not found to have been applied to astronomy. There are also other distinguishing features. Āryabhaṭa's rules con-

1 Makṣibhaṭṭa, *loc. cit.*, i. 29.

2 S. Kuppuswami Sastri, *A Trienneial Catalogue etc.*, *1919-20 to 1921-22*, vol. IV, part I, p. 5519.

3 i. 41ff.

4 ii. 32-3.

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template the solution of the following problem: To find a number (N) which, when divided by two given numbers (a, b), will leave two given remainders (R_1, R_2).

Now $$N = ax + R_1 = by + R_2$$

If c denote the difference between R_1 and R_2, we shall have

$$(i) \quad ax + c = by, \text{ if } R_1 > R_2 \;;$$

$$(ii) \quad by + c = ax, \text{ if } R_2 > R_1 \;;$$

the equations being so written as to keep c positive in every case. So that the real solution of the problem will be *to make either*

$$\frac{ax+c}{b} \text{ or } \frac{by+c}{a}$$

a positive integer. Thus it will be clear why Āryabhaṭa directs that the divisor (a or b) corresponding to the greater remainder should be divided by the divisor corresponding to the smaller. This respective condition appears partly in the rule of Brahmagupta. We do not find any such restriction in the rules of elder Bhāskara. Further, the problem contemplated in them is to make $\frac{ax+c}{b}$ a positive integer. The elder Bhāskara recognises altogether three different types of simple indeterminate equations of the first degree. The first is the common one called *vallīkā-kuṭṭākāra* or *vallī-kuṭṭākāra* and the other has been called by him as *vāra-kuṭṭākāra* and *velā-kuṭṭākāra.* We do not meet with these terms in any other work. A fuller treatment of the indeterminate analysis of the first degrees according to the elder Bhāskara is reserved for a future communication.

Another matter of much historical importance that we find in the *Mahā-Bhāskarīya* is the application of the art of indererminate analysis to the solution of the problems of astronomy.[1] The credit for the first conception of it has hitherto been attributed to Brahmagupta. It should from now be given to the elder Bhāskara, though Brahmagupta improved and extended it in many ways.

BIBHUTIBHUSAN DATTA

1 *Mahā-Bhāskarīya*, viii, 13ff.

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Cultivation in Ancient India

Introduction

The earliest mention of agriculture is found in the Ṛgvedic hymns. By the time the hymns were composed, the ancient Aryans settled down in 'Sapta-Sindhu'[1] (and realised the importance of agriculture as a national industry), and the ancient Punjab, and the *Ṛṣis* invented agricultural implements and inaugurated sacrifices in honour of Indra for timely rains for carrying on successful agricultural operations. Cattle, besides being sources of nutritious food such as milk, curd, clarified butter, etc. and sometimes meat also, were yoked to the plough for cultivation and their dung was employed as manure. Professors Macdonell and Keith say that *śakṛt* in the Ṛgveda denotes dung and "it is clear that the value of manure was early appreciated".[2] The Vedic Aryans therefore highly valued their cattle and their solicitude for their safe-keeping is clearly indicated by the following passage :[3]

The Rgveda on Agriculture.

"Construct the cow-stall, for that is the drinking place of your leaders (the gods) ; fabricate armour, manifold and simple ; make cities of iron and impregnable ; let not the ladle leak, make it strong".

Yava and *dhānya* (barley and paddy) were the staple crops from the very beginning. *Yava* being a spring crop might not have required much rain, but for *dhānya* a regular rain-fall was needed for which Indra was invoked. Besides this natural supply of water, the Vedic Aryans used to have recourse to irrigation by artificial wells and broad channels along which water was directed to different parts of the *kṣetra*.

The following Ṛgvedic passages[4] about agriculture are significant :

"Harness the ploughs, fit the yokes ; now that the womb is ready, sow the seeds therein and, through our praise, may there be abundant food ; may (the grain) fall ripen towards the sickle",

"Set up the cattle troughs, bind the straps to it ; let us pour

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1 *The Ancient Punjab.* 2 *Vedic Index*, II, 348.

3 *Ṛgveda*, X, 101, 8 (Wilson).

4 *Ṛv.*, X, 101, 3, 5.

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out the water of the well, which is full of water, fit to be poured and not easily exhausted".

In the Atharvaveda, we find that the value of natural manure of animals in the field was perfectly understood.[1] The Atharvadeda VI, 50 mentions the animal enemies of corn such as the locusts, the rat, the bars, etc. and invokes the divine power for their destruction.

The Atharvaveda.

By the time the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra was composed, agriculture became an important department of the government under the charge of a special officer well-versed on the subject, and attained a stage of perfection astonishing for that age. The Arthaśāstra, though essentially a treatise on royal polity and art of government, deals with agriculture under an important sub-head of *Kṛṣi-tantra*. The Bṛhat-saṃhitā, the Gārgya-saṃhitā and the Agnipurāṇa also incidentally deal with plant physiology, selection of soil, manuring, cultivating under favourable meteorological conditions, collection and treatment of seeds, sowing, planting, cutting, grafting, nursing and reaping. Much of the art of cultivation as it existed in ancient days can also be gleaned from a hand-book written by Parāśara bearing the title of *Kṛṣi-saṃgraha*. This small treatise supplemented with Khanā's maxims throws a flood of light on the prefection attained in the art of agriculture in ancient India.

Other Treatises.

In the following pages, I have only tried to arrange systematically the materials that I have so far been able to lay my hands on and build up a connected account of the method of cultivation as it existed in India in early days. The account is given under the following heads :

Contents and Object of the Article.

1 Soil and its classification.
2 Meteorological observations leading to forecasting of rain-fall.
3 Keeping of cattle needed for cultivation.
4 Preparation and application of manure.
5 Collection and treatment of seeds.
6 The construction of agricultural implements.
7 Ploughing.
8 Sowing and planting, and treatment of plants etc.
9 Reaping and storing.
10 General instruction to cultivators.

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1 Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, I, 139.

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The body of ancient Indian literature is vast, being a store-house of human experiences gathered in the course of ages. I cannot certainly claim to have ransacked it all, nor is it possible to do full justice to a subject so wide and so important in an article like this, but I do hope that it would help to draw the attention of new investigators to this line of research.

I *Soil and its Classification*

According to fertility, soil is mainly divided into two classes: *Ūrvarā* (fertile) and *Anurvarā* or *Ūṣarā* (sterile). *Ūrvarā mṛttikā* is again sub-divided into different kinds according to their peculiar fitness for the cultivation of different kinds of crops, for instance, *Yavya*, *tila*, *vraiheya-śāleya*, *maudgīna*, i.e., the soil fit for barley, for sesamum, *vrīhi* (rice), mungo etc. *Anūrvarā mṛttikā* is also sub-divided into *ūṣara* (salt ground) and *maru* (desert). The soil watered by river and that watered by rain are respectively called *nadī-mātṛkā* and *deva-mātṛkā*.

Classification.

The exact chemical composition of difierent kinds of soil might not have been known to the ancient authors but from the following typical maxims[1] of Khanā, it becomes clear that they made extensive experimental observations about them and obtained a masterly knowledge regarding their characteristic suitability for the cultivation of different kinds of crops.

Selection.

"Sandy soil is suitable for the cultivation of *Āus* paddy and clayey soil for that of jute.

"Your expectation will be fulfilled if you cultivate *patol* (Trichosanthes dioica) in sandy alluvial soil."

"Potatoe thrives well, if cultivated by the side of a bamboo-grove."

"If arum is sown on the bank of a river, it grows three cubits long."

In the Arthaśāstra, we find an enumeration of the suitability of different lands for the cultivation of different crops.

"Lands that are beaten by foam, i.e., banks of rivers etc. are suitable for growing Vallīphala (pumpkin, gourd and the like); lands that are frequently overflown with water (parivāhāntā) for long pepper, grapes (mṛdvīka) and sugarcane; the vicinity of wells

1 Vide *Gupta Press Pañjikā*.

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for vegetables and roots ; low grounds (haraṇiparyanta—moist bed of lakes, *com.*) for green crops ; and marginal furrows between any two rows of crops are suitable for the plantation of fragrant plants, medicinal herbs, khuskhus roots (ūśira), hira (?), beraka (?) and piṇḍālaka (lac) and the like."[1]

Indispensibility of water.

That water is essential for germination, that the soil must be sufficiently moist and the moisture maintained until the plant is established is fully recognised in the following verse from the Kṛṣi-saṃgrahāḥ[2].

"वृष्टिमूला कृषिः सर्व्वा कृषिमूलञ्च जीवनम् ।
तस्मादादौ प्रयत्नेन वृष्टिज्ञानं समाचरेत् ॥" १०

"Rain is essential for cultivation and the latter is essential for life, so one should first acquire carefully the knowledge about rain-fall."

II *Meteorological Observations leading to Forecasting of Rain-fall*

Parāśara in his Kṛṣi-saṃgrahaḥ deals elaborately with meteorological observations leading to predictions about rain-fall or scarcity of water and consequent abundance or dearth of crops. The following quotations will bear proof.

Influence of the planets etc.

"If the Sun be the ruler of the year (वर्षाधिप), the rain-fall is moderate. If the year comes under the influence of the Mars, the rain-fall is scanty, and it is abundant if the year comes under the influence of the Moon, the Mercury, the Jupiter and the Venus. If the Saturn rules over the year, there will be drought and the earth will be full of dust." 13, 14.

"The earth is partially drenched under the influence of *Āvarta*,[3] and wholly drenched under the influence of *Saṃvarta*. Under *Puṣkara*, the rain-fall is scanty and under *Droṇa*, it rains in abundance. 24-26.

"If the Moon enters Gemini, Aris, Taurus or Pisces or the Sun enters Cancer, there will be 100 *āḍhaks*[4] of rain ; there will be 50

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1 *Arthaśāstra*, English translation by Dr. Shamasastry, p. 198.

2 *Kṛṣi-saṃgrahaḥ* (Bangabashi Edition). All the verses from *Kṛṣi-saṃgrahaḥ* are translated for the first time by the author.

3 *Āvarta*, *Saṃvarta*, *Puṣkara* and *Droṇa* are the four types into which clouds are divided.

4 *Āḍhak* is a unit of measure in Astronomy. It is equal to 100 *yojanas* square and 30 *yojanas* high (1 *yojana* = about 7 miles).

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āḍhakas of rain when the Sun enters Leo or Sargittarius, 80 *āḍhaks* when it enters Virgo or Capricorn, and 96 *āḍhaks* when it enters Cancer, Aquarius, Scorpion and Libra." 28, 29.

"Of this 50% will fall on oceans, 30% on mountains and 20% on land." 30.

"Rain-fall is sure during the transit of the Mars and the Saturn from one zodiac to another and the Earth is fed with heavy showers just before the transit of the Jupiter." 69.

"If the Jupiter enters the asterism known as *Citrā*, clouds burst out in the same way as water bursts out from a broken pitcher, but if the Jupiter enters *Svāti*, it does not rain at all in spite of thickest clouds." 70,71.

Monthly indications.

"Heavy showers will fall on the earth if the sky is cloudy and lightening flashes in the western sky during the bright half of the moon (सिते पचे) in the month of *Pauṣ*." 35.

"If any day in the month of *Pauṣ* becomes rainy or foggy, seven months hence, it must rain cats and dogs in the corresponding day." 36.

"The year in which clouds are seen or rain falls on the seventh day of the full-moon in the month of *Māgh*, is a blessed one and yields plenty of crops." 37.

"If on the seventh day of the new-moon in the month of *Māgh*, it rains under the influence of *Svāti* or strong winds blow or rain-laden clouds roar in the day-time or the sky becomes covered with lightening flashes and the moon and the stars become enveloped, then there will be an excellent rain-fall up to the month of *Kārtik*." 38.

"If the seventh day of the full-moon in the month of *Māgh* or *Fālgun* or the 3rd day of the full-moon in the month of *Caitra* or the first day of *Vaiśākh* be a day of thunder-storm and rain, then in that year, there will be no scarcity of rain and the earth will yield crops in abundance." 39, 40.

"If it rains any day in the month of *Agrahāyaṇ* or *Māgh* or *Fālgun*, then, in the seventh month from that day, the earth will receive a heavy shower." 41.

"If the first day of the full-moon in the month of *Caitra* falls on a Sunday, then there will be a moderate rain-fall ; and if it falls on Monday, the earth will be flooded. But if it is a Tuesday, it will be a year of drought and dearth. If it is Wednesday, Thursday or

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Friday, the earth will be full of corns and if Saturday, even the sea gets dried up and the earth becomes dry and dusty." 42,43.

"There will be a moderate rain-fall during the year, if it rains under the auspices of *Citrā* in the first half of the month of *Caitra*, and a heavy rain-fall if it rains in the middle or the latter part of the month." 44.

"If under the auspices of the asterisms *Svāti*, *Citrā* and *Viśākhā*, the sky be cloudless in the month of *Jyaiṣṭha* or it rains in the month of *Śrāvaṇ*, then there will be a pretty good rain-fall that year." 55.

"Rain-fall will be good throughout the year, if it rains on the 9th day of the full-moon of *Āṣāḍh*. If otherwise, there is no prospect of rain that year." 57.

"In the year in which it does not rain under the auspices of *Rohiṇī* in the month of *Śrāvaṇ*, people will be in distress and cultivation a failure." 60, 61.

In the following verses Parāśara gives *another method* of predicting the rain-fall for the year.

प्रवाहयुक्तनद्यन्तु दण्डं न्यस्य जले निशि।
वैशाखशुक्लप्रतिपत्तिथौ वृष्टि निरूपयेत ॥ ४५
ओं सिद्धरिति मन्त्रेन मन्त्रयित्वा शतद्वयम्।
अङ्कयित्वा तु तं दण्डमङ्कतुल्ये जले क्षिपेत ॥ ४६
प्रावरुत्थाय सहसा तदङ्कन्तु निरूपयेत्।
समं चैवाधिकं न्यूनं भविष्यज्जलकांक्षया ॥ ४७
गतवत्सरवद्वारि वन्या चैव समे भवेत्।
हीने हीनं भवेद्वारि भवेद्वन्या च तादृशी ॥ ४८
अङ्काधिक्य च द्विगुना वृष्टिवन्या च जायते।
इदं पराशरेणोक्तं भविष्यद्वृष्टिलक्षणम् ॥ ४९[1]

He directs to take a rod and write a mantra on it two hundred times on the first night of the full-moon in the month of *Vaiśākha* and then erect it on the bed of a flowing river and mark where the water level stands. If the water level is found not to have changed the following morning, then the rain-fall will be the same as in the previous year. The rain-fall will be more or less than that of the previous year according as the water-level goes above the mark or below it. 45-49

1 *Vide Kṛṣi-saṃgrahaḥ*,

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That the ancient people could forecast weather conditions from the *direction of the wind* may be guessed from the following verses :

दत्त्वा दण्डे पताकन्तु वातस्यानुक्रमेण च।
विचेया मासिकी वृष्टिर्दृष्ट्वा वातं दिवानिशम् ३४[2]

Prediction from wind directions.

Parāśara[3] says, "The rain-fall will be good if in the month of *Pauṣ* wind blows from the north or from the west, and the rain-fall will be scanty if the wind blows from the east or the south. It does not rain at all, in the case of the wind not blowing unindirectionally and strongly." 32.

"It rains well if on the full-moon day of *Āṣāḍh*, wind blows towards the east. It means damage to crops if it blows towards the south east, scanty rain-fall if it blows towards the south and destruction of crops if it blows towards the south-west. A westerly wind means rain-fall and a north-westerly, storms. If the wind is northerly or north-easterly, it forebodes abundant harvest." 56.

Prediction of immediate rain-fall or scarcity.

As for the prediction of immediate rain-fall, Parāśara[4] gives the following :

"There will be an immediate rain-fall, if water-spouts are seen at or near water or if ants suddenly line upwards after collecting their food or if frogs croak suddenly." 63, 64.

"If cats, weasels, snakes and other creatures that live in holes and pits and *Śarabhas* (a kind of deer) run excited or if boys build clay bridge-ways in the middle of a path or if peacocks go on dancing, then rain must be falling immediately." 65, 66.

"Clouds will be presently pouring down, if sudden pain arises in the body of a sprained or rheumatic man or if snakes climb to the top of trees or if water-birds dry their wings in the sun or if buzzing sounds are heard in the sky." 67, 68.

Signs of drought are given in the following passages of the Kṛṣi-saṃgraha.[1]

"भ्रुवे च वैणवे हस्ते मूले शक्रे चरन् कुजः।
सद्यः करोत्यनावृष्टिं कृत्तिकासु मघासु च ॥ ७३
कुजपृष्ठगतो भानुः समुद्रमपि शोषयेत्।
सद्यो निकृन्तयेद्वृष्टिं चिवासध्यागतोः ॥ ७४
अङ्गारको यदा सिंहे तदाङ्गारमयी मही।
स एव रविणा युक्तः समुद्रमपि शोषयेत् ॥"

2, 3 & 4 *Vide Kṛṣi-saṃgrahaḥ.* 1 *Loc. cit.* p. 139.

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"There will be drought if the Mars goes into *Uttarafalgunī*, *Uttarāṣāḍhā*, *Uttarabhādrapada*, *Śravaṇā*, *Hastā*, *Mūlā*, *Jyeṣṭhā*, *Kṛttikā*, or *Maghā*. Even the sea is dried up if the Moon closely follows the Mars, and drought is impending if the Venus enters *Citrā*. The earth becomes scorched up (for want of rains) if the Mars goes into Leo and the ocean becomes dry if it is in conjunction with the Moon". 73-75.

In the Arthaśāstra also we find that "A forecast of such rain-fall can be made by observing the position, motion and pregnancy (*garbhādhāna*) of Jupiter (Bṛhaspati), the rise, setting and motion of Venus and the natural and unnatural aspect of the Sun".[1]

Some of the aphorisms of Khanā as to rain-fall and scarcity of rain and their influence on harvest are given below :

Khanā's Maxims.

"Rainy day and cloudy night predict a drought and warm *Pauṣ* and cold *Vaiśakh* predict a heavy downpour in *Āṣāḍh*".

"It rains cats and dogs, if stars are seen within the moon's halo. The bigger the corona of the moon, the nearer is the rain-fall".

"Rainbow in the western sky (i.e. in the morning) predicts the scarcity of rain, while that in the eastern sky (i.e., in the afternoon) means a heavy shower".

"If it rains in the month of *Agrahāyaṇ*, even the king is driven to begging ; and if it rains in *Pauṣ*, even the husks are sold high".

"If it rains towards the end of *Māgh*, glory be to the king and holy is the land, and if in *Phālgun*, *cinā* and *kāon* (grains) grow in plenty".

"Drought in *Jyaiṣṭha* and showers in *Āṣāḍh* lead to crops too abundant for the earth to bear".

"If it rains in *Āṣāḍh*, paddy grows in plenty".

"There will be an abundant harvest if it rains in the month of *Caitra*".

"*Aūs* paddy doubly grows, if it rains in the beginning of *Vaiśakh*".

"Khanā says to the cultivator that if fleecy clouds be followed by wind in the full-moon day of the month of *Kārtik*, winter crops grow plentifully ; but if there be cloud and rain in the night, it is fruitless to go to the field (i.e., to expect any harvest).

"The year in which it rains in the 9th day of the full-moon in the month of *Āṣāḍh*, the heron will walk over the very bed of the

1 *Loc. cit.*, p. 139.

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sea. If it drizzles on that day, it will be followed by heavy showers throughout the year to the extent of making fish inhabit the top of mountains (i. e., the earth will be flooded). If it rains now and then, there will be a rich harvest and if the sun sets under a clear cloudless horizon, the crops will not grow at all".

III Keeping of Cattle needed for Cultivation

From the earliest times, cattle were highly valued and cared for. Directions for their safe keeping, etc. are given in the following passages[1] :

Erection of Cow-stall and Sanitation.

"A cowshed fifty-five cubits square is conducive to the health of cattle ; but it is injurious for them if it is erected in the direction of Leo." 86.

"If one through ignorance or carelessness erects a cow-stall when the sun is in Leo, i.e., in the month of *Bhādra* or keeps rice-washings, hot starch, fish-washings, cotton or husks in the shed, then all his cattle shall perish". 87,88.

"The same thing happens if goats are tied or broom-stick, husker, or spoiled food kept, in the cattle shed."

"If the cattle-shed be strong, clean and free from dung, the animals have a healthy growth in spite of poor food ; but if they have to come out of the shed besmeared with their excreta, even highly nutritious food cannot help their growth". 84, 85.

"Fortune abides in the cow-shed that is free from filth, dust and human excreta ; misery visits the shed and the inmates weep if it is not lighted every evening". 93,94.

Employment of Cattle.

"The animals are to be so employed in cultivation, that it may not hurt them, or the corns will be unsuitable for any holy purpose, and even if they grow in plenty, they cannot bring prosperity to the cultivator." 81,82.

"Urine of the domestic cattle should never be used for cleansing filth, for that is (indirectly) harmful to them.". 90.

"One who is solicitous about their well-being should never even erroneously give their dung to others on Saturdays, Sundays and Tuesdays. These three days (of the week) are to be avoided—particularly Saturday and Tuesday ; otherwise, the cattle will meet with harm." 91, 92.

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1 *Vide Kṛṣi-parāśaraḥ.*

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"One who yokes 8 cows to a plough is a pious man and one who yokes 6 is a business man. Cruel are those who employ 4, and those who employ only 2 are beef-eaters". 95.

Parāśara directs that an *annual ceremony* in honour of cattle be performed in the following way:

"On the first day of the full-moon in the month of *Kārtik*, a cow is to be worshipped after tying round its neck a green creeper and rubbing its body with oil and turmeric paste. Then a beautiful bull is to be anointed with sandal and *Kuṅkum* (saffron) and the cultivators after having dressed themselves with ornaments and goads in their hands should lead the bull round the village with the accompaniment of dances and music." 91, 99.

Annual Cow Ceremony.

"On the first day of the month of *Kārtik*, the cattle should be rubbed with a mixture of oil, turmeric and *Kuṅkum* powders, their bodies being marked with a piece of hot iron and the hair at their tails and ears clipped. That is sure to make them free from diseases and keep them in health and cheer throughout the year".[1] 100,101,102.

The above shows how anxious the ancient people were for safe and healthy keeping of their cattle and what a sanctity they attached to the cow. The custom of marking cattle is as old as the time of the Ṛgveda when the ears of cattle were marked to indicate ownership, and the special sanctity that the cow acquired is early "shown by the name *aghnyā* (not to be killed) applied to it in several passages"[2] of the ancient scripture.

(*To be continued*)

R. GANGULI

1 *Vide Kṛṣi-saṃgrahaḥ.* 2 *Vedic Index*, ii, 146.

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The Chronology of the Western Kṣatrapas and the Andhras

The chronology of the Western Kṣatrapas and the Andhras in all recent studies has mainly been based on a definitely formulated simple equation with one unknown quantity by Prof. Rapson, viz., Gautamīputra's year 18-124 A.D. or 124 A.D.+x (Rapson: Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, etc. p. xxvi). If we further simplify the equation the result turns out to be: Gautamīputra's year of accession = 106 A.D. or 106 A.D.+x. This unknown quantity Prof. Rapson assures us must be a very small one. The way in which he arrives at this equational relation is in short as follows:

The inscriptions at Nasik and Karle of Nahapāṇa's son-in-law Uṣavadāta and the inscription of his minister Ayama at Junnar shows that the date of Nahapāṇa runs from the year 41 to 46 of an unknown era. These dates have been taken to refer to the Śaka era by almost all the scholars. So the last date of Nahapāṇa found in an inscription is the year 46 (=124 A.D.). Now from the mention of places in the inscription of Uṣavadāta and Ayama, it appears that Nahapāṇa's sovereignty extended over a vast tract of country. "They may be said generally to indicate that Ṛṣabhadatta's political influence was restricted to S. Gujrat, the Northern Konkan from Broach to Sopara, and the Nasik and Poona districts. But Nahapāṇa's territories must have extended much further north. The place-names in the inscription of Queen Bala Śrī seem undoubtedly to indicate the provinces which her son Gautamīputra had wrested from the Kṣaharātas, and these include Surāṣṭra (Kathiawar), Kukura (probably some portion of Rajputana), Ākara (East Malwa), and Avantī (West Malwa). Even after these provinces had been conquered by the Andhras, the districts still further north may have remained, since Puṣkara in Ajmer, the place of pilgrimage to which Ṛṣabhadatta resorted for 'consecration' (abhiṣeka) after his victory over the Malayas, may be supposed to have lain within the dominions of his lord (bhattāraka)".

The fact that at the great hoard at Joghalthembi thousands of coins of Nahapāṇa had been found restruck by Gautamīpura with

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the arrogant phrase in the eulogistic record of Queen Bala-Śrī that Gautamīputra had completely exterminated the Khakharāta (i. e. Kṣaharāta) race have led scholars to conclude that Nahapāṇa himself had been defeated by Gautamīputra. This conclusion gains further weight from the fact that in that great hoard not a single coin had been found that did not belong to Nahapāṇa. And as Nahapāṇa ruled at least up to the year 46 (=124 A.D.), Prof. Rapson has inferred that he was probably defeated in that year by Gautamīputra and as Gautamīputra's inscription dated in the year 18 of his reign had been found at Nasik which was wrested from the Kṣaharātas, he put down the equation that the 18th year of Gautamīputra = 46th year of Nahapāṇa or 46+x year of Nahapāṇa. And as Nahapāṇa's dates have been generally referred to the Śaka era, he came to the equation as given above. In arriving at this conclusion he has mainly relied on the following premises :

(i) Nahapāṇa's dates must be referred to the Śaka era.

(ii) Nahapāṇa must have died soon after the year 46.

(iii) In the restruck coins there has been none of any successor of Nahapāṇa.

(iv) Gautamīputra must have gained all his victories by the year 18 of his reign.

(v) The phrase *Khakharatavasa niravasesakara* in the Nasik inscription is to be taken literally.

Now we shall examine the validity of these premises of Prof. Rapson in order to see how far they are true and how far they can bear the weight of the inferences made from them.

(i) We shall examine this premise later on.

(ii) This premise is based on an *argumentum ex silentio* and is not a proved fact. So the unknown quantity x may after all prove to be a big figure.

(iii) This premise is based on numismatic study and here we should abide by the judgment of Prof. Rapson. Rev. H. R. Scott who has made a minute and careful study of the great hoard has, however, arrived at a conclusion which does not support Prof. Rapson's assumption. (JBBRAS, 1907, pp. 223ff.). In the Joghalthembi hoard has been found about 9270 coins of Nahapāṇa counter-stamped by Gautamīputra and about 4000 coins of Nahapāṇa not sostamped.

In the coins we find legends in Greek, Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī. It is interesting to note that the Brāhmī letters that are found on them belong to the beginning of the first century A.D. But some

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important deductions have been made by a patient and minute study of the busts of Nahapāṇa found thereon. Pandit Bhagavanlal Indraji who had only four specimens of Nahapāṇa's coins thought that the figures on the coins were those of Nahapāṇa himself and that they varied according to age. Thus "the face on one coin seemed to be that of a man about thirty years old. Another specimen..... has a somewhat older head, perhaps about 45. A third coin has a wrinkled face with a wrinkled neck, indicating an age of about 60; while the last specimen bears a still older type of face with wrinkled cheeks and toothless mouth, and represents the king at about the age of seventy." So Pandit Bhagavanlal thought that Nahapāṇa lived up to a good old age.

Rev. Scott further elucidated the point by studying innumerable coins. He says that about one-third of the coins prove "that the king was really represented on the coins in all the various stages of his long life." But the remaining two-thirds show "indeed faces varying greatly in age, and not in age only, but in every feature." And this curious fact baffles Rev. Scott. There is perhaps no mystery, and but for Rev. Scott's belief that Nahapāṇa himself was defeated by Gautamīputra, he would have correctly interpreted the facts. He observes: "But for one significant fact, I would have been inclined to suggest that we may have here the coins not of a single king, but of series of kings, sons and grandsons perhaps of Nahapāṇa, who retained on their coin the name of their great ancestor as a title of honour,.....but right in the way of any such theory lies the stubborn fact that almost, if not quite, all of the various types of Nahapāṇa's coins are found among the coins which were counter-stamped by Nahapāṇa's conqueror Śātakarṇi."

But where is the evidence that Gautamīputra conquered Nahapāṇa? The arrogant statement that Gautamīputra exterminated the Kṣaharāta race, even if taken literally, can hardly be stretched to mean that Gautamīputra destroyed Nahapāṇa. If Nahapāṇa himself was defeated, the Queen Mother would certainly have mentioned the name of so great a humbled king as Nahapāṇa. Moreover, the fact that some of the Kṣaharāta territories (about Ajmer) were not annexed would prove that the expression is not to be taken literally. In view of these facts, the suggestion of Rev. Scott that the effigies could represent the descendants of Nahapāṇa seems justified. Another striking fact that cannot be lightly brushed aside strongly militates against Prof. Rapson's view that Nahapāṇa himself was defeated

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by Gautamīputra. Rev. Scott himself says: "Judging from the conditions of the coins I should say that they *must have been a very long time in circulation, and that both before and after being counter-struck.*" This observation of Rev. Scott shows that Nahapāṇa himself might not have been defeated by Gautamīputra.

Now we shall see if Prof. Rapson's first premise which is the most important one can stand. Until recently, scholars have been almost unanimous in referring the inscriptions of Nahapāṇa to the Śaka era. Mr. R. D. Banerjee, however, has ably argued against the popular theory (J. R. A. S., 1917, pp. 272-89). We shall here examine in extenso the arguments in favour of the commonly accepted theory and see how far they would stand the test of a detailed and minute criticism. The history of this period has mainly been based upon the inscriptions of Queen Bala-śrī at Nasik and the Girnar inscription of Rudradāman, as also the inscriptions of Uṣavadāta and Ayama. In the Nasik inscription of Gautamī-Bala-śrī dated in the 19th year of the reign of Pulumāyi, the territories of Gautamīputra have been described with pomp. They were as follows: Asika, Asaka, Mūlaka, Suratha, Kukura, Aparānta, Anūpa, Vidabha, Ākara, Avantī. He is again described as the lord of the following mountains: Acavata, Parivata, Sahya, Kanhagiri, Maca, Siritana, Malaya, Mahida, Setagiri, and Cakora. So it would appear that Gautamīputra's territories included "the present province of Gujrat, portions of Malwa, Central India and Berar, the Northern Konkan, and the portion of Bombay Presidency lying immediately north of Nasik." Many of these territories formed part of Kṣharātas' dominions. Moreover Gautamīputra is called in the record as one "who crushed the pride and conceit of the kṣatriyas; who destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas; who rooted out the Khakharāta family; who restored the glory of the Sātavāhana race".

Again in the Girnar inscription of Rudradāman we find that most of these territories had been conquered by the great Kṣatrapas. We find there: "who is the lord of the whole of eastern and western Ākarāvanta, the Anūpa country, Ānartta, Surāṣṭra, Svhabra, Maru, Kaccha, Sindhu-Sauvīra, Kukura, Aparānta, Niṣāda and other territories gained by his own valour.....who by force destroyed the Yaudheyas who were loath to submit,.....having twice in fair fight completely defeated Śātakarṇi, the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha, on account of nearness of their connection did not destroy him..... who has himself acquired the names of Mahākṣatrapa."

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Now it will be found that the territories common to the above two lists (i. e. those conquered by Rudradāman from the Andhras) are as follows: Suratha, Kukura, Aparānta, Ānūpa, Ākara and Avantī. The territories that remained in the power of the Andhras after Rudradāman's conquests were Asika, Asaka, Mūlaka and Vidabha and some other portions of the Deccan. So Rudradāman who boasted that he conquered every country he possessed through his own effort wrested Ānartta, Svabhra, Maru, Kaccha, Sindhu-sauvīra and Niṣāda from some other rulers. Prof. Rapson would, however, give the following history of Aparānta and N. Mahārāṣṭra.

Northen Mahārāṣṭra, the Nasik and Poona, Districts... ..āhāras of Govardhana and Māmala (cxx, Catalogue of Coins of the Andhras etc.).

(a) Possessed by the Kṣaharātas under Nahapāṇa from Śaka 41 to 46. (Nasik and Karle inscription of Ṛṣabhadatta and Junnar inscription of Ayama).

(b) Again in possession of Gautamīputra in the 18th year of his reign = 124 A.D. or 124 A.D. + x (Nasik and Karle inscriptions of Gautamīputra. Nahapāṇa's coins restruck by Gautamīputra).

(c) Remained in the hands of the Andhras (Nasik inscription of Pulumāyi, Karle inscription of Pulumāyi, Nasik inscription of Śrī Yajña).

Northern Konkan = Aparānta.

(a) In possession of the Kṣaharātas.

(b) Conquered by Gautamīputra. Remained within the Andhra dominions in the early part of Pulumāyi's reign (cf. Kanheri inscription of his queen).

(c) Conquered by Rudrādaman ; (cf. Girnar inscription).

(d) Again possessed by the Andhras during the reign of Śrī Yajña (cf. his coins of the Surāṣtra fabric struck in Aparānta).

This in short is the history of these two regions according to Prof. Rapson. The Professor is at great pains to distinguish between N. Mahārāṣṭra (including Nasik and Karle) and the Aparānta. This is absolutely necessary for the chronological scheme he has advanced. But the texts that he cites cannot prove that Aparānta could not have included a little of Mahārāṣṭra proper (Nasik and Poona districts). On the other hand, the significant fact that in the inscription of Bala-śrī which recounts all the territories held by Gautamīputra no mention has been made of the important āhāras of Govardhana and Māmala (which were

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certainly included in his territories) would show that a part of N. Mahārāṣṭra must have been comprehended in one or more of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription. Prof. Rapson anticipating this difficulty has very ingeniously suggested that "it is impossible that this list can have been intended, as has usually been assumed, to represent the extent of the Andhra dominions. The Nasik and Poona districts, which seem not to be mentioned in the inscription of Queen Bala-śrī, were in like manner, conquered or re-conquered from Nahapāṇa by Gautamīputra." Thus it appears that Prof. Rapson would explain away the curious omission of the important districts which included Nasik and Karle (which were certainly most important in the eyes of both Gautamīputra and his son as most of their inscriptions are found there) by assuring us that the place-names in Bala-śrī's record did not include all their dominions. This assertion of Prof. Rapson may well be questioned. Is it not too much to assume that important districts close at hand (in fact the places where the eulogistic record of past glory and other important inscriptions are found) should be completely ignored? The fact is that the districts about Nasik and Karle must have been included in Aparānta. This fact is supported by the mention in a Kanheri inscription (which was certainly in Aparānta) of the donor as being a Nāsikaka (inhabitant of Nasik).[1] Then, again, the Nasik region has been placed in the Aparānta in the Mārkeṇḍaya Purāṇa. It is rather curious that this fact has been overlooked by Prof. Rapson while he has discussed all the references to be found under Aparānta in the Vācaspatya. In view of these facts, each of which is more cogent than the assertion of Prof. Rapson that N. Mahārāṣṭra had been inadvertently omitted in the list given in Bala-śrī's inscription, we cannot hold that the Nasik region was not included in the Aparānta. Again, the term Aparānta signified places other than those in the Konkan. Thus in the Sahyādrikhaṇḍa we find an extended meaning of the term Aparānta.

Dr. Shama Shastry, however, has tried to show that by Aśmaka is meant Mahārāṣṭra. His contention is conjectural. A statement by a commentator made incidentally cannot outweigh the evidence of the Mārkeṇḍeya Purāṇa and the Bṛhat Saṃhitā. As a matter of fact Prof. Rapson himself acknowledges that "the identification of this place must for the present remain uncertain."

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1 Lüder's list of Brāhmī Inscriptions etc., No. 985.

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In view of these facts, we must admit that the Nasik and Karle region at least was included in the geographical term Aparānta. Once we acknowledge this (a fact which has been assumed without proof by Messrs. R. D. Banerjee, Nilkantha Sastri and Bakhle) important consequences follow. We shall give here an account of the Nasik and Karle region as found in the inscriptions. The Kṣaharātas possessed it from the year 41 to the year 46 of the Śaka era (a view entertained by most scholars). Then Gautamīputra held it for six years, then Pulumāyi held it at least till the year 22. According to Purāṇic accounts Śrī Yajña came to the throne 14 years after Pulumāyi. In his 7th year Śrī Yajña held Nasik. Prof. Rapson too acknowledges that the Nasik region continued under Andhra sway till the time of Śrī Yajña. So if we add up these figures remembering that Gautamīputra came in possession of Nasik about the year 46 of the Śaka era according to the commonly accepted theory, we find that it was in possession of the Andhras till about the year 96 Śaka. But in the Girnar inscription which according to Prof. Rapson was inscribed in the year 72 (a view not strictly correct as has been shown by von Bühler and Sir R. G. Bhandarkar), Rudradāman was in possession of that region. *So here is a territorial conflict which cannot be explained away on any hypothesis.* But the difficulty has really been caused by assuming that the dates of Uṣavadāta really refer to the Śaka era. We shall take up later the question of the date of Nahapāṇa. The equation determining the chronology of this period, however, proves illusory on closer examination. Two solid facts remain, viz., Gautamīputra came after Nahapāṇa but before Rudradāman.

The Girnar inscription mentions that the lake was destroyed in the year 72 and not that the record was put up in that year. From close internal examination of the record it appears, however, that the inscription was inscribed some time after that date, say about the year 75. This date has been taken by all scholars to refer to the Śaka era. It is thus clear that Rudradāman had finished his conquests about 75 Śaka, i. e., 153 A. D., and this could have taken place after the 16th year of Śrī Yajña (a date in which the latter was in possession of Kanheri and presumably of this region too). So we arrive at a new equation, *16th year of Śrī Yajña+y=153 A. D.* or the 1st year of Śrī Yajña=137 A. D. +y, where y is a small quantity not greater than 10. On simplification we find that Gautamīputra's accession is to be placed at about 77 A.D. and not about 106 A.D. as has been held by

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Prof. Rapson. Now let us see if either fact tallies with this chronological order.

Ptolemy throws some light on the history of this controversial period. We learn that Caṣṭana and Pulumāyi were contemporaries and that they were ruling at Ujjain and Paiṭhāna respectively. We also get some account of the extent of their territories. It is not open to doubt that the Western Kṣatrapa territory is mentioned under the term Larike which included Barygaza, Ujjain and Nasik. The extent of Pulumāyi's dominions cannot unfortunately be determined with precision. Still we have a tolerable account of it. He was certainly ruling at Paiṭhāna. We have shown before that the Nasik region was included in the Andhra kingdom from the 18th year of Gautamīputra and so too the Ujjain region. So Caṣṭana could not have been the master of Ujjain and Nasik some time before the 18th year of Gautamīputra, i.e., about 93 A.D. We cannot properly define the period but may tentatively hold the period to be c. 90 A.D. (when Gautamīputra was on the throne for about 12 years). But one can demur here and ask what evidence there is except the above notice from Ptolemy that Caṣṭana's territories included some part of the Andhra dominions. Here our deduction is strongly supported by numismatical study. We shall quote from the admirable resumé of Prof. Rapson: "Chaṣṭana struck coins in silver both as Kṣatrapa and Mahākṣatrapa .....var. b. differs by the addition to the rev. type of caitya, which is placed between the crescent and the star.....The caitya is a common type of the Andhras.....Whatever its origin and significance may have been, its use by Caṣṭana is probably due to association with the Andhras, and it may well signify some extension of his power at their expense, some reconquest of territories previously taken by them from his predecessor Nahapāṇa." So this indisputable numismatic detail expressed so clearly by Prof. Rapson would show that Caṣṭana had acquired some territories from the Andhras. Then came the great compaign of Gautamīputra, who annexed nearly the whole of the territories of Caṣṭana and those of the Kṣaharātas. Is there any proof of the fact except the account to be found in the inscription of Queen Bala-śrī? Again numismatics comes to our aid. Both in his coins and the inscription of his successors Jayadāman who succeeded Caṣṭana was styled as Kṣatrapa only. This fact alone is sufficient to show that he had suffered great reverses and so could not presume to style himself mahākṣatrapa. This inference is further supported by the fact that Rudradāman claims to have

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"won for himself the name of mahākṣatrapa." "This seems to indicate that between the reigns of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman there was an interval during which there was no mahākṣatrapa, and this may have been the result of some defeat" (Catalogue of coins of the Andhras etc. p. cxvi). The date of Jayadāman is not known for certain, but he must have come some time before 130 A.D. as his son was on the throne on this date (cf. Andhau Inscriptions).

The quaintly worded Andhau inscriptions have proved a bone of contention among scholars. The wording is as follows: "rājño Caṣṭanasa Ghosāmotikaputrasa rājño Rudradāmasa Jayadāmaputrasa varṣo dvipacāsa 50, 2." Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar originally thought that the date refers to the reign of Rudradāman alone and supplied the word 'pautrasa' before the second rājño. But he has since given up his theory and resting upon a suggestion of Dr. R. C. Majumdar has concluded that the inscriptions mean that both Caṣṭana and Rudradamān were ruling together (Ind. Ant., 1918). It is very difficult to disprove a suggestion when the data are meagre. But still as against Prof. Bhandarkar's theory of conjoint rule, it is to be said that nowhere in any inscription joint rule of two kings have been implied by expressions so vague. Again such an interpretation completely ignores the fact that Jayadāman ruled as an independent kṣatrapa and also assumes that he died before Caṣṭana. Both of these assumptions are gratuitous and have never been proved. Again the very identity of the titles given to Caṣṭana and Rudradāman would negativate the theory of joint rule. At least one of the rulers must have been in a position of pre-eminence. There is a further difficulty. In the Girnar inscription Rudradāman boasts that he himself by his valour gained territories among which was Kaccha. Nowhere have we any evidence that Cutch was within the territory of Caṣṭana. Coins do not prove it, while Ptolemy's evidence distinctly runs counter to it, who places the Cutch region not under his sway. In view of these facts each of which is more cogent than a mere suggestion, it is not unreasonable to hold that the Andhau records belong to the reign of Rudradāman alone and marks the beginning of his victorious campaign. So the Andhau records too strikingly confirm the date of Caṣṭana at which we have already arrived. The records show that in c. 130 A.D. Rudradāman alone was ruling. So his father Jayadāman ruled before him and before Jayadāman ruled Caṣṭana. We have already held that Caṣṭana was ruling in about 90 A.D. So our chronological scheme

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does not in any way conflict with the contemporaneity of Caṣṭana and Pulumāyi as noticed by Ptolemy. Rather it supports it and we are spared the attempt to prove the conjoint reign of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman and of Gautamīputra and Pulymāyi, a position in which Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar were inevitably entangled because of their adherence to Prof. Rapson's chronology. The arguments against the theory of the conjoint rule of Pulumāyi and Gautamīputra which has been advanced by Mr. R. D. Banerjee, Mr. Nilakantha Sastri and Dr. H. C. Raichaudhuri seem to me conclusive, specially the succint note of the latter in his Political History of Ancient India (2nd. edition, pp. 311 & 312). I shall hereafter adduce one or two objections against the theory which appear to me to settle the problem.

(*To be continued*)

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MISCELLANY

Buddhist Studies with Special Reference to Tibetan

I

In issuing his edition of the *Kāśyapaparivarta* Baron A. von Staël-Holstein writes:

"Mahāyāna tradition is practically dead in India and in order to understand Sanskrit Buddhist texts properly we have to consult the ancient Chinese and Tibetan translations as well as the living tradition of China and Tibet. If this is not done, modern European translators, however great their knowledge of Sanskrit, are liable to make serious mistakes. Before translating Mahāyāna works from Sanskrit into European languages the texts should all be published in the three great languages of Mahāyāna Buddhism."

The following lines also occur in his preface (p. xiii) to the same work with regard to the text:

"The greatest help for understanding the defective and faulty Sanskrit text is, no doubt, to be derived from the Tibetan translation, but the Chinese translations, being less literal, often supply information which cannot be obtained by reading the Tibetan translation."

And here is the opinion of Pūjanīya Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Haraprasad Śāstrī Mahāśaya in his *Presidential Address* at the fifth Oriental Conference, Lahore, 1928, p. 42:

"The Chinese translations of Buddhist Sanskrit texts are free translations, therefore not reliable. The Tibetan translations are too pedantically literal and, therefore, often unintelligible. The original Sanskrit should be always sought for, and consulted, if procurable, to cure the defects of those translations."

It is now an established fact that for a thorough study of Mahāyāna Buddhism in all its aspects "the three great languages," Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan are absolutely necessary. We cannot do without any of them. Even Sanskrit alone cannot be regarded sufficient though it has a unique and the highest position. Under the present circumstances they are mutually supplementary. Therefore, under the deplorable condition of our MSS an accurate and critical edition of a Buddhist Sanskrit text is hardly possible without consulting the Chinese and Tibetan translations. This can sufficiently be proved

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by the facts supplied among others from a recent publication included in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, namely the *Advayavajrasaṃgraha*, a collection of twenty-one small treatises attributed to Advayavajra, edited by Śāstrī Mahāśaya himself.

Tibetan translations are "too pedantically literal," no doubt, but it is for this very fact that they have immense and incomparable importance and value. That they are so literal is indeed a boon to a student of Buddhism, specially to an Indian one, who is familiar with Sanskrit. In fact, the translators, both Indian and Tibetan, working jointly have made the impossible possible. It is really surprising to think how they succeeded in translating the most difficult works so faithfully and accurately adopting a striking method into a language which had hardly any literature worth mentioning at that age.

Sometimes these translations may be unintelligible, but this unintelligibility must not be solely attributed to their being too literal. It may be due to various facts common to any translation of difficult texts in any language. It is not that the Tibetan translators understood *every* word correctly, or they were able to turn *every* thing properly. Nor can we say that the original texts before them were prefectly free from all sorts of defects in every case and on every point. Unintelligibility of a text sometimes depends also on the intelligence and knowledge of the subject and the language of the reader himself.

Śāstrī Mahāśaya is quite right when he says that "original Sanskrit should be always sought for and consulted, if procurable." But what is to be done when the original Sanskrit itself is unintelligible owing to its faulty and defective readings, as for instance, in the case of the *Advayavajrasaṃgraha* already referred to? He appears to suggest rightly that in such cases help is to be sought for from the Tibetan source, for he himself wanted to have the doubtful readings in the book collated with the Tibetan translation, but he could not do so as there was no Lama with him to whom he might refer (p. vi).

The special importance of Tibetan translations lies in the fact that with occasional exceptions they help us greatly in suggesting original Sanskrit readings, specially when a work is composed in verse. Let us take here a few examples. Here runs a short Tibetan sentence:

lhas.	byin.	tshon. po.	ñin. par.	zan.	mi.	z'o/	
god *by*	given	fat	day *in*	cooked rice	not	eats.	

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Literally it means : Fat god-given one does not eat cooked rice during the day. To one who knows both the languages, Sanskrit and Tibetan, properly, it will at once suggest that *lhas.byin* is nothing but *Deva-datta*, a man. *lha* = *deva*, 'god'; *-s* is the sign of third case-ending, and thus *lhas* = *devena* 'by god'; *byin* = *datta*, *arpita* 'given'. Therefore *lhas.byin.* = *Deva-datta*. *tshon.po.* = *sthūla*, *pīna* 'fat' ; *ñin. pa.* = *dina*. *divā*, 'day' ; *-ra* is the sign of locative ; thus *ñin. par.* = *dine*, 'in the day' ; *zan.* = *annam*, *odanam*, 'cooked rice' ; *mi.* = *na*, 'not' ; *za'.* = *bhuñkte*, 'eats'. Here a Sanskrit knowing reader will at once read the Tibetan sentence in Sanskrit : *pīno Devadatto divā annam na bhuñkte* ; for the expression with particular words is already known to him. Similarly reading *mchod.byin*, a name in Tibetan, a Sanskritist at once knows that in Sanskrit it is *Yajñadatta*, through the word *mchod* or *mchod.pa*, the latter being the fuller form, gives the following meanings: *pūjana*, *arcana*, *yajana*, *ārādhanā* ('worship'), *savana*, *kratu*, *manyu*, *yajña* ('sacrifice') ; and *byin* (prefect of *sbyin.pa* 'to give', 'to bestow') means *arpita*, *vitīrṇa*, etc. like *datta* 'given'. He is quite sure that in such cases the name must be *Yajñadatta* and not *Arcanādatta*, *Ārādhanā-rpita*, and so on. In the same way, with reference to the context he can easily understand that

de.la. chos. mthun. pa. ñid. can.

is in Sanskrit nothing but *tatra sādharmyavat*, *de* = *tad*, *la* is the sign of locative, *de.la* = *tatra*; *chos* = *dharma*, *mthun.pa* = *samāna*, *ñid* secondary suffix as in Sanskrit *-tva*, *-tā*, *-ya* forming neuter abstract nouns ; *can* secondary suffix, such as *-bhi*, *-mat* forming possessive adjectives ; and *ni* a particle of no intrinsic meaning, sometimes translated by *hi* or left untranslated, something like a *pādapūraṇa* particle in Sanskrit, or is used simply as *vākyālaṅkāra*. Thus *chos.mthun.pa.ñid* = *sadharmatva* which is the same as *sādharmya* ; and with suffix *can* = *vat* it becomes *sādharmyavat*.

Sometimes, however, it is really very difficult to ascertain the original word exactly even in a verse. For instance, one reads in the Tibetan version of *Tattvasaṅgraha* (*De. kho. na. ñid. bsdus. pa*), GOS, verse 15c : *bum. sogs. bye. brag. bshin*°. Here the word *bum* (*bum. pa*) is for Sanskrit *ghaṭa*, *kumbha*, *kalaśa*, 'an earthen jar' ; *sogs* (*la. sogs.pa*) means *ādi* 'beginning with,' etc. ; *bye. brag* means *viśeṣa*, *bheda* 'distinction', 'difference,' and *bshin* is in Sanskrit the suffix *-vat* in the sense of *iva* 'like'. Now owing to the metre one will naturally be inclined to render the above Tibetan words into Sanskrit by *ghaṭādi-bhedavat*, or *kumbhādi-bhedavat*, preferably by the first,

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as in philosophical discussion in Sanskrit the word *ghaṭa* is in general use, and not *kumbha*. (For the sake of metre *kalaśa* cannot be employed). But the fact is quite different. The original Sanskrit text as in the printed edition (GOS) reads here neither *ghaṭa* nor *kumbha*, but *kuṭa* meaning the same thing, an earthen jar, the line running *kuṭādibhedavat*. This reading is supported by the commentary of Kamalaśīla. This difference is, however, immaterial.[1]

Let us take one example more showing the strictness with which the Tibetan translators followed Sanskrit. The Tibetan word for Sanskrit *manoratha* 'desire' or 'desired object' is *yid. kyi. śiṅ. rta*. *yid*=*manas*, *kyi* is the sign of genitive, *śiṅ.rta*=*ratha*. Thus *yid. kyi* =*manasaḥ*, and *śiṅ.rta*=*ratha*, in compound *manoratha*. Here is something very interesting to note. In translating *ratha* two words are employed in Tibetan, and what do they actually mean? *śiṅ* means both *taru* 'tree', and '*dāru*', 'wood', 'timber'. Here it is taken in the latter sense; and *rta* means *aśva* 'horse'. Thus *śiṅ. rta* literally signifies a 'wood-horse' implying thereby 'a wooden horse' or 'a wooden vehicle to which a horse is yoked for drawing it.' Now the derivation of *manoratha* is given by commentators on Sanskrit *kośas* 'lexicons', and the lexicographers connect it with the word *ratha*, while in fact it has no connection whatever with it. The actual word is *mano'rtha* (manaḥ-artha) 'object of mind,' which owing to Prākṛtism or *svarabhakti* has assumed the form *manoratha* being pronounced in four syllables instead of three. But this fact was not known to a large number of Sanskrit authors and the Tibetan translators simply followed them.

Suppose that we can do without turning to Chinese and Tibetan translations only with the Sanskrit works when they are procurable. But what is to be done when they are not procurable, when they are lost as in the case with hundreds of books now preserved only in Chinese or Tibetan or in both of them? Should we remain silent

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1 Incidentally with regard to the recent edition of the *Tattvasaṅgraha* with the *Pañjikā* it may be observed that it would have been much better if the Tibetan version could be utilized. Only one instance may be given here. The edition reads śloka 9[d]: *tulyasattve* (printed -*satve*) *paraṃ na tu*. Here *tulyasattve* is a wrong reading, it must be *tulye'sattve* and Tib. has rightly *med par.mtshuṅs.ma*, consulting the commentary. This correction could, however, be made even by a not

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looking forward to the fine day when all these volumes would be brought to us being discovered from Nepal or Central Asia,or any other part of the globe? Let us not forget what important part the Indian teachers once played century after century in rendering Buddhist Sanskrit works into Chinese and Tibetan. They travelled to those countries, mastered the languages of the lands, wrote standard books in them and carried on the translation work with untiring zeal. And if that was possible in those days under various unfavourable circumstances, I do not know, why it should not be so at the present age when we are certainly in a position far better in every respect. If we really want to study Mahāyāna Buddhism thoroughly, we must have the lost Sanskrit works restored in *Sanskrit*. Restoration in Sanskrit is far better and far easier from every point of view than in any other language. When a work is restored in Sanskrit any Sanskritist, either here or abroad, will have easy access to it and it will not take much time to get it turned into different languages. Let the young students of Bnddhism in the land of its birth take up the work in right earnest and carry it on patiently and honestly, and their labour will certainly be amply rewarded.

It is however a pity that there is growing section, however small, of new students of Buddhism in our country that altogether ignores the importance of Chinese and Tibetan studies. They are welcome to think in accordance with their own light; but it is certain that the consequence of their aversion to these languages will lead only to their utter self-deprivation.

I have already alluded to a recent publication of a small volume (pp. xxxviii+63), *Advayavajrasaṃgraha*, in the Gækwad's Oriental Series, and now in order to show our young students of Buddhism the value of Tibetan studies by some concrete examples, I shall examine some readings found therein. It really gives me great pains in having to criticise the edition by Śāstrī Mahāśaya, but I feel that as a scholar, he would welcome such discussion and concede that only an honest attempt is here being made to find out, if possible, the correct readings of the texts which are so important and have been brought to light by his own diligence and painstaking efforts. It is not that he was not aware of the defective readings, for he himself says (*p. vi*) that they "are in many places so hopelessly corrupt that nothing can be made out of them." But it is certain that the number of corrupt readings could easily be much reduced even without consulting the Tibetan version only by taking a little more

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care and pain. We have nothing more to say about it when Śāstrī Mahāśaya himself writes (p. vi) "I give the book as it is, and I hope my readers will look at me with indulgence, but I venture to think that the works will throw much light on obscure points of Buddhist History and Buddhism and that is an excuse for their publication." The edition may be compared with that of the *Madhyamakavṛtti* of the Buddhist Text Society and as such should be used with much caution almost on every page.

II

For the discussion I confine myself only to the *Tattvaratnāvalī* covering only nine pages, pp. 14-22. In Tib. it is *De. kho. na. ñid. rin. po. che'i phrin ba*, and found in Tanjur, *Rrgud. ḥgrel* (*Tantravṛtti*), Mi, 126b.6—130b.8 (Cordier, II, p. 215). The Xylograph used here is of the Narthang edition and belongs to our Viśvabhāratī Library. According to it the fols. are 123a.4—127a.1. On examination it is found that this edition of the Tib. version has unfortunately left out a portion of the text abruptly, and it is from *mantranayaśca*, p. 14, l. 9 to *bhāvipra[illegible]vekabuddhaḥ*, p. 16, l. 6, of the Skt. edition under discussion. And though there are numerous points to be discussed in this portion, too, I would not like to do so except the kārikā "asti khalv iti°" p. 14, ll. 20-21 and the short sentence quoted without the mention of the book on p. 14, ll. 21-22. The kārikā referred to (p. 14, ll. 20-21) as edited is :

asti khalv iti nīlādi [9k] .....parā/
bhāvagrahagrahāveśagambhir[ā]pāyabhirave//

It is quoted in the *Subhāṣitasaṃgraha*, p. 14, ll. 22-20, and accordingly the *b* of the above kārikā should be *jagad iti jaḍīyase*. But it is not known how *parā* in the MS. or in the edition is to be accounted for. *d* is wrongly amended, the actual reading being *gambhīranayabhīrave* as in the *Subhāṣitasaṃgraha*.

The sentence alluded to runs as follows :

asti pudgalo—" bhāravāho ṇa ṇiccaṃ bhaṇāmi ṇāṇiccaṃ bhaṇāmi" ti. As there is no Tib. version at my disposal I cannot say so definitely, but it seems to me that *bhāravāho* is to be taken with *pudgalo* and the quotation mark is to be put after it[1]. Apart from the other

1 Cf. bhārahāraḥ katamaḥ pudgala iti syād vacanīyam/—*Bhārahārasūtra*, quoted by Poussin in his *Abhidharmakośa*, x, p. 256, and

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points invloved, it is very interesting to note that here is a short Prākṛt sentence and the word *bhāravāha* at once reminds one of the *Bhāravāhasūtra* which in connection with the theory of pudgala is often quoted or referred to in Buddhist or non-Buddhist works.[1]

It is in Sanskrit and there is also a Pāli version of it[2]. The Prākṛt sentence given above seems to have been quoted from the *Bhāravāhasūtra,* but it is not found in the Pāli text, nor in the fragments in Skt quoted in different books. Should it prove to be a fact it would follow that there is also a Prākṛt version of the *Bhāravāhasūtra.*

P. 16.

Ll. 6, 7. The text reads :

adhimātras tu catuḥkalpāsaṃkhyeyābhinirvarttyabuddha iti, pratyekasya vivṛtir adhimātraśrāvaksyaiva.

Here *abhinirvarttyabuddha* has no sense. It must be *abhinirvarttyabuddhabhāvaḥ* just as in l. 25 of the same page, Tib. reading *saṅs. rgyas. ñid.*

For *Pratyekasya* Tib. *pratyekabuddhānāṃ (raṅ. saṅs. rgyas, rnams. kyi).*

Skt. *vivṛtiḥ* for which "The MS writes either *vivṛtiḥ* or *vivṛttiḥ* just as it pleases" (p. 66) may be supported here by Tib. (*bsad. pa*).

But in one case (p. 18, l. 9) it reads *vitarkaḥ* or *vikalpaḥ* (*rnam. par. brtags. pa* being taken for *rnam. par rtog*), while in two cases (p. 17, l. 13 ; and p. 20, l. 2) it has simply *tarkaḥ* (*rtog. p'o*).

For *eva* after *śrāvakasya* read *iva* with Tib. (*bshin*).

Ll. 8-9 : ayaṃ ca pratipannapudgalaśūnyācintyatālakṣaṇamācāryya-svayambhūjñānavipaśyanāsamarthaḥ.

For *ayaṃ* Tib. *asya* (*ḥdi. la*). For *śūnyācintyālakṣaṇamācāryya-* read *śūnyatā° lakṣaṇānācāryya-* as suggested by Tib. (*stoṅ.pa. ñid daṅ/ bsam. du. med. p'i mtshan. ñid daṅ/ slop. dpon. med. pa. daṅ*) ; and for *samarthaḥ* Tib. *śamathaḥ* (*shi. gnas. so*).

JA, 1902, II p. 267 ; " bhārahāraḥ pudgalaḥ "—*Tattvasaṅgraha-pañjikā*, p. 130.

1 Besides the works named in the preceding note see *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*, BI, p. 475 ; *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*, XVIII, 92-103 (p. 159) ; *Nyāyavārtika*, BI, p. 342 ; *Muséon*, 1902, p. 2 ; Minayeff, *Recherches*, p. 225 ; JRAS, 1901, pp. 308, 573.

2 *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, III, p. 25. In Pāli it is simply *Bhārasutta*. *Visuddhimagga*, pp. 479, 512.

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Independently Tib. would read here : asya (ca) pratipannapudgalaśūnyatācintyatālakṣaṇam anācāryaṃ svayambhūjñānaṃ vipaśyanāśamathaś ca.

Ll. 9-10. tatra indriyān nirodho vipaśyanā (10 k) pudgalasyānupalabdhiḥ kāyavā[kce]tasāṃ saṃya[ma]samarthaḥ

Tib. reads : tatra indriyanirodho vipaśyanā pudgalsyānupalabdhiś ca kāyavākcetasāṃ saṃyamaḥ śamathaḥ (de.la lhag.mthoṅ ni dbaṅ.po. rnams.ḥgag.pa.daṅ/ gaṅ shag.mi.dmigs.po/ shi.gnas.ni.lus daṅ. ṅag daṅ yid yaṅ dag sdom.po//)

But in the first part the actual reading seems to be: *indriyanirodhād* for *indriyanirodho*, and *ca* in the sentence is to be omitted.[1]

L. 15. For *anāgatāyāṃ* Tib. lit. *āgatāyām* (ḥoṅ.bar.gyur) which for the sake of metre is to be read as *samāgatāyāṃ*, and this is the true reading.

Ll. 19-20: For

ajānānāṃ hi prajñānaṃ nidrādṛṣṭātasādhitam/
indriyop[illegible]ṛatam yadvaj jñānaṃ vaiśeṣikaṃ matam//

The Tib. has:

śes.pa.med. p[illegible]i. ye.śes.gaṅ/
gñid.kyi.dpe.yis[illegible] bsgms.pa.ni/
ḥbaṅ.po.ḥgags.pa[illegible] śes.pa.ste/
bye. brag.pa.yi ḥdo[illegible]oa.yin//

For *ajānānaṃ* Tib. appears to rea[illegible] *ajñānānāṃ* (śes.pa.med.p'i), but the Tib. phrase may be taken as presen[illegible] participle, *ajānānāṃ*. For *prajñānaṃ* Tib. has *yaj jñānaṃ* (*ye.śes.gaṅ*). [illegible] the second half of the kārikā Tib. omits *yad vaj* altogether, but owing [illegible] to the metre it seems that the original reading must have been [illegible] *tat*, but not *yad vaj* which cannot be defended here.

Ll. 22-23. The following couplet with [illegible] the introductory line 'bhagavataḥ pravacanam api' using *jetavane* [illegible] for *vṛndāvane* as is widely known is very interesting :

[illegible]icca[illegible], ahaṃ/
vāraṃ jetavane ramye śṛgālatvaṃ vrajāmy say[illegible]thiati //
na tu vaiśeṣikaṃ mokṣaṃ gotamo gantum with [illegible]
[illegible]m [illegible]thābhita-

1 see *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā* p. 287 : vipaśyanā ya[illegible]kṣaṇa[illegible] tattvaparijñānasvabhāvā prajñā, śamathaḥ cittaikāgratā[illegible]—*Bh*[illegible] samādhiḥ.

2 Xylograph *yi*[illegible] [illegible]56, an[illegible]

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The important difference in Tib. is that it reads *mantum* (ḥtshal) for *gantum*. See *Sarvasiddhāntasārasaṃgraha*, Madras, p. 28 ; *Saḍdarśana-samuccaya* (BI), p. 188 (with *gantum*).

I have already said that sometimes Tib. translations are wrong, and here is an instance. In the Skt. text (p. 16, l. 25) we have *śrāvakapratyekayoḥ* (=°*pratyekabuddhayoḥ*), but here for *pratyeka* Tib. reads *pratyayajñāna* (*rkyen. rtogs*). And the case is the same on p. 17, l. 3, where the word *pratyeka* is used again. It appears that the copy before the Tib. translator had the wrong reading, *pratyaya* for *pratyeka* and the translator rendered it into Tib. by *rkyen. rtogs* in order to mean by it *pratyeka buddha* without questioning the genuineness of the reading *pratyaya*.

P. 17

L. 6. For *saṃsargāt* [*ca*] *prajāyate* Tib. clearly *nirvikalpaṃ prajāyate* (*rtog.pa.med. par. rab.tu.ḥbyuṅ*).

Ll. 14-15. Tib. omits, *kalanā yat* and *sāṃkhyāṃ* reading *pratyakṣato nāsti kālaḥ kriyāyāḥ* (*ḥdi.ni goms.par. bya.baḥi. dus. yin. gyi / mṅon.sum.du. bya.baḥi. dus.ni. ma. yin. no*).

For *paricaya* (twice) Tib. *abhyāsa* (*goms. pa*).

L. 16. Consistently with his edition of the *Bauddha Gān o Dohā*, Sāhitya Pariṣad Granthāvalī, Calcutta, 1323 B. S., p. 46. Śāstrī Mahāśaya corrects *cittaṃ niścintya* found in the MS. to *cittaṃ niścitya* ; but Tib. reads here *cittaniścittabodhena* (*sems.kyi.sems.med.rtogs.pa.yis*) (Xylograph *yi* for *yis*), but I think the latter is the right reading.

Ll. 18. The śloka with a lacuna reads :

bhāvayed gṛhibhū.....ṣilabdhākṣaṇam /
vajraparyaṅkam ādhāya nāsāgre cañcalaṃ manaḥ //

Here we have the Tib. version :

skad. cig. skad. cig. la. brtan.nas /
rdo.rje skyil. kruṅ. bciṅs[1] nas, ni /
sna. rtser. gyo.baḥi. yid gtad.pa /
khyim.par. gyur.kyaṅ.-bsgom.par.bya //

Accordingly the following amendment may be proposed :

bhāvayed gṛhibhū[to']pi labdha[dhairyaḥ parti]kṣaṇam /
vajraparyaṅka ādhāya[2] nāsāgre° //

L. 20. Before *tritayā*° Tib. adds *saṃsāra* (*ḥkhor*)[3]

1 Xylograph *bcas*. 2 Tib. would read *ābadhya*.
3 Here *saṃsāratritaya* may mean *lokatraya*, *tridhātu*.

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Ll. 21-22. Tib. omits *prajñā° svabhāvena*. For °*pāramitācaraṇaṃ phalavaimukhye na sattvā°* one should read °*pāramitācaraṇaphala-vaimukhyena* as suggested by Tib. (pha. rol. tu. phyin.pa. lña.la. kun.tu. spyod.ciṅ. ḥbras.bu.la.re.ba.med.par). For *vaimukhya* Tib. literally *nairāśya* (*re. bo. med. pa*).

L. 22. Tib. simply *dṛṣṭiḥ* (*lta. baḥo*) for *taddṛṣṭeḥ*, and that is better.

Ll. 23-24. One reads in the edition :

ṣaṭkena yugapad yogācāre [para-] māṇoḥ ṣaḍaṅgatetyādinā.

Here *yogācāre* must be *yogāt* or *yoge*[1] and one should read *ṣaḍaṃśatā* for *ṣaḍaṅgatā*, the line reading :

ṣaṭkena yugapad yogāt paramāṇoḥ ṣaḍaṃśatā/

L. 25. For *anupapatteḥ* Tib. *anupalabdhiḥ* (dmigs.par.mi.ḥgyur.gyi). After *idam* Tib. adds. *sarvam* (thams. cad). Tib. omits *cittākāradhāri* (for *citrākāra°* see p. 18, l. 8). For °*bhāva°* Tib. °ākārarūpa° (rnam.paḥi. ṅo.bo). For °*vinirmuktaṃ prakāśam* one should read *vinirmuktaprakā-śaṃ pra°* (ḥbral. ba. gsal. ba.ñid. gsal.ba.rab.tu°).

P. 18.

L. 6. For *citteṣu* Tib. *cittaṭaḥ* (*sems. las*). Tib. puts the first half in slightly different words which may be translated in prose as follows : indriyārthasvarūpaṃ cittād anyan na bhavati. The Tib. text reads :

dbaṅ.poḥi.don.gyi.ṅo.bo.ñid/
sems.las.gshan.yod.ma.yin.te /

L. 8. After *citrākāraṃ* Tib. adds, *sthitaṃ* (*bshag*). For *paraṃ nirapekṣyaprakāśyaṃ prakāśate* one should read with Tib. *paranirapek-ṣam* (or figuratively *nirapekṣaprakāśam*) *prakāśate* (gshan. la. ma bltos (X *ltos*) rab.tu.gasal.ba).

Ll. 12-13. *bāhye na°*. This kārikā of the *Laṅkāvatāra*, ed. N. Nanjio, Kyoto, 1923, p. 235 (X. 154) is quoted in a number of works (*Subhāṣitasaṃgraha*, p. 18 ; *Saḍdarśanasamuccaya* (BI), p 40 ; *Tattvasaṃgraha* (405) p. 14 ; and so on), but nowhere, so far as

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1 In the original kārikā of Vasubandhu we have *-yogāt*, while in the vṛtti there is *yoge* supported by Tib. reading *sbyor.ba.na*. In the Benares edition of the *Nyāyavārtika*, IV, 2, 25, there is *yogāt* but the Calcutta edition reads *Yoge*. This is the first half of Vasubandhu's very well-known and widely quoted kārikā in his *Viṃśatikārikā*, ed. Lèvi, 16,

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I know, is the reading *bāhye* as in the present book for *bāhyo* which is quite right.

Ll. 16-17. For *rūpakāyau tadudbhūtau* Tib. singular number, *rūpakāyas tadudbhūtaḥ* (*de.las.byuṅ.baḥi.gzugs.kyi.sku*). For *eva* in *māyaiva* read *iva* with Tib.(*bshin*). The case is the same also with L. 14.

L. 18. For *-saccitra-* read *-sacitra-* as in Tib. (*sna.tshogs.daṅ.bcas.pa*).

L. 22. For *sāta* Tib. *satya* (*bden.pa*) and for *-citta-* it has *-jñāna-* (*ye. śes*).

P. 19.

Ll. 1-2. The kārikā runs :

vijñānamātram evedam ity ayam hy upalabhataḥ /
sthāpayen na sa kiñcit [tu] tanmātreṇāvatiṣṭhate //

In our Xylograph the first three words of *b* are extremely illegible and could not be read. The karikā is quoted below.

hdi.dag.-thams.cad. sems.tsam. shes/
...yaṅ.dmigs. nas.su/
ci.yaṅ ruṅ ste mdun ḥjog na/
de.ñid. tsam.la. mi.gnas.so//

In *b* of the Skt. text *ayaṃ hi* is doubtful, and could not be examined. In *c* for *na sa* there is nothing in Tib., nor is anything for the inserted [tu].

For *d* Tib. clearly reads *tanmātre nāva°*.

Ll. 3-4. In the kārikā *yadā°* read *ālambanaṃ* (*dmigs.pa*) in *a*, and *upalabhate* (*ñe.bar. dmigs.pa*) in *b* for *ālambanam* and *upalabhyate* respectively. In *c* one should read *sthitaṃ* (Tib. *gnas.pa*) for *sthitaḥ* and in *d grāhyābhāve* (*gzuṅ.ba.med.pas*) for *grāhyabhāve*.

Ll. 6-7. This śloka occurs again on p. 29 with some different readings and emendations without any attempt to account for the variance. Let them be quoted below as they are edited :

yad yad yad dṛśyate kiñcit tat tat brahmeti kalpayet/
tato nānyagataṃ cittaṃ brahmaṇaivātiṣṭhate// p. 19
yad yad vai dṛśyate kiñcit [tat] tad brahmeti kalpayet/
tato'nyagatacittaṃ [tu] brahmaṇaivāvatiṣṭhate// p. 29

And here is the Tib. version :

cuṅ.shig. gaṅ.daṅ.gaṅ.mthoṅ.ba/
de.daṅ. de.ni. tshaṅs.par.rtog/
sems.ni.de.las gshaṅ.pa.med/
tshaṅs.pa. ñid.la ḥes.par.gnas//

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Taking all these into consideration we may have the following :

yad yad vai dṛśyate kiñcit tat tad brahmeti kalpayet/
tato nānyagataṃ cittaṃ brahmaṇy evāvatiṣṭhate//

L. 14. For *-ānanda* Tib. *-ananta-* (*mthaḥ.med.pa*) which seems to have been misread by the Tib. translator, or the MS. before him contained that reading.

L. 15. The first half of the kārikā runs :—

bodhāmbho(mbo)dhau mayi svacchaṃ
tucchāyaṃ viśvabuddhayaḥ/

Here are three mistakes, and Tib. gives the true readings : for *svacchaṃ* Tib. *svacche* (*dwaṅs.pa.la*), for *tucchāyaṃ* it has *tuccho'yaṃ* (*gsob. ḥdi*), and for *viśvabuddhayaḥ* it reads *viśvabudbudaḥ* (*sna.tshogs. chu.bur*).

L. 24. For *ābhāsanavaśāt* Tib. has *vāsanāvaśād asatyam ābhasate* [iti] (*bag.chags.kyi.dbaṅ.gis mi.bden.par snaṅ.baḥo*).

For *doṣād dvandvāt* Tib. *doṣa-dvandvāt* or °*dvayāt* (*skyon.gñis. yod. pas*). [*na*] is supported by Tib. (*ma.yin.no*).

Ll. 25-26. For *pūrvetaraparāmarśa* Tib. suggests *purvottarāparāmarśa* (*sṅon.daṅ.da.ltar.dpyad.pa.med.par*).

P. 20.

L. 1. *mūrti° saṅgaḥ* is not clear also in Tib. in which there is nothing of *mūrti* and *vastuśakti* of the Sk. text. Tib. reads : *sna.tshogs. ji.ltar. snaṅ.ba. de.ltar. rjes.su. bden.pa. ci.shig gaṅ.du thal.bar ḥgyur.* And it may be literally translated thus : *citram yathābhāsate tathānantaraṃ kasya satyasya kutra prasaṅgaḥ.* But what does it mean ?

Ll. 7-8. The kārikā runs :

na mataṃ śāśvataṃ viśvaṃ na cocchedi samīhitam/
śāśvatocchedino yugmyaṃ nānubhayaṃ vinobhayam//

The first half is all right, but apparently the second half is defective. The Tib. text is given below :—

sna.tshogs-rtag.pa.ma.yin.te/
chad.par yaṅ. ni. khas.mi.len/
rtag.daṅ. chad.pa. gñis.ka.yaṅ/
gñis-ka. min.paḥaṅ. ma. yin.no//

The last two lines of it being put in prose literally mean : *śāśvatam ucchedi ca ubhayam api anubhayam api na.* It is very clear, and accordingly the second half of the Skt. text may be emended as follows :

śāśvatocchedinor yugmam nānubhayam na cobhayam/

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Ll 9-10. For *pratiṣṭhāne* [*ca*] read *aprati-ṣṭhāne* (Tib. *mi.gnas.pas* lit. *apratiṣṭhānāt*). Cf. °*apratiṣṭhānavādināṃ* l. 6. The exact reading in *a* according to Tib. seems to be *iha sarvāpratiṣṭhānāt* (*ḥdi.ni. thams.cad.mi.gnas.pas*). The last half of the kārikā reading *athaiṣā kalpanā naiva yac cid vetti na cittatām* differs from Tib. which suggests *īdṛśena vikalpena cittaṃ vetti na cittatām* (*ḥdi. lta. bu.yi. rnam rtog.gis/ sems.ni.sems.kyis rig.ma,yin/*). Before the second half of the kārikā Tib. separately adds *tena* (*des. na*).

Ll. 11-12, For *sarvasamāropaḥ* read *sarvaḥ samāropaḥ* (Tib. *sgro. btags.thams.cad.ni*). For *nirāropaḥ* Tib. preferably reads *asamāropaḥ* (*sgro.btags.med*). For *tatrāropavidhī kutaḥ* Tib. *tan niṣedhavidhī na hi* (*des.na.dgag,daṅ. sgrub.pa. med*).

Ll. 13-14. For the emended reading *anābhoge* originally in the MS *anābhoga* read *anābhogaṃ* with Tib. *lhun grub. pa.* The last half of the kārikā is as follows :

sañcitya yad acintyaṃ vai tad a[ci]ntyaṃ bhaven na hi/

And the Tib. text reads :

bsams.bshin.du.ni.mi.sems.pa/
de.la. bsam.mi.khyab. mi.brjod//

Accordingly the Sanskrit reading should be :

sañcintayad acittam vai tad acintyam bhaven na hi/

Strictly with Tib. one is to read *na cakṣate* for *bhaven na hi* in *d*.

Ll. 15-16. In *yenājātaṃ jagad buddham* for *yena* read *svena* with Tib. (*bdag.gis*), and *iti* or *nāma* (*shes*) for *buddhaṃ* which may, however, be retained disagreeing with Tib ; According to Tib. *jagatsatyam* is a compound (*ḥgro.baḥi. gñug.ma. bden.pa. ñid.=jagato nijaṃ satyam*). For *anābhogena*. Tib. *anāyāsena* (*ḥbad.pa.med*). The verb 'to be' (√*bhū*) is understood here.

Ll. 18 For *-nirmukte* and *-tattve* one should read-*nirmuktaṃ* and *tattvaṃ* respectively (Tib. *ñes.hgral.ba* and *de.ñid.du*), Tib. reads *pracakṣate* (*brjod*) for *cakāśati* which may also be retained as an use in Buddhist Skt.

P. 21

Ll. 22-25. The śloka as printed runs :

eka hi yāna nayaś ca ekaḥ
ekā ceyaṃ deśana nāyakānām /
upāyakauśalya mamevarūpaṃ
yāntrāṇi yānāny upadarśayāmi //

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As mentioned in the work itself it is quoted from the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, BB, II. 69 (p. 48). Here in *d yantrāni* does not give any sense. The editor even without consulting Tib. could easily correct *yantrāni* which must be *yat trīṇi*. Tib. rightly reads here *gaṅ. yaṅ. theg.pa gsum = yat trīṇi yānāni*.

The other reading in the śloka could also be emended or modified. The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* is edited by H. Kern and B. Nanjio from not less than eight MSS., and thus the readings adopted there cannot be ignored altogether. Compare the other readings in the *Tattvaratnāvalī* with those in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. Accordingly one should read *ekaṃ hi yānaṃ* and *eka* for *eka hi yāna* and *ekaḥ* respectively in *a*. One should also read *ciyaṃ* as was in fact in the MS. for emended *ceyaṃ* in *b*; and *mamaiva rūpaṃ* for *mameva* in *c*.

P. 22.

Ll. 2-3. One reads here :

dharmadhātor asambhedād dhyānabhedo'sti na prabho /
yanatritayam ākhyātaṃ tvayā sattvāvatārataḥ //

The original kārikā occurs in Nāgarjuna's *Nirupamastava* 21, and is quoted also in the *Subhāṣitasaṃgraha*, p. 14. Here *dhyānabhedaḥ* ia *b* is a wrong reading, the actual one being *yāna°* (Tib. *theg.dbye*).

L. 5. We read the following :

muktis tu śūnyatādṛṣṭis tadarthāśeṣabhāvanā /

Here *dṛṣṭiḥ* should be corrected to *dṛṣṭeḥ* as in the *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*, p. 438, and the *Subhāṣitasaṃgraha*, 22, where it is quoted. It is quoted also in the commentary by Guṇaratna on the *Saḍdarśanasamuccaya* ed. Suali, BI, p. 47, but with a wrong reading. Instead of two *pādas* of the kārikā as quoted above in the *Tattvaratnāvalī* and the works referred to, Tib. has here three pādas :

stoṅ.pa ñid-kyis.[1] grol.bar.ḥgyur /
de.ma.śes.pas. ḥchiṅ.bar.hgyur /
bagom.pa. lhag.ma. de.don. yin /

The first line gives the Skt. equivalent : *muktiḥ* (which may be taken as *muktis tu*) *śūnyatayā*. This suggests that according to the Tib. translator who has left out the word *dṛṣṭi* untranslated, the reading is *dṛṣṭyā* and not *dṛṣṭeḥ* (= *darśanāt*). The last two lines of the Tib. text may be translated as follows :

1 Xylograph *kyi*.

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tadajñānena bandhanam/
tadarthāśeṣabhāvanā //

We have thus three *pādas* of the karikā, first, second, and fourth, only the third is missing. The kārikā is of Nāgārjuna as mentioned in the *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*, p. 437.

Ll. 6-7. This sentence with grammatical mistakes is evidently defective and as such does not give any clear sense. The Tib. version gives us some help though not quite satisfactory. It runs :

de. lta. buḥi. theg. pa. gsum. rab. tu. bstan. pa. yaṅ. rtags. pa. daṅ bcas. pa. daṅ/ rñog. pa med. pas. stoṅ. pa. sñam. sems. paḥi. daṅ. rtogs. par. bys. baḥi. phyir. ro ||

It may be rendered thus :

īdṛsaṃ ca yānatritayaprakāśanaṃ saliṅgaṃ nirdoṣaṃ ceti śūnyatāmanyanārtham avagantavyam iti.

Ll. 8-9. Here is a śloka :

nodāhṛtaṃ tvayā kiñcid ekam apy akṣaraṃ vibho/
kṛtsnaś ca vai māyajano dharmavarṣaṇatarṣitaḥ ||

Here in the original MS in *c* there was *mayajano* (p. 63) which is emended in the present edition as *māyajano*: But why ? What sense does it give ? Again, what is the meaning of *dharmavarṣaṇatarṣitaḥ* ? In fact, the second half of the kārikā must be :

kṛtsnaś ca vaineyajano dharmavarṣaṇatarpitaḥ /

And it is entirely supported by Tib :

gdul. byaḥi. ḥgro. ba. ma. lus. la /
chos. kyi. char. gyis. tshim. paḥaṅ. mdzod ||

This kārikā is taken from Nāgārjuna's *Catustava* and quoted also in the *Bodhicaryāvatarapañjikā*, p. 420.

Ll. 10-11. This śloka is quoted also in the *Kudṛṣṭinirghātana* (*Adbvayavajrasaṃgraha*, p. 1). It may be noted here that in *b* of this śloka the words *vāyu* is omitted in Tib. version of the *Tattvaratnāvalī*. while, in that of the *Kudṛṣṭinirghātana* it is not so.

Ll. 12-13. For *sambhāro bedhasāmarthyāt* one should read *sambhārabhedasāmarthyāt* with Tib. reading : *tohogs. kyi. dbye. ba. nus. pa. yis.*

Ll. 14-15. The kārikā *yānānāṃ* is from the *Laṅkāvatāra*, III 204; X 458 (pp. 135, 322).[1] The variation to be noted is that in the *Laṅkā-*

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1 In the *Bauddha Gān O Dohā*, p. 45, it is quoted with a wrong reading in *c*.

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vatāra we have *citte tu vai parāvṛtte* for *parāvṛtte tu vai citte* in *c*. For *yāyinaḥ* in *d* supported by Tib (*hgro. ba*), some of the MSS of the *Laṅkāvatara* read *yāninaḥ*. For *parāvṛtte* in *c* Tib. has *paribhūte* (*yoṅs. su. gyur. pa. na.*)

Ll. 16-17. The kārikā in the present edition is :

saddharmaratnaghaṭikā vāg hy atra grathitāmalā /
hṛdaye kriyatāṃ dhirās tattvaratnāvalī mudā ||

And here runs the Tib. version :

dam. chos. las. grub. rin. po.che /
dri. med. ṅag. gi. skud. pas.brgyud /
dgaḥ. ba. skyed. byed. rin. chen. phreṅ /
brtan. pas. sñin. gdags. par. bgyi ||

A few words of the original are here figuratively translated. Yet, it helps us in correcting two wrong readings in the Skt. kārikā. For *ghaṭikā* and *vāg hy atra* in the first half read *ghaṭitā* (Tib. *grub*) and *vāksūtra* (Tib. *ṅag. gi. skud*) respectively.

Ll 18-19. The kārikā reads :

saṃgrahaṃ tu priyatvena vistaradveṣiṇā mayā /
bhūrira[nu]ttame tasmin kṣantavyaṃ vistarapriyāḥ //

Here for *saṃgrahaṃ tu* in *a* which cannot be construed, one may read *saṃgrahasya*. But according to Tib. *saṃgrahaṃ* is to be read *sārasya* (*sñiṅ.po.la*). For *c* (*bhūrira*[*nu*]*ttame tasmin*), which is evidently a wrong reading, read *bhūri tv anuktam etasmin* with Tib. *rgyas.par. bstan pa. ma lags.pa*. Tib. omits here *etasmin* and *vistaradveṣiṇā* in *b*, but adds *vicakṣaṇāḥ* (*mkas.pa*) or any suitable synonym for it in *d*.

In the last śloka (l. 20) *bhavyārthanayā* is to be separated from *prayatnād*.

There is still a number of other points to be discussed in the *Tattvaratnāvalī* as edited in the Gækwad's Oriental Series, but to avoid prolixity, I refrain now from doing so. I may think, however, that I have succeeded in showing by what has been said above that the importance of Tibetan studies can in no way be underrated by true students of Buddhism.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

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Archæological Progress in Kerala

The Reports on the working of the Archæological Department in the State of Travancore for the years 1927-29 gives us a very satisfactory account of the way in which any archæological department might work with great advantage. The Superintendent, Mr. R. Vasudeva Poduval, has succeeded, in the course of the two years covered by the reports, not only in effecting a kind of stock-taking of the work already done by the department since its inception, but also in opening out fresh avenues of investigation in anthropology and pre-history in which Travancore is so rich. An archæological map of the State is being prepared in which are to be shown all temples, churches and mosques, *sabhāmatams*, forts, battle-fields, palaces, old sea-ports and other sites and places of antiquity, important from epigraphical and other points of view. The main activities of the department were, till recently, mainly in the work of epigraphy; and though considerable work has been done in this field, valuable both in quantity and quality, the system adopted in the collection of material and in the publication of results has been rather desultory and wanting in arrangement and has rendered it difficult to say how much of the epigraphical work has been completed and what exactly remains to be done. New work, particularly in the field of the collection of materials in anthropology, ethnology, architecture, etc., has been planned by the Superintendent with a view to make the work of the department more comprehensive and provide fresh and unexplored fields of activity.

The reports contain valuable information as to the different kinds of *mutts* or colleges which existed in the past and to which vast endowments were made from time to time, both by princes and by the people. These *mutts* fall into three distinct types; first comes the *Sannyāsi-Sabhāmatams* which were colleges of Vedic theology and presided over by Sannyāsins; next are the *Śāstra-Sabhāmatams* which concerned themselves primarily with secular Śāstric studies, such as *Nyāya, Vyākaraṇa*, etc.; the third type is the *Karmi Sabhāmatam* which existed for the cultivation of Vedic ritual, or *Karma Kāṇḍa, i.e., Mīmāṃsā* and *Śrautakarma*. A thorough and comprehensive examination of the available records of such instructions has been undertaken.

The department intends also to attempt publication of a systematic treatise on the Kerala style of architecture, with special reference

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to Travancore ; and with this object in view it is examining a number of sources in Malayalam and Sanskrit, including (a) *Tantrasamuccaya*, (b) *Mānuṣālayacandrikā*, which treats of the building of private houses and of the proportions of gabled roofs and other details peculiar to Malabar ; and (c) *Vāstuvidyā*, *Mayamata* and *Śilparatna* included in the Trivandrum Sanskrit series. The last work, *Śilparatna*, is a very valuable compilation from ancient *Śilpa* and *Āgama* works by Śrīkumāra of Kerala, which deals in its first part, already published, with architecture and painting, and the laying out of villages, towns, palaces, houses, etc.

A number of megalithic monuments in the shape of cairns, cistvaens, cromlechs, etc., were discovered in the Devicolam Hills of the State ; a preliminary investigation was made about them, but a complete examination of them is dependent upon a thorough excavation of the sites themselves.

Another useful work that has been begun is the proper indexing and cataloguing of the epigraphical records relating to the Kings of Travancore ; and an examination has shown that 138 inscriptions have a bearing on them, of whom a connected list of over 47 rulers can be made out. The *Granthāvalis* or temple chronicles which are an important source of historical information have also got to be examined in this connection. The department has examined the collections of arms and coins in the royal palace at Trivandrum, as well as the *Granthapura* (collection of manuscripts therein). In the last are found many interesting historical or quasi-historical manuscripts, including that of the *Acyutarāyābhyudhaya*, a chronicle poem of legend and history about Acyutarāya of Vijayanagara.

There is, in the reports, an interesting note on the various kinds of ordeals resorted to in the past ; the system of ordeal was finally abolished in 1844 : it was made use of by the Mussalmans and Christians also, as can be seen from the account of Duarte Barbosa, about the beginning of the 16th century, and from the decrees of the Synod of Diamper (1599 A.D.) which warned the Christians against resorting to such ordeals.

Two temples in the State of Travancore, one at Thiruvilai and another at Thakali, suggest to the antiquarian an importance of a peculiar kind, being probably survivals of Buddhist *vihāras*, established not only for propagating the Buddhist doctrines, but also for bringing medical relief to the people. Evidences are forthcoming to show that Buddhist monks settled in Kerala, practised the science of medicine ; and that

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one among them, Bhandanta Nāgārjuna, is credited with the authorship of a monumental work, named *Rasavaiśeṣika*. Near the temple at Thakali is a Buddhist relic, and the temple itself is dedicated to Śāstā, the Brāhmaṇised Buddha; and it is conjectured that the shrine might have been a Buddhist *vihāra* originally.

The reports form a very interesting reading recording work of a useful kind and suggesting new and connected avenues of useful work.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

Imprecatory Verses in Copper-plate Grants

The identification of imprecatory verses found at the end of copper-plate grants presents a curious problem. Many of the earlier records attribute them to the Mahābhārata (cf. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol. III, Nos. 26, 27, 28, 30, 31 dated respectively 174, 177, 193, 197 and 214 of the Gupta era). Some of the records of this period, however, are silent with regard to the source of these verses. Thus the Damodarpur Copper-plates of the time of Kumāragupta introduce them as follows—"There are these verses pertaining to land-grant."[1]

Statements introducing these verses in records of a later period, however, far from giving a clear indication of the source from which these may have been taken, are found to have created a grave confusion. Some of the records, it is true, do not say anything definitely with regard to their authorship. Thus we come across general statements like "it has been said by great sages"[2]; "it has been said,"[3]; "there are verses"; "old verses"[4]; "some ancient verses are put down"[5]; "so it has been stated in the scriptures."[6] In most of

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1 भवन्ति चात्र भूमिदानसम्बन्धाः श्लोकाः—*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XV, p. 113.

2 उक्तञ्च महर्षिभिः—Torkhede Copper-plate grant of the time of Govindarāja of Gujrat, Śaka, 735, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 57.

3 उक्तञ्च—Gadag Inscription of the Yādava Bhillama—Ś. E. 1113.—*Ep. Ind.*, vol III, pp. 271ff.

4 भवन्ति चात्र श्लोकाः, पूर्व्वश्लोकाः, पौराणिकाः श्लोकाः—Kamauli Plates of the kings of Kanauj, V. S. 1171-1233, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IV, p. 97ff.

5 केचन पुरातनाः श्लोका लिख्यन्ते—Tattaramudi Plates of Kāṭayavema, 1333 Ś. E.—*Ep. Ind.*, vol. IV, p. 325.

6 तथाचोक्तं धर्म्मशास्त्रे—Kudopali Plates of the time of Mahābhavagupta II—*Ep. Ind.*, vol. IV, p. 259.

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the Bengal records of the Pāla and Sena periods we meet with lines like "there are verses pertaining to religion in this connection."[1] Nowhere is the Mahābhārata or Vyāsa referred to.

Some of the records ascribe them indefinitely to the Purāṇas or to Vyāsa who is believed to have been the author of the entire Purāṇic literature.[2] In the Kamauli grant the verses are introduced thus: "In this context there are words of sages."[3]

But the real difficulty arises from the references made with respect to the source of these verses to definite works other than the Mahābhārata. Thus the Baguda plates of Mādhavavarman,[4] the Karnul plates of the third year of Vikramāditya I of the Western Cālukyan dynasty[5] and the Bannahaḷḷi plates of the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarman (7th cent.A.D.),[6] all ascribe the verses to Manu.

The Udayendiram plates of Nandivarman (8th cent.) curiously associate the verses with the name of Brahman.[7]

Our confusion is worse confounded by statements found in later Smṛti works of the *nibandha* type. There we find references to several other works which are claimed as the source of particular imprecatory verses.

Thus the verse षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि etc. seems to have been attributed to the Kūrmapurāṇā in the *Dāna-candrikā* (p. 20) of Divākara, probably to Bṛhaspati in *Dānamayūkha* (Gujrat Printing Press ed. p. 176),[8]

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1 भवन्ति चात्र धर्म्मानुशंसिनः श्लोकाः ।

2 अथ पुराणवचनानि लिख्यन्ते—Vanapalli Plates of Annavema, 1300 Ś.E.—*Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 63; व्यासगीतास्यात्र श्लोका भवन्ति—Chicacol Plates of Devendravarman, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 133; व्यासेनापुरातम—Parlakimedi Plates of Vajrahasta, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 224; Parlakimedi Plates of Indravarman, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVI, p. 134.

3 एतौद्देशे मुनिवचमानि भवन्ति—Gauḍalekhamālā, p. 136.

4 उक्तञ्च मानवे धर्मे—*Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 45.

5 J. B. Br. R.A.S., vol, XVI, p. 237.

6 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VI, p. 18—अत्र मनुगीताः श्लोका भवन्ति ।

7 अपि चात्र ब्रह्मगीताः श्लोका भवन्ति—*Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 146.

8 As a matter of fact some of these imprecatory verses (though not this particular one) are found in the *Bṛhaspatisaṃhitā* (Vaṅgavāsī Press ed., 26-27, 28-29). They are also found in the *Bṛhaspatidharmaśāstra* as quoted by Mitra Miśra in his *Vīramitrodaya* (p. 192).

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to the *Viṣṇudharmottara* by Hemādri in his *Dānakhaṇḍa* (p. 486). It is to be noted that though quotations from Bṛhaspati are given by Hemādri in this connection, none of these verses are found to have been ascribed to him.

The verse भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति etc. is attributed to Bṛhaspati in the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* of Halāyudha (Baṭṭalā ed. p. 122), probably to the *Kūrmapurāṇa* in the *Dānacandrikā* (p. 20) of Divākara. The second half of the verse, however, is read thus in the latter work :— तावुभौ पुरुषौ लोके सूर्यमण्डलभेदिनौ .

The verse स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् etc. is attributed to Viśvāmitra in the *Dānacandrikā* (p. 20) of Divākara and *Dānamayūkha* of Nīlakaṇṭha (Gujrat Printing Press ed., p. 176), to Bṛhaspati in the *Dānakriyā-kaumudī* of Govindānanda (Bib. Ind., p. 41), to the *Mahābhārata* by Hemādri in the *Dānakhaṇḍa* (p. 490). In some altered form the same verse is ascribed in the last work (p. 486) to the *Viṣṇudharmottara* also.

It is interesting to note that save and except one solitary instance e.g. that of Hemādri none of the Smṛti works quoted above refers to the *Mahābhārata* as the source of these verses, though some of the earliest records expressly trace them to that work.

It is clear then that there is no clue in the conflicting statements referred to above that may point to the real source of these verses. It will not be quite reasonable to suppose that all this confusion is due to the ignorance or carelessness of the authors concerned. It is true, records of a very early period refer to the *Mahābhārata* as the source. But the verses cannot be traced in the *Mahābhārata* as we have them now. This led Mr. Batakrishna Ghosh to conclude that the original source of these verses "without doubt was a recension of the Mahābhārata now lost to us" (IHQ., III, p. 432).

The *Itihāsasamuccaya*[1] which seems to have been composed of verses taken from the Mahābhārata, as we learn from the work itself (I, 27-8), has got some of these verses (cf. XIX, 38, 39, 44, 52). This, of course, goes to lend support to the conclusions of Mr. Ghosh. The reference to Manu as the source of the verses (though they are not found in its modern recension) in not very late records is supposed to be due to the fact that there were verses common both to Manu

1. Published from the Lakshmivenkateswar Press, Kalyan, Bombay. A Ms. of the work in Newari characters dated 945 A.D. is in the Library of the Asiatic Society.

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and the *Mahābhārata* and that according to Bühler about one tenth of the verses of Manu are taken from the *Mahābhārata*.[1]

But in this connection the theory of Bühler expressed elsewhere deserves careful consideration. According to him the verses that are common to the *Mahābhārata* and Manu are supposed to have been borrowed by both from a floating stock of proverbial sayings.[2]

As a matter of fact there seems to have been prevalent from a very early period a large stock of popular and unwritten didactic verses drawn upon by various authors at different times. Thus one and the same verse is sometimes found to occur in more than one Purāṇa, Tantra, Dharmasaṃhitā, etc.

The *Mahābhārata* actually testifies to the existence of such verses and quotes them occasionally.[3]

In later Smṛti-nibandha works some of the verses of unknown authorship quoted from memory[4] and handed down by tradition also seem to belong to this class.

And it is just possible that these imprecatory verses of copper-plates are also of this nature. They were incorporated by different authors in their works and later-day people mistook them for the composition of those in whose works they were met with by them.

The silence of records, some of which go back to the Gupta period, as regards the definite source of these verses and the reference made to them in very general terms like "it has been said" etc. may also be taken to point to the same conclusion.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

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1 *Corp. Insc. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 19. ; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIV, p. 324.

2 *Laws of Manu*, Bühler, SBE., vol. XXV, Introduction, p. xc.

3 अत्रापुदाहरन्तीमा गाथा नित्यं क्षमावताम्—*Vanaparvan*, 29. 35 ; भवन्ति चात्र श्लोकाः 198, 13-15.

4 इति स्मृतिः ।

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A Note on Kīcakavadha

A reply

There seems to have been a sort of misunderstanding between myself and Dr. S. K. De, with regard to a review of his edition of the *Kīcakavadha*. And as a result he has contributed his *Note on the Kīcakavadha* to the *IHQ.*, (vol. VI, p. 377 f.). In the following lines I try to clear up the misunderstanding.

It is occasionally difficult to distinguish between marginal corrections, emendations and notes (known traditionally among the Pandits of Bengal as *bodhas*) in old Mss. Dr. De has made an attempt to differentiate the corrections from the notes (for which he uses the abbreviation MGA.) But my contention is that this sort of differentiation is not possible in every case. What Dr. De takes as corrections may not unlikely be, in cases, nothing but the reader's emendations of additions or simple explanatory words. And what I meant to say in my review is that there is in some cases at least a legitimate ground for doubt. Let us, for instance, take into consideration the word *kulakaṃ* (p. 2, l. 15) which is stated (in f.n. 3) to be an addition on the upper margin of the Ms. Now, without the corroborative evidence from any other Ms. it cannot be definitely determined as to whether it really formed a part of the commentary or it was supplied by the reader or even the copyist on the authority of the arch-type followed by him. And strict accuracy would demand the placing of such words within brackets with a view to draw the attention of scholars to their doubtful character.

As regards Dr. De's request for supplying detailed information of the Ms. of a commentary of the *Kīcakavadha* in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, I should add that there are two Mss. of the work in the Government collection deposited with the Society. Of these one is a Ms. of the text and the other a Ms. of a commentary on it by one Lakṣmīdhara Bhaṭṭācārya. Both the Mss. are in a dilapidated condition. But both of them are dated. The date of the copying of the text is 1596 of Śaka Era and that of the commentary 1536 Ś. E. This manuscript of the text was described by R. L. Mitra in his *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts* (No. 615).

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

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The Sixth All-India Oriental Conference

The Sixth All-India Oriental Conference had its sessions at Patna on the 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th December last. No better place than Patna could have been chosen for such an august re-union as that of the Orientalists from different parts of India. It is to be wondered why this Conference was not called earlier at Patna, a city hallowed by the oldest memories of the ancient history of India. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal who has been one of the foremost scholars in creating an atmosphere of research at Patna was mainly instrumental in inviting this Conference there. The Bihar Government and the Patna public offered their ready co-operation and as a result the Conference was a complete success. For this success thanks are particularly due to Mr. Jayaswal, the President and Dr. Hari Chand, the Honorary Secretary, of the Reception Committee. Some prominent men of Patna like Rai Bahadur Radhakrishna Jalan, Mr. Jayaswal, Principal D. N. Sen were at home to the delegates and members of the Conference. The delegates visited the Museum, the splendid art collection of Mr. Manuk, the Khudabuksh Oriental Library and the ancient sites of Kumhrar, Rajgir and Nalanda.

Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, who has been long known to scholars both in India and abroad through his valuable contributions both in ethnolgy and epigraphy, presided over the Conference. In his address he made a survey of the work that had been done in the field of Orientalism in India in recent years. The review, though incomplete in some respects, places before us in a nutshell the large amount of work that has been done in India lately and draws our notice to the activities, either of individual scholars or of corporate bodies, in different branches of historical study. Everybody will agree with him when he says in concluding his speech that "in matters of research work no such thing as a final decision of every disputable point exists. Each fresh attempt that promises to bring us a step nearer the truth therefore deserves encouragement. The present day scholars have imbibed this spirit, and it is their continuous activity which renders historical works, specially on ancient India, obsolete very rapidly, as some new find upsets the old theory."

The meetings of the different sections of the Conference, History, and Archæology, Arabic and Persian, Vedic Sanskrit, Classical Sanskrit, Fine Arts, Philosophy, Philology, and Anthropology Mythology and Religion, were all well attended and animated by lively dis-

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cussions. A new feature of the Conference was that meetings of four additional sections, Urdu, Hindi, Bengali and Oriya, so long neglected, were also held.

Another new feature of the Conference was that foreign bodies like the Universities of Cambridge, Paris, Bonn, and the Philological Societies of London and Paris and the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland offered their co-operation by sending their delegates.

The members of the *Saṃskṛta Sāhitya Pariṣad*, an institution established in Calcutta with a view to advance the cause of Sanskrit learning and culture, were invited to stage the *Mudrārākṣasa*. No better drama could have been selected befitting the occasion. The dresses reminded one of the Maurya age as they were modelled after those found in the sculptural representation of the Maurya times. The drama was so well staged that all appreciated it. The *Pariṣad* is to be specially congratulated on this success as it is the only one of its kind in India which has from time to time staged the Sanskrit dramas and thus tried to put life into things that are dead.

B.

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REVIEWS

CHĀNDOGYAMANTRABHĀṢYA: A PRE-SĀYAṆA COMMENTARY ON SELECT VEDIC MANTRAS by Guṇaviṣṇu, edited with Introduction, critical Notes, Indices and Appendices by Durgamohan Bhattacharyya, M.A., Kāvya-Sāṅkhya-Purāṇatīrtha with a Foreword by Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Gangānātha Jhā, M.A., D.LITT. Saṃskṛt Sāhitya Pariṣad Series, no. 19, Calcutta, 1930.

It is well-known that a Brahmin is bound every day to perform five great sacrifices (pañca mahāyajña), one of which is the *Brahmayajña*. This 'sacrifice' is nothing else than *svādhyāya* or recitation of Vedic formulæ. This recitation is a very difficult affair and taxes every energy of a Brahmin to the end of his life. The recitation should be accurate, the intonation correct, the stresses given on proper words, and so on. In reciting, the head should not shake, the tone should not be sing-song, and the recitation should not be done from a manuscript. The transmission of Vedic recitation, to be effective, should always be oral. Ancient manuscript of Vedic *Saṃhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas* are *non est*. If we have to believe Alberuni who wrote in 1030 A.D., the first Vedic manuscripts were copied in Kashmir about one hundred years before his time. The transmission was oral up to 930 A.D. Even then the teaching was always oral, not from manuscripts. In the Vedic Pāṭhaśālās of Benares the system of oral transmission is still continued.

In ancient times, when Vedic was the spoken language, nobody cared for the interpretation of the Vedic Mantras as their meaning was known to all. Later on, as the language gradually became obsolescent and then obsolete, the *six Aṅgas* with their extensive literature did the work of commentaries and imparted the meaning of the Vedic mantras to Brahmins. But in course of time this literature with commentaries, sub-commentaries and commentaries on the third or fourth remove became so extensive that it was impossible to gather with their help the meanings of the Vedic Mantras, and the following formula of criticism was enforced at that time, say in the 7th or the 8th century of the Christian era,—*sthāṇur ayaṃ bhārahāraḥ kilabhūd adhītya vedaṃ na vijānāti yo 'rtham*, that if one reads the Veda without knowing its meaning, one is simply a stump to bear burden. This formula of criticism was the watch-word, I believe, of

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Kumārila's reformation of Vedic studies. Just about this time, when Kumārila was still living and continued to be a moving force, five Brahmins came from Kānyakubja and settled on both sides of the Ganges and became the progenitors of the Rāḍhīya and Vārendra Brahmins of Bengal.

Some of these Brahmins never cared to recite the whole of a *Saṃhitā* or *Brāhmaṇa*. They recited only a portion of the Kauthuma śākhā literature of the Sāma-veda, and used to describe themselves as *Sāma-veda-Kauthumaśakhā-ekadeśādhyāyins* instead of Sāmavedādhyāyins. The portion of the Veda studied by them might be a chapter or two of a Vedic work belonging to the Kauthuma recension of the Sāma-veda or a selection made from different works pertaining to that recension. Sāma-veda used to be chanted. Chanting was the function of the Udgātṛ priests, but when the Sāma-vedins constituted themselves into a distinct class of Brahmins, they were obliged to have a collection of the Mantras to be used in their domestic ceremonies. The earliest of these collections is to be found in the *Mantra-brāhmaṇa* of the Sāma-veda, i.e., the first two chapters of the *Chāndogya-brāhmaṇa*, the last six constituting the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*. In different countries and at different times Sāmavedins seem to have made for their domestic ceremonies different selections of Vedic Mantras; one of these collections has been commented upon by Guṇaviṣṇu.

Guṇaviṣṇu, however, was not the first to comment upon such selections. Nārāyaṇa, the author of the *Chāndogyapariśiṣṭa* or *Karma-pradīpa*, and Bhavadeva, the great Bengali writer on rituals and Smṛti, seem to have preceded Guṇaviṣṇu in this line though they had not interpreted in a regular way; but the Paṇḍita who first started this idea of partially interpreting the Vedas was Nugaḍācārya. Halāyudha in his *Brāhmaṇasarvasva* names him and gives him the credit of being the first interpreter of Vedic selections. He seems to have followed the example of Nugaḍa. We know something about Nārāyaṇa, whose grandfather accepted *Mahādāna* in the Śrāddha ceremony of Jayapāla, the brother of Dharmapāla, and was regarded as *patita*. We know something about Bhavadeva, who was one of the ministers of Harivarmadeva, who in the early eleventh century conquered the whole of the coast country from Puri to Chittagong. But of Nugaḍa we know only the name. Yet, we are sure that Guṇaviṣṇu and Halāyudha and similar other commentators drew their inspirations from him, Halāyudha for Yajur Mantras and Guṇaviṣṇu for Sāma Mantras.

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According to the editor, Durgamohan Bhattacharyya, Guṇaviṣṇu and Halāyudha were contemporaries. That was my idea too. The editor says that Guṇaviṣṇu was a younger contemporary of Aniruddha, the *guru* of Vallālasena and the author of the *Hāralatā* and *Pitṛdayitā*, and that he was an elder contemporary of Halāyudha, the Chief Justice of Lakṣmaṇasena. In spite of the absence of more cogent proofs, I think it is better to accept the editor's arguments. One thing is sure, as has been shown in the Introduction,—Guṇaviṣṇu's commentary has been exploited upon by Sāyaṇa in the middle of the 14th century and by others later on.

Guṇaviṣṇu has within the last seven hundred years established his undoubted authority over Bengal and Mithilā. His *Bhāṣya* is extensively used in these two countries, and it has all the excellences of a commentary—clear, concise, expressive and lucid. Because Guṇaviṣṇu comments upon a selection of Mantras for the Sāmavedin Brahmins, one should not think that he explains only Sāma chants or their *Yoni ṛks*. He commented upon all the Mantras used by the Sāmavedins in their domestic ceremonies; they may be ṛks, yajus, or sāmans. Sāmans cannot be commented upon, because they are chants and full of *stobha* words. So, in commenting upon Sāmans, the commentator has only to comment upon the *yoni ṛks*. There are not much of chanting in domestic ceremonies, but if a sāman is to be chanted, the Bengali Brahmins, instead of chanting, repeat the Mantra thrice; that is taken to be equivalent to chanting. Unfortunately, we do not find any authority for it in the *Chāndogyamantra bhāṣya*.

The work is divided into eight Khaṇḍas, or sections. The first and second sections explain the Mantras to be used in *Kuśaṇḍikā* and *Udīcyakarman* respectively, the rites necessary for all household ceremonies requiring presence of the holy Fire. The third section deals with Mantras meant for the marriage ceremony, while the fourth is concerned mainly with other sacraments performed before and after conception as well as child-birth up to the rite for commencing the Vedic study (upanayana). Comments on the Mantras to be recited in connection with ritual for the fulfilment of particular desires (*kāmyakarman*) and at the house-warming ceremony are also found in this section. The fifth section deals with the Mantras for the performance of *sandhyā* or daily prayers, while the sixth treats of ablution (*snāna*) and recitation of Vedic texts (*Brahmayajña*). The seventh comments on the Puruṣasūkta and some other Mantras

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used for the worship of a deity and the eighth on those for *Vaiśvadeva-karman*, cremation, śrāddha etc.

The editor has adduced evidences to prove that Guṇaviṣṇu was born in Bengal. As Rāḍhīya Brahmins extensively use his commentary, he seems to be one of them. Vidyāvācaspati in an authoritative work calls him Rāḍhīya. Commentaries on select portions of the Veda are written for the benefit of the Rāḍhīya and Vārendra Brahmins, and not for Pāścāttyas or Utkalas. These facts make a strong case for Guṇaviṣṇu's being a Rāḍhīya Brahmin ; and these Brahmins are, if not universally, ninety per cent. Sāmavedins.

The editor has dealt in his Introduction with various topics relating to the work and the author, e. g., the sources of the Mantras commented upon by Guṇaviṣṇu, the relation of the *Chāndogyamantra-bhāṣya* with the *Mantrabrāhmaṇa* and the *Gobhilagṛhyasūtra*, the birth-place of Guṇaviṣṇu, his date, his works, the nature of his commentary and so on. The editor's work has been done with great care, accuracy and thought. The Sāmavedins will certainly be thankful to Durgamohan Bhattacharyya for his numerous appendices and indices. But alas ! the number of people, to use such a carefully prepared book, is becoming beautifully less and less every year. Durgamohan is a scholar and he has done a scholar's work ; and this is just the time when scholarly works should preserve our ancient ritualistic works. The editor has done his work well, and therefore deserves thanks from every one who has any pretence of scholarship.

HARAPRASAD SHASTRI

BĀLĀDITYA : A HISTORICAL ROMANCE OF ANCIENT INDIA by A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar, M.A. (Oxon.), I.C.S. Fully Illustrated. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. 402 pp.

The Bālāditya is, as the sub-title of the book indicates, a historical romance of ancient India. It treats of a period, which saw the temporary overshadowing of the mighty empire of the Imperial Guptas by the Hūṇas, the consequent demoralisation of the people, and the final overthrow of the Hūṇa tyrant Mihiragula by Yaśodharman. The main interest of the story centres round Bālāditya, king of Magadha, who is represented as a brave, gallant and chivalrous prince, and his queen Sarasvatī. Full of strifes and turmoils as the time must have

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been, the presentation of the narrative in a series of thrilling and romantic episodes and adventures into which are woven in an original way the life and manners of contemporary India is, on the whole, faithful and satisfactory.

But as the author's narrative has a definite historical background with definite historical personalities, we would naturally expect him to be cautious about general historical sequences while presenting his heroes. This review is mainly concerned with the historical aspect of the subject, and we feel that the book has suffered from some misstatements of historical facts. Some of these are as follows :

1 The Gupta Empire was not, as the narrative suggests, completely overthrown by any onslaught of the Hūṇas, it was only temporarily overshadowed by the Huṇas.

2 Bālāditya has been represented to be identical with Narasiṃhagupta Bālāditya. But, Bālāditya, the Gupta contemporary of Mihiragula, the Hūṇa, and Yaśodharman, king of Malwa, was not identical with Narasiṃhagupta Bālāditya. The latter was the son of Puragupta, while the former of Tathāgatagupta.

3 Yaśodharman is said to be the king of Malwa and Mahākośala, but his sovereignty over Mahākośala is doubtful.

4 Mahendravarman, king of Vengi, and Vyāghrarāja, king of Mahākāntāra, have both been brought in to figure as contemporaries of Bālāditya. This is a mistatement. They were contemporaries of Samudragupta who flourished a century and a half earlier.

5 Pulakeśin, king of the Cālukyas, is mentioned as another contemporary. In fact, he appeared three quarters of a century later.

6 Famous names in history have an atmosphere about them peculiar to the age and country in which they flourished. Such names as Caṣṭana and Nahapāna and Kadpheises, originally borne by the famous Śaka and Kuṣāṇa kings, and Daṇḍin (who flourished at least two to five centuries earlier) should have been left out.

7 Toramāṇ's three queens are named as Tusharpa, Hujespa and Vajhespa. We are not sure if Hūṇa kings could have Scythian wives in the period spoken of.

8 The illustrations are sometimes unhistorical in character. To mention only one on the dust cover (also reproduced on p. 23). The scene of the narrative is laid at Ujjain, the Gupta capital. A brahmin is taking his bath in a tank, but a *gopuram* is pictured in the background. Gopuram, it need hardly be mentioned, is a form of architecture peculiar to South India, and even the origin of the

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style cannot in any way be traced earlier than the 8th or 9th century A.D.

In spite of these and similar small defects, we welcome this attempt at a historical romance. The story has been lucidly told and conveys a correct impression of what the life of the period was like, which is the main justification of the book.

NIHAR RANJAN ROY

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE VARENDRA RESEARCH SOCIETY, 1928-29, Rajshahi, April, 1929; 1929-30, Rajshahi, July, 1930.

The Varendra Research Society is sincerely to be congratulated on its ceaseless pursuit of historical and archæological studies and researches. In these two Annual Reports which deal with the work and administration of the Society and with new additions to the Society's museum as well, there is enough to be convinced that the Society has not only justified its existence during the last two years under review, but has made a decent quota of contribution to historical and archæological study and research of this part of India. The new additions by the Society to the archaeological wealth of the province are of sufficient artistic and iconographic interest; and the Society's museum is gradually growing into a place of pilgrimage for all who are interested in India's past history and culture.

Additions for the year 1928-29 consist of 8 stone sculptures, of which six are Brāhmaṇical, and two Buddhist, three bronze miniatures, three terracotta, and fifteen coins of which ten are of gold, three of silver and two of copper. The most interesting stone sculpture is that of an image of Tārā attended by Aśokakāntā and Mārīcī, and another of an image of Bhū-varāha. The sculptures which are typical examples of the Eastern School of Art are all worked out in bold relief, and may roughly be said to belong to different periods ranging from the latter half of the 9th to the 12th century A.D. Additions to the coin-cabinet include two coins of the Gupta dynasty and two of the kings of Assam of the 18th century A.D.

Of the three appendices that follow the Report, the most important is the one of the Antiquities of Khari by Kalidas Datta. It is really an informative paper on the historical and archæological impor-

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tance of the tract popularly called the Sunderbans. He deals more particularly with *Khāḍimaṇḍala* or *Khāḍiviṣaya* (cf. Jayanagar grant, and Barrackpur grant of Vijayasena respectively) which was identical with the southern portion of the ancient *Pauṇḍravardhanabhukti*. Mr. Datta's paper proves conclusively that these low lying tracts are rich in archæological treasures, and promise to be a fruitful field for archæological research and exploration. They have already yielded a good number of bronzes and stone-sculptures of sufficient artistic and archæological interest; Mr. Datta who has already done so much to draw atention in this direction deserves our special thanks. In the second appendix—a note on a new type of Viṣṇu from North-Bengal—Mr. Nanigopal Majumdar identifies an image from Kālandarpār, Bogra, with Viṣṇu. The identification has lately been questioned by a member of the Society, Mr. Kshitish Chandra Sarkar, who has advanced good grounds for its identification with a Bodhisattva image (vide. V. R. Society Monograph, No. 4, Rajshahi; July, 1930). The third appendix is an interesting note on 'The Mother and Child Images of Bengal' by Niradbandhu Sanyal, curator of the Museum.

The Report for 1929-30 also shows that important additions were made to the Society in the section of stone-sculptures found at *Khāri* (24 Parganas), *Yogirbhavan* (Bogra), *Duel-Kalna* and *Manda* (Rajsahi). One addition is of special iconographic interest. It is a representation of a three-headed and ten-armed god, riding a seven-horse chariot, and accompanied by the well known attendants of the Sun-god. It has correctly been identified as Mārtaṇḍa Bhairava. Another interesting addition is the bust of a goddess, three-headed and three-eyed with hair dressed high in the ascetic fashion, which has been identified as Uṣṇīṣa-Vijaya.

NIHAR RANJAN ROY

BHANJA DYNASTY OF MAYURBHANJ AND THEIR ANCIENT CAPITAL KHICHING by Rai Ramaprasad Chanda Bahadur, B.A., Superintendent, Archæological section, Indian Museum, Calcutta. Archæological Department, Mayurbhanj, 1929. 24 Plates with 30 half-tone blocks, 44 pp.

This short monograph is a collection of four extracts, three from the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India for the

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years 1922-23, 1923-24, 1924-25, and one from the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, June, 1927,—all from the pen of the famous scholar and archæologist, Rai Rampaprasad Chanda Bahadur who is undoubtedly a pioneer in recent archæological researches and explorations in Orissa. The archaeologlcal sites discovered and finds made by him in different localities of Orissa are all too well-known by this time to require any notice here; we need only say that his discoveries have opened up a new chapter of Orissan Art and History hitherto almost unknown to us. And he has given to the world of Indian Archæology and Art another monograph in which a scholarly study of the artistic and historical background of his important discoveries has been made.

Khiching which is a corruption of Rhijinga or Khijinga-kotta, the capital of the early Bhañja chiefs of ancient Mayurbhanj, though visited by Lt. Tickell and Mr. J. D. M. Behar in 1840 and between 1874 and 1876 respectively, was for all practical purposes a discovery of Rai Bahadur Chanda. Almost all the ancient monuments of Mayurbhañj are centred at Khiching and a cluster of temples and group of images, brought to light and discussed by a competent authority, have helped to add considerably to our knowledge of Orissan Art and culture. It is undoubtedly striking to know that though the style of decoration, particularly the scroll work with animal figures in the Khiching temples, is Orissan and is evidently the work of Oriya artists, the figure sculptures reveal a different artistic strain. And we entirely agree with Rai Bahadur Chanda when he says that 'for designing figure sculptures, he must have employed an artist of genius probably brought up in the Gauḍian (Bengal-Bihar) school, who, as a consequence of his contact with the Oriya artists and aided by fresh inscription from nature founded a new school of art at Khiching'. Attention may be drawn in this connection to a short paper on the art of South-Bengal in the columns of the Modern Review by the late lamented Rakhaldas Banerjea who in that paper upheld the theory of Rai Bahadur Chanda by pointing out some close affinities between the art of South-Bengal and Khiching.

The monograph, though modest in size, will be indispensable to all students and scholars of Indian, more particularly Orissan, Art and Archæology. There is quite a number of neatly executed plates.

NIHAR RANJAN ROY

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TAITTIRĪYA-PRĀTIŚĀKHYA WITH THE BHĀṢYA OF MĀHIṢEYA, edited by Mahopādhyāya V. Venkatarama Śarmā Vidyābhūṣaṇa. University of Madras, 1930.

The commentary of Māhiṣeya has long been known to scholars by name as one of the commentaries mentioned in the Tribhāṣyaratna from which it appears that Vararuci and Māhiṣeya were the exponents of two different schools of commentators. The commentary is written in a clear and simple style and is not overburdened with abstruse discussions or lengthy quotations. Though the opinions of previous commentators have been referred to in several places, no one has been mentioned by name. Of grammars and grammarians, Pāṇini has been mentioned three or four times and a vārttika has been quoted once. Several stanzas from works on Śikṣā have also been quoted. On the whole, the commentator does not throw much new light either on the correct exposition of the Prātiśākhya or on the history of philological studies in India.

The editor's task has, no doubt, been one of considerable difficulty inasmuch as he has had to depend on one single Ms. Still he might have produced a much better and much more correct edition, if he had only cared to do so. The foot-notes are generally extracts from the Tribhāṣyaratna or Vaidikābharaṇa or both often without acknowledgment, explaining passages sufficiently clear. Really obscure points have been left severely alone, although in most cases a few lines from the Tribhāṣyaratna or the Vaidikābharaṇa would have been invaluable to the reader. To take one or two examples. The *bhāṣya* on V. 3 (tatra pūrvaṃ pūrvaṃ prathamam) is printed thus :—

Tatra saṃhitāvidhāne yad yat pūrvaṃ tat tat prathamaṃ sandheyaṃ bhavati. Pūrvapadenottaraṃ dvipadaṃ sandadhyāt. Tat saṃhitāntaram upapadyate. Yathā bhakṣehi (Saṃ., 3, 2, 5), tvaṃ veda (Saṃ., 1-6-11), Ud u tyaṃ jātavedasam (Saṃ., 1, 4, 43) ity atra yathāvikṛtau uṭ iti sthite vakārāgamaḥ ekādeśaś ca, vidhiprakṛtau sāvakāśatvād anyonyapratiṣedhena naiva prāpnuta iti vipratiṣedhe pūrvaṃ kāryaṃ, yathā vaiyākaraṇānāṃ vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam.

On "bhakṣehi" there is the foot-note : bhakṣa ā ihi > bhakṣā ihi (10-2, sūtreṇa dīrghaḥ), bhakṣā ihi > bhakṣehi (10-4, sūtreṇa ekāraḥ).

Now bhakṣehi was sufficiently clear by itself and hardly needed what is practically an excerpt from the Tribhāṣyaratna without acknowledgment for its elucidation. On the other hand, "tvaṃ veda" and "ud u tyaṃ jātavedasaṃ" present almost insuperable difficulties and the editor makes no attempt to throw any light on these two cases.

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The reading is also obviously corrupt but the editor does not indicate this with queries. Vikṛti here appears to refer to jaṭāpāṭha, vakārāgamaḥ to ix. 16 and ekādeśaḥ to x. 2. "Yathāvikṛtau ut iti sthite" appears also to call for the emendation yathā vikṛtau ut u u iti sthite and vidhiprakṛtau for vidhī prakṛtau. The editor, however, is discreetly silent on all these points and has no suggestion to offer.

In XVI, 13 the editor inserts the word "bhūyān" against all authorities and remarks in a foot-note that it is not found either in the various printed editions or in the commentary Vaidikabhūṣaṇa which exists as yet only in Ms. It does not, however, occur to the editor that it is perfectly clear from Māhiṣeya's commentary that bhūyān cannot have been his reading, for he does not mention it in his list nor does he give any example of it. Bhūyāṃso 'surās tava devāḥ. bhūyāṃsa iti kim ? annādo bhūyāsaṃ—this passage supports the generally accepted reading. It cannot be pleaded that the example of bhūyan has been omitted by the scribe through carelessness for the very simple reason that bhūyān in the list would make bhūyāṃsaḥ absolutely superfluous.

Under the same rule Māhiṣeya says : Dāśvā viviśivā śuśruvā eteṣu śakārapareṣu "srādiṣu caikapada ūṣmaparaḥ" (15-4) iti anusvārāgamaḥ kasmān na bhavati. Atha "sakāraparaḥ" iti sakāraparasyānuvṛtteḥ. Hrasīyā vasīyā tasthivā sasṛvā ity eteṣu pūrvasminn anusvārasthāne sakārapare vakārapare 'py anusvārāgamo bhavati. Teṣām anusvārarahitānām ekasmin sūtre nirdeśāt. Athavā ātāṃsīt kanīyān jyāyān ity evamādibhir ākārair anusvārasthānaiḥ sāhacaryāt pūrvasmin hrasve akāre anusvārāgamo na bhavati.

On teṣāṃ etc. the editor has the foot-note : anena kanīyān ityādiṣv anusvārasahita eva pāṭho yujyata iti jñāyate.

We fail to understand how the editor arrives at this deduction. The commentator raises the objection that in the text of the rule hrasīyā, vasīyā etc. we should have an anusvāra before the sibilant according to rule xv. 4, and replies that the fact that those have been read without any anusvāra is sufficient to prevent the anusvāra from coming in. From this the editor argues that kanīyān and other words which insert an anusvāra should be read in the rule with the anusvāra. The mistake of the editor is due to his failure to note that the rule mentions two very different classes of words—those in which (atāṃsīt etc.) the nasal appears in the word itself as cited and those in which it is to be added before a following *s*.

Instead of going out of his way to add an erroneous note of his

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own the editor might have appended here several lines from the Vaidikābharaṇa in which the author shows the weakness of the views of Māhiṣeya and others and offers an explanation of his own.

On "ekavyaveto 'pi" IV. 51 Mahiṣeya's commentary has been printed thus :—

Ekenāpi padena vyavetaḥ dve ity etasmāt paraḥ padānta īkāra ekāro vā pragraho bhavati. Yathā "dve vāva devasatre" (Saṃ., 7.4.5). Evam ārabhyamāṇe alpākṣaraṃ sūtraṃ bhavati. Is it not clear form the above that some words are missing before evam ārabhyamāṇe etc. ?

On IV. 40 we find tu-śabdaḥ adhastāt pratiṣedhaprāptam idānīṃ nivartayati. Tu-śabdārambhān nityaśabdo pratiṣedhe nivartata ity etaj jñāpayati.

It does not require much penetration to see that the second sentence is corrupt. Here also the editor is silent, though in a foot-note he very pertinently quotes from the Tribhāṣyaratna (this time with acknowledgment).....māhiṣeyapakṣas tu vakṣyate—pūrvasūtroktaniṣedhaṃ nityaśabdajñāpitānuvṛttiṃ nivārayatīti.

This quotation from the Tribhāṣyaratna appears to us to set up a strong presumption in favour of the emendation—nityaśabdaḥ pratiṣedho 'nuvartata etc.

VIII. 10 has been printed avṛtparaḥ instead of āvṛtparaḥ.

On VIII. 11 itiparo' pi the commentary as printed runs thus:—apīty anvādeśaḥ kriyate. Āvṛtpara asau visarjanīya itiparo 'pi repham āpadyate. Yathā—śrutaḥ śrutaritīti śrutaḥ.

In a foot-note the editor notes that for the second sentence the reading in the Ms. is—āvṛtparaḥ asau visarjanīyaḥ sanyayā iti paro' pi bhavati tadāpi rephatvam āpadyate. We may suggest the slight emendation of sanyayā to san yadā, though even then it must be admitted that the position of san would be very unfortunate.

The example śrutaḥ etc. is misleading, conveying, as it does, the impression that a word even when not followed by āvṛt would change its visarga to r when followed by iti. A single sentence from the Vaidikābharaṇa added as a foot-note would make the commentator's meaning clear : "avṛṣād iti śrutarāvṛth svāhā" ity atra "iti śrutaḥ" ity asya kramasya jaṭodāharaṇam "iti śrutaś śrutar itīti śrutaḥ" iti.

Under the rule "sarvo nety eke" XIV. 33 we find : eke ācāryāḥ sarvata eva svaritaṃ na bhavatīti manyante. Udātta udāttam eva anudātta anudāttam eva. Dvai svasūryam eva te udātte nānudāttena (?).

The last sentence has puzzled the editor. The difficulty, however,

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seems to be almost entirely due to the wrong division of words. The correct reading evidently is: Dvaisvaryam eva te udāttenānudāttena. (The verb, of course, is manyante).

The editor is often very unkind to the visarga. It is difficult to understand what the visarga of anudāttaḥ in anudāttaḥ anudāttaṃ has done to merit omission. The same may be said of āvṛtparaḥ asau above. His treatment of the anusvāra is no less cruel. It is well-known that an anusvāra cannot tolerate a vowel following it, but the author setting at nought all rules of propriety has often forced the anusvāra into the company of such vowels.

VIII. 19 has been printed dvāv udāttamottarīyasya rephaḥ where rephaḥ is clearly a mistake for rephaṃ. In the light of what Tribhāṣyaratna says about Māhiṣeya's reading dā might have been omitted from the body and relegated to a foot-note.

On pp. 100-101 we read:

Atrāha—padagrahaṇe parapadagrahaṇena kiṃ prayojanaṃ? Atrocyate—anārṣe saṃvidhāne 'grahaṇasya ca kathaṃ nityaṃ yakārotpattiḥ syāt naimittikasya ca nimittāpekṣe 'pi.

This gives no meaning. Nimittāpekṣe 'pi should be emended into nimittāpekṣeti. Saṃvidhāne should be explained as saṃhitāvidhau. The editor might with advantage have added here in a foot-note the very rational explanation of this phenomenon offered by the author of the Vaidikābharaṇa.

On p. 63 we find the rule lakāro' nunāsikaṃ (following the rule laparau lakāram) commented on as follows by Māhiṣeya:

Lakāro nakāraparo 'nunāsikaṃ vikāram āpadyate. On this the editor remarks: anusvārottamā anunāsikāḥ (2-30) iti sūtreṇaiva nakārasyānunāsikyaṃ siddham. Tasmād atra lakṣaṇayā nakāra ity asya tatsthāno lakāra ity arthaḥ.

It might have occurred to the editor that the word vikāraṃ in Māhiṣeya's Bhāṣya which he seeks to support with this absurd explanation (the credit for which is due to the author of the Tribhāṣyaratna) is merely a scribal error for lakāraṃ which the commentator supplies from the previous rule. Ths editor's passion for quoting from the Tribhāṣyaratna without acknowledgment has led him astray. Even supposing for the sake of argument that vikāraṃ is the right reading the situation is in no way improved, for vikāraṃ cannot mean anything other than lakāraṃ here.

In the first line of the same page, jaya tvaṃ should be jayatvaṃ,

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in the 17th line anunāsikaṃ āpadyate should be anunāsikamāpadyate, and in the 20th line 2 should be 1.

The word nivartayitvā occurs again and again in the commentary without being followed by a query to draw attention to the questionable charactor of the form.

On p. 23 we read: yathā .....audumbarīṃ (Saṃ., 5-2-7), tuśabda ikāraṃ vinivartayatīti. This is robbing Peter to pay Paul. We should read: audumbarīm iti.....vinivartayati.

Like the Mysore Edition, the present work also contains an alphabetical list of the words occurring in the Prātiśakhya. There is also an index of citations in the commentary, from the Taittirīya Saṃhitā. A separate list of the proper names occurring in the body of the Prātiśākhya as also an exhaustive index of the topics dealt with would have added greatly to the utility of the volume. The get up is all that could be desired and the price fixed (Rupees two only) is very moderate.

KSHITIS CHANDRA CHATTERJI

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Acta Orientalia, vol. IX, pt. 1.

W. CALAND.—*A Rhythmic Law in Language.* Dr. Caland shows that the rule of Sanskrit grammar that "in a dvandva compound consisting of two words of an unequal number of syllables, the words of fewer syllables should precede" was prevalent even at the time of the *Brāhmaṇas.* By comparing the oldest Sanskrit with other languages belonging to or falling outside the Indo-European family, the writer comes to the conclusion that this rhythmic law once prevailed all over the world.

.—*On the Relative Chronology of Some Ritualistic Sūtras.* Some passages have been given here to prove that Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin were acquainted with the *Vārāhaśrautasūtra* and the *Mānavaśrautasūtra.*

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, vol. XII, pt. 1

R. SHAMASHASTRI.—*Forms of Government in Ancient India.* Arguments have been put forward in this paper in support of the writer's opinion that during the early Vedic period the Indians lived under an elective monarchy regulated by an assembly of people called *samiti*, and that during the period of the Upaniṣads they lived under Rājarṣi rulers who were mostly guided by the Vānaprasthas. During the Āgamic period the kings were servants of Śiva or Viṣṇu in whose name they had to administer their States more or less under the guidance of the heads of the Śaivaite or Vaiṇṇavaite sects. Thus the ruler of the State in Ancient India had to move in every period under political, ethical and religious restraints.

.—*Economical Philosophy of the Ancient Indians.* The ancient Indian economical principle that the accumulation of savings effected by men are not their own property has been explained in this article. The viewpoint is said to have been the outcome of the ethical teachings of the works like the *Gītā* and the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* which enunciate that man should work selflessly with no desire for the result.

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K. M. SHEMBAVNEKAR.—*Was Kautsa a Sceptic?* The writer has adduced evidences against the view that the well-known Nirukta passage attributed to Kautsa declaring the meaninglessness of the Vedic stanzas proves the growing obscurity of the Mantras through absence of traditional learning in Yāska's time. The passage in the *Nirukta*, it is said, does not show any heterodoxy on the part of Kautsa, nor does it support the assertion of some scholars that there was a great gap of time between the Ṛṣis and the early interpreters of the Vedas.

K. P. JAYASWAL.—*Historical Data in the Drama Kaumudīmahotsava.* The *Kaumudīmahotsava* recently published in the Dakṣiṇabhāratī Sanskrit Series is based on the early life of king Kalyāṇavarman, whose marriage festival was the occasion for the first staging of the play. The drama describes how the king re-occupied the throne of Pāṭaliputra which was formerly conquered from his father Sundaravarman by Caṇḍasena. Mr. Jayaswal takes all these kings to be historical persons and identifies Caṇḍasena with Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty.

SITANATH PRADHAN.—*Apotheosis in the Ṛgveda—the Ṛbhus.*

SATINDRA KUMAR MUKHERJI.—*Śaṇkara on the Limits of Empirical Knowledge.*

K. B. PATHAK.—*Dharmakīrtis' Trilakṣaṇahetu attacked by Pātrakeśari and defended by Śāntarakṣita.* Full quotations and references from works like the *Tattvārthaślokavārtikālaṃkāra*, *Pramāṇa-parīkṣā*, *Tattvasaṃgraha* have been given here showing how the doctrine of *Trilakṣaṇa* as explained by Dharmakīrti was refuted by Vidyānanda Pātrakeśari and defended by Śāntarakṣita.

.—*Śāntarakṣita, Kamalaśīla and Prabhācandra.* An endevour has been made to prove that Pātrakeśari, Śāntarakṣita, Kamalaśīla and Prabhācandra were contemporary authors, the last being chronologically the latest.

.—*Śaṅkarācārya attacked by Vidyānanda.*

N. B. DIVATIA.—*Sandrakottos: What did the initial S in the name represent?* The writer argues that the च of Candragupta had been turned by the Greeks into an S, not because the च was at the time pronounced as *tsa*, but because of the fact that च in the name was sounded as denoto-palatal which sound is nearer to S than a pure palatal is.

E. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA.—*A Note on the Authorship of Sarva-siddhāntasaṃgraha.* The author of this note claims to have found a

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reference in the *Sarvasiddhāntasaṃgraha* to Śaṅkara's *Vedānta-bhāṣya* making the former a post-Śaṅkarite work.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol. VI, pt. I

J. PRZYLUSKY.—*La théorie des guṇa.* Source of the theory of the three *guṇas* to be sought outside India. The Persian triad (as narrated by Plutarch) comprises Horomazes (pure light), Areimanios (darkness) and Mitres (mediator between the two). Similarly the Indian *tejas*, *rajas* and *tamas* originally signified (a) the luminous and gloomy light, (b) the intermediate world where pure light and obscurity were mingled together, and (c) obscurity respectively. The modification of the original Indo-Iranian dualism by this tertiary cosmology is due to Semitic influence. The series, luminous light, water, and nourishment of the Upaniṣads, are precisely the same as the great Assyrian triad Sin (Sky), Enlil (Earth) and Ea (Ocean). The Indian *guṇa* originally had the same sense as the Avestan *gaona* measuring 'colour of the hair' or 'colour'. The conception of a divine creator of the universe which is unknown to the most ancient Veda religion must be traced outside the Indo-Iranian world and probably to the Semitic world. In the Babylonian cosmogonies Marduk (afterwards replaced by Assur) played the capital *rôle* in the management of the universe.—U. N. G.

Indian Antiquary, October, 1930

S. N. PRADHAN.—*The Site of the Ṛg-vedic Battle between Divodāsa and Śambara.* The writer is of opinion that "the great Ṛg-vedic battle was fought near the ancient castle Uparkoṭ of Junāgaḍ, and then again about the ancient fort on the hill Girnār or Ujjayanta where Śambara probably retreated".

SASHIBHUSHAN CHAUDHURI.—*The Nine Dvīpas of Bharatavarṣa.*

Ibid., December, 1930

F. J. RICHARDS.—*Race Drift in South India.*

R. R. HALDER.—*Chitor and its Sieges.*

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Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, vol. IV, pts. 3&4

R. SUBBA RAO.—*Correspondence between the Hon. East India Company and Kandregula Family in the XVIII century.*

J. RAMAYYA PANTULU.—*Malkapuram Stone-pillar Inscription of Rudradeva (Rudramba).* It is recorded in this inscription that in the Śaka year 1183 Kākatiya king Gaṇapatideva gave away the village of Mandaram, and his daughter queen Rudrāmbā the village of Velaṅgapūṇḍi, to Gaṇapati's spiritual *guru* Viśveśvara Śiva, and that the latter constituted the villages into an *agrahāra*, and established in that village a *maṭha, a satrālaya* (a shelter for travellers) and other charitable institutions.

LAKSHMINARAYAN HARIDHAN JAGADEB.—*A Stone Inscription in the Campakeśvara Temple at Dimilada.*

K. ESVARA DUTT.—*Studies in Vijayanagar Polity* (1336-1542 A.D.). This is an account of the divisions of the empire and the powers and responsibilities of its Viceroys, with the details of the land revenue administration, coinage, irrigation and commerce prevailing there.

SATYANARAYAN RAJAGURU MAHASAYA.—*Dharakota Copper-plate Grant of the Kara King Śubhakaradeva of Orissa.*

L. P. PANDEYA SARMA.—*A Silver Coin of King Prasannamātra.*

C. NARAYANA RAO.—*A Fragment of a Copper-plate Grant of Śrīraṅgarāya of Penngonda.*

K. VENKATAPPAYYA.—*Education in Ancient India.*

K. RAGHAVACHARYALU.—*Rāyavācakamu and other Telugu Sources for Kṛṣṇarāya's Reign.*

S. BHIMASANKARA RAO.—*Evolution of the Brāhmaṇical Heirarchy in Ancient India.*

M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI.—*The Discovery of the Author's Vṛtti on the Vākyapadīya.*

Journal of the Bombay Historical Society, vol. III, no. 1

H. G. BENGERI AND S. M. KARAJGI.—*The Hāveri Inscription of Nimbarāja.* This inscription in the premises of the Siddheśvara temple at Hāveri, Dharwar District, opens with an invocation to Śambhu found in inscriptions of later Cālukyas. "It makes a grant by one Nimbarāja, son of Vālikabbe and Mādhava Bhaṭṭa, the

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Governor of Banavasi 12,000 under Tribhunamalla of the Cālukyas "for maintenance of musical and dancing establishment ....."

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Journal of Oriental Research, vol. IV, pt. 2

K. A. NILKANTHA SASTRI.—*Grāma.—An Examination of a new Interpretation.* The writer criticises the theories of Dr. Pran Nath as expounded in his "Study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India" and says that "*grāma* or any other synonymous term used in (old Hindu) records does not mean village, town or city, but an estate, or a 'survey village' or *mauza*".

T. R. CHINTAMANI.—*Lakṣaṇaratnāvali. An unknown Work of Śrīmad Appayya Dīkṣita.* The fragmentary copy of the work in the Sarasvatī Mahal Palace Library deals with the principles of Dramaturgy.

P. T. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.—*Śaka-Pallavas in Indian History.* This instalment deals with the dynasty of Caṣṭana.

V. R. RAMA CHANDRA DIKSHITAR.—*Aśoka's Religion, the Evidence of Archæology.* The author doubts the reliability of the evidences that make Aśoka a Buddhist. He thinks that the untrustworthy accounts of Chinese travellers, Yuan Chwang and Fa-hein, are responsible for such a conception. The stūpas and the pillars, he says, did not originate with, but was anterior to, Buddhism and the animal capitals of the Aśokan pillars more particularly point to the symbols of a religion other than Buddhism.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1930

E. H. JOHNSTON.—*Some Sāṃkhya and Yoga Conceptions of Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad.* The paper shows that the Sāṅkhya conceptions of this Upaniṣad are more primitive in form than that of the *Sāṅkhya Kārikā*, though they agree with the *Tattvasamāsa*.

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, October, 1930

K. RAMAVARMA RAJA.—*The Buddhist Stūpa. A Comparative Study.* It is suggested that the Buddhist Stūpa "is an artificial reproduction of a miniature heaven" and that the oldest Egyptian pyramids and the religious architecture of ancient Babylonia and Chaldea are also nothing else. The Indian civilisation meets here the

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other civilisations, "since the Buddhist, Jaina and Hindu Systems were the off-shoots from a common Indian stock."

L. V. RAMASWAMI IYER.—*Dravidic Perspectives.*

A. F. THYAGARAJU.—*Glossarial Affinities between Finnish and Dravidian.*

DHYAN CHANDRA.—*Hindus as Pioneers of the World Civilization.* In this portion of the continued article it is endevoured to prove that (1) Aryans were the original inhabitants of the Punjab; (2) "Aryans were thoroughly acquainted with oceans" and there was a "large sea to the north-west of Sapta Sindhu..."; (3) the Vedas are the most ancient books and India the most ancient land to be peopled by men, one of the important evidences being non-mention in the Vedas of the great deluge to be found in all other scriptures of the world; and (4) ancient Hindus were a commercial and sea-going people going out for adventures, the result of which has been the establishment of kingdoms of Babylonia, Chaldea etc.

Review of Philosophy and Religion, vol. I, no. 2

Y. SUBBA RAO.—*The Chronological Position of Viśiṣṭa-Advaita.* The writer concludes that (1) Bodhāyana, the Vṛttikāra and Draviḍa, the Bhāṣyakāra, whom Rāmānuja quotes, are not the Vṛttikāra and Draviḍācārya whom Śaṅkara refers to, and that (2) connection of Rāmānujas with Bhāgavata or Pañcatantras has not yet been established.

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CORRECTION SLIP

I.H.Q., vol. VI, no. 2

Page	For	Read
6 l. 20	Holland	Hollond

I.H.Q., vol. VI, no. 3

Page	For	Read
426 ll. 14-15	this passage	these passages
427 fn. 3	Visuddhimagga	Visuddhimaggo
[illegible] fn. 1	Excursions	Excursus
[illegible] Do 5	*nripatau*	*nṛpatau*
43[illegible] 6	Benaces	Benares
434 1	*delete* a	
435 Do [illegible]	Kikuras	Kukuras
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I.H.Q., vol. VI, no. 4

Page	
25 l. 21	*add* refuse further gifts after Viṣṇugupta

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